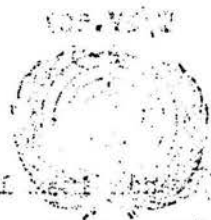




UNITED NATIONS TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL



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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIVE HUNDRED AND SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,

on Wednesday, 3 March 1954, at 2 p.m.

President: Mr. MUNRO (New Zealand)

Note: The Official Record of this meeting, i.e., the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.507 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

THE TOGOLAND UNIFICATION PROBLEM [Agenda item 11]:

- (a) GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS 750 (VIII) (T/1096; T/FET.6/L.7 to 41, T/COM.6/L.27; T/FET.6 and 7/L.7 to 11, 13 to 19, 30)
- (b) HEARING OF PETITIONERS FROM TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION (T/FET.6/329 and Add.1, 330, 331 and Add.1; T/FET.6/L.42, 43, 44 and Add.1; T/COM.6/L.34; T/FET.6 and 7/L.28, 29) (continued)

The PRESIDENT: The members of the Council will recall that the representative of the United Kingdom proposed that further consideration of this matter be adjourned until the next session of the Council. The matter is now open for discussion.

Mr. TARAZI (Syria) (interpretation from French): I wish to speak on a point of order. The representative of El Salvador, Mr. Quiros, who is also Chairman of the Standing Committee on Petitions, has instructed me to speak for him because he cannot be present at the appointed hour.

I wish merely to draw the attention of the representatives of the Council to a recommendation which the Standing Committee on Petitions adopted with respect to two petitions: T/FET.6/L.7 submitted by Nana Agboka and T/FET.6/L.8 submitted by the Secretary-General of the Togoland Congress. These two petitions concern the unification of Togoland.

The Standing Committee on Petitions felt that it could not examine those petitions and referred them to the Council for examination at its plenary meeting. Moreover, the document numbers of these two petitions were mentioned in the Journal of the United Nations for 1, 2 and 3 March 1954. Therefore, the attention of the members of the Council has been drawn to these two petitions. It would be wise for the Council to take these two petitions into consideration in connexion with the Togoland unification problem in accordance with the decision taken today by the Standing Committee on Petitions.

The PRESIDENT: As I understand the position, the petitions are on today's agenda and they were on yesterday's agenda.

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Mr. ASHA (Syria): I have listened with great attention and care to the statements of the representatives of the United Kingdom and France as well as to the statements of the representatives of some political parties in Togoland under United Kingdom Administration; I also listened with great attention and care to the questions put to them and the replies given by them. I feel it my duty to express to these representatives the thanks of my delegation for the frank manner in which they replied to all questions -- in particular to my own -- and I wish to assure them that I was moved by no hostility towards their aspirations, whatever these aspirations may be and that the paramount consideration in the back of my mind was the welfare and the wishes of the inhabitants of the Territory or, if I may put it in the plural, Territories of the two Togolands. They can rest assured that the interests of all the inhabitants and their eventual attainment of self-government and complete independence is what we have stood for in the past and what we shall stand for in the future.

My delegation considers that the discussion which took place during these last two days was very interesting and indeed most useful. It was the first time that the Council has heard the views of these representatives. In fact, the General Assembly has not yet heard these views, and we have therefore been witnesses to a challenge of the views previously expressed by what these representatives called their "opponents". I would not be frank, however, if I did not express my serious doubts regarding the statement that financial considerations have in the past prevented these representatives from appearing before the General Assembly and, indeed, before the Trusteeship Council. This argument has not convinced me in the least nor was I totally convinced by some of the replies to some of the questions put to them.

The members of the Council will undoubtedly recall what I stated on 18 February during the general debate on Togoland under United Kingdom Administration in connexion with the question of unification. I drew the attention of the Council to the report of the Visiting Mission in 1949, which stated that "the future political development of British Togoland must depend largely on whether or not some form of unification of all or part of the two Togolands is going to take place". (T/PV.499, page 4)

I also stated:

"As recently as the eleventh session the Council reserved its final opinion concerning the existing constitutional association between British Togoland and the Gold Coast until it considered the ...Togoland unification problem. Since then, the second Visiting Mission of 1952 has again recognized that the unification question is tied up with the political future of British Togoland and in particular with the question whether Togoland is to be an integral part not merely 'administered as an integral part', as the Trusteeship Agreement puts it, but to be an integral part of the Gold Coast as that colony rapidly approaches towards a fuller form of self-government.

"Since that time, again, the move in the Gold Coast for a further measure of self-government, which had been anticipated by the Visiting Mission, has taken place." (Ibid, pages 4 and 5)

The question therefore is: Can Togoland still be administered in accordance with the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement if and when full powers of legislation and administration are transferred to a representative Gold Coast Government? Secondly, ^{Secondly,} is it the freely expressed will of the majority of the people of Togoland to be completely integrated in the Gold Coast or simply associated with that region? The third question is whether there is or there is not a strong desire for unification of the two Togolands at a foreseeable future date?

As regards one of the questions, the representative of the United Kingdom promised a special study of the constitutional question. We shall await with deep interest the findings of this study.

On the second question I have expressed some reservations as to whether the forthcoming elections in the Gold Coast can be accepted as a referendum. In particular, I have serious doubts as to whether all possible alternatives -- which I stated before this Council on 18 February -- would be placed before the people. I do not think that I would be repetitious or would unduly take the time of the Council if I repeated those alternatives briefly. I referred to the following

alternatives: first, complete absorption of Togoland under United Kingdom Administration with the Gold Coast, completely losing its identity and any possibility of separate political institutions; secondly, integration of Togoland under United Kingdom Administration in some regional organization, preserving to a large extent a separate political identity; thirdly, a combination of either of these alterations with unification of the two Togolands; fourthly, there is the possibility of a unified Togoland becoming an independent State -- that is, the unification of the two Togolands under British and French Administration.

Will all these alternatives be put before the people of Togoland before the forthcoming elections? We believe that it is the duty of the Administering Authority to put these alternatives to the people in order that they may express their wishes freely, in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

I should like at this point to make a few observations on the question of unification with respect to Togoland under French Administration. If we can assume that the people of British Togoland may prove to our satisfaction that they wish to be associated in some way with the Gold Coast, it appears to us that the Togoland problem would largely become the problem of French Togoland.

My delegation shares the view of the representative of the United States who said, in effect, that we must be careful to avoid a lack of balance in the political development of neighbouring territories in West Africa. Applying this idea to Togoland, neither the United Nations nor the African people themselves would be prepared to see one part of Togoland attain self-government while the other part lagged behind. The implication of this statement is clear and the Administering Authority should take note of it. We believe, that, if any real progress is to be achieved in solving the Togoland problem, we must be informed without unnecessary delay of any comparable measure of political development in Togoland under French administration.

Having said that, my delegation suggests the following course of action which, in fact, I have proposed in my earlier interventions.

First of all, we should wait and see what progress has been made towards providing for the people of both Togolands a free and proper forum for the expression of their aspirations, particularly through the establishment of the joint council for Togoland affairs. The Trusteeship Council should request the Administering Authorities of both Togolands to submit, as early as possible in advance of the next session, a full progress report on the establishment and operation of the joint council, an analysis of the results of the forthcoming elections in the Gold Coast, and details of any other developments in the political situation of the two Togolands, including in particular political reforms in French Togoland.

Secondly, we must request the Standing Committee on Administrative Unions to make a preliminary study of all relevant information and to report to the next session of the Council. Only then will the Council be in a position to decide on the recommendations which it should make to either the Administering Authorities or -- more particularly -- the General Assembly.

My delegation is tentatively of the opinion that the General Assembly, before reaching any decision on any changes in either of the two Territories, should take certain measures, such as, for example, the sending of a special mission of enquiry in order to satisfy itself that the fully expressed wishes of the people are being fulfilled.

Mr. PIGNON (France) (interpretation from French): As I stated in my speech two days ago, my Government intends to submit the report referred to by the representative of Syria. However, I cannot give any formal assurance that such report will be made available in advance of the fourteenth session of the Trusteeship Council.

Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand): The New Zealand delegation does not propose at this stage to comment at length on this item. It will suffice to reiterate the principles by which my delegation is guided in its approach to the question and to remark briefly upon the point of view advanced by the petitioners.

My delegation, at the expense perhaps of being regarded as unenterprising or unduly rigid in its approach, has consistently emphasized that the most appropriate solution to the problem raised by the Ewes petitioners seven years ago, of Ewe unification and the subsequent transformation of this problem into one of Togoland unification, was a solution that was soundly based upon the ascertained wishes of a preponderant majority of the people. That is an attitude which is fully in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the Charter.

We have, as often, stressed that no solution imposed by the Trusteeship Council, the General Assembly or, indeed, by the Administering Authorities has any likelihood of acceptance unless it conforms to the wishes of the people. We were, and are, concerned to support a people's and not a politicians' movement. It seems to follow, therefore, that any definitive decision by the General Assembly as to the political future of either or both Togolands should not precede an unequivocal expression of the views of the people of Togoland. We felt it proper to attach more importance to the freely expressed wishes of the Togoland people than to the wishes of the General Assembly.

I dissent from the statement of the representative of Syria that this is the first time that we have heard the views of the petitioners. We have known of their views for some time, for they have been expressed in writing before this session, and one would assume that the earlier records of the Council

on this matter are familiar to its present members. The last Visiting Mission of the Trusteeship Council, whose views we preferred to accept to those expressed by Mr. Antor last year, reported that there was no wide support for any one form of unification acceptable to a majority of the inhabitants of the two Territories. The Mission commented further that, in seeking a solution to the unification problem, an enlightened and sound public opinion was necessary. With that statement we also agreed.

We have, as I said, been made aware, by the reports of the Visiting Mission, by written petitions, by the oral statements of petitioners from French Togoland, and from the information given to the Council over a period of years by the Administering Authorities -- which we accepted at face value -- that considerable opposition existed in the Territories to the unification of the two Togolands. It therefore came as no surprise to my delegation to hear a few days ago from the three petitioners that public opinion in British Togoland is increasingly expressed in support of integration or union with the Gold Coast rather than with French Togoland. My delegation sought unsuccessfully to prevent the General Assembly at its last session from prejudging the issue by its apparent insistence upon unification as being the manifest aspiration of the majority of the population of both Trust Territories. We were not opposed in principle, and still are not opposed, to unification. We felt, however, that the General Assembly was unwise to fail to recognize the tremendous appeal which we assumed that self-government for the Gold Coast would have for the population of British Togoland. This Trust Territory has been administered for over thirty years as an integral part of the Gold Coast.

The announcement of the proposed further constitutional reforms for the Gold Coast brought a new and dramatic element into the situation. We felt that the Assembly should, in the circumstances, keep an open mind on the matter.

The elections to the Central Legislative Assembly of the Gold Coast next May will certainly serve as a weather vane of public opinion in British Togoland on the issue of union with the Gold Coast. The result of the election will undoubtedly have its repercussions on public opinion, or rather upon the attitude of political parties in French Togoland.

We would therefore agree with the suggestion of the representative of the United Kingdom that the Trusteeship Council would be well advised to defer further consideration of this problem until its next session. This suggestion would equally apply to the work of the Standing Committee on Administrative Unions. On this point I do not find myself in agreement with the representative of Syria. The outcome of the elections will enable both the Administering Authorities and the Trusteeship Council to take a fresh look at the question of the re-establishment of the joint council in the light of prevailing public opinion. If we may judge from the petitions received, from the statements of the petitioners and from the memorandum presented by the Government of France, the joint council does not find much favour at the present time in either Territory.

By its next session the Trusteeship Council will presumably be in possession of further information as to the effect of the constitutional reforms for the Gold Coast and British Togoland now under consideration. It will thus be in a better position to undertake the task enjoined upon it by General Assembly resolution 750 C (VIII).

Before concluding, I wish to say a few words about the statements made by the petitioners. My delegation listened to them with great interest and we must congratulate them on their able and forceful presentation of their case. It was reassuring to hear Mr. Fleku say that if integration of British Togoland with the Gold Coast were assured, his party would be prepared to participate in the joint council which would consider frontier problems and measures designed to assimilate the policies of the Governments concerned. In this remark he recognized, I think, the continuing existence of a frontier question. He made, I feel, a valid point of the importance of the historical antecedents of this problem.

My delegation will give the most careful consideration to the information and views which the petitioners have laid before us, when we come to a later and more exhaustive examination of the problem. May I conclude by assuring the petitioners that my delegation was impressed by their evident sincerity and by the valuable contribution they have made to our understanding of this problem. I am confident that whatever the outcome of the elections next May, they will accept the verdict of the people and continue to strive for the welfare and progress of their country.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The question of the unification of the Trust Territories of Togoland now under French and British administration respectively arose, as the background of the question indicates, on the initiative of the greater part of the population of the two Trust Territories.

The United Nations began to tackle this question as early as 1946. The General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council adopted decisions which called for an inquiry into the question of the unification of the members of the Ewe tribes on the two sides of the boundary. However, this ran into obdurate resistance on the part of the United Kingdom and France, the Powers which administer the two Trust Territories. As Administering Powers they had no desire and no intention of fostering or tolerating the unification of the two Togolands. However, the demands of the bulk of the indigenous population on the two sides of the boundary for unification became so insistent that notwithstanding the opposition of the colonial Powers, the United Nations had to investigate the problem closely.

The Trusteeship Council found that the greater part of the population of Togoland, and the Ewe people in particular, want unification. Subsequently, it is known that the Trusteeship Council sent some Visiting Missions to Togoland which were supposed to study the problem on the spot. They visited Togoland under French and British Administration in 1949 and in 1952.

The reports presented by the Visiting Missions confirmed the desire of the people of the two Togolands to be unified. For example, the concluding part

of the 1949 Visiting Mission's report indicated that the problem of the unification of the two Trust Territories of Togoland had reached the point of a broad national movement and that in the interests of stability and calm in this part of the world, an expeditious decision is necessary. The report of the Visiting Mission which went to the Togolands in 1952 -- that was the second Visiting Mission of this Council -- indicates that the demand for the unification of Togoland as a political movement has gained ever wider recognition. This demand for the unification of Togoland is an urgent political problem and it has gained the broad support of the population.

Having examined comprehensively the problem of Ewe unification, the General Assembly, at its seventh session, adopted an equally comprehensive resolution: General Assembly resolution 652 (VII). That resolution takes account of the fact that unification of the two Trust Territories of Togoland is in line with the desires of the greater part of the population of the two Togolands. That is what the resolution of the General Assembly says. The General Assembly in this resolution also says the following:

"Desiring to promote the political advancement of the two Trust Territories and their freely expressed wishes in conformity with the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System as set forth in Article 76 of the Charter,

"1. Continues to urge, as set out in its resolution 555 (VI), that the two Administering Authorities concerned" -- that is, the United Kingdom and France -- "and the peoples involved exert every effort to achieve a prompt, constructive and equitable settlement of the problem, taking fully into account the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned;"

The resolution also contains a recommendation to the effect that the two Administering Powers concerned should carry out broad and comprehensive consultation with the political parties of the two Togoland Territories and that they should make every effort to restore the joint council for Togoland affairs, so that that joint council should be an effective and representative institution for the examination of questions of common interest to the two Territories.

Paragraph 5 of that same resolution states:

"Recommends further that the terms of reference of the Joint Council or similar body should be such as to enable it to consider and make recommendations upon all political, economic, social and educational matters affecting the two Trust Territories, including the question of the unification of the two Territories, and that, as a first stage, the Joint Council should be reconstituted, and re-established as soon as possible, by means of direct elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage exercised by secret ballot."

All these decisions of the Trusteeship Council and of the General Assembly were adopted following careful and comprehensive study of the situation in the two Trust Territories. This was done, therefore, not only after hearing the views of the representatives of the Administering Authorities and of the populations concerned at meetings of the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council, but also after sending visiting missions of the Trusteeship Council to the places. Also taken into consideration were numerous petitions which had been received and examined by the Trusteeship Council. The study of the question of the unification of Togoland was a comprehensive one. No one can reproach the General Assembly or the Trusteeship Council with having approached the question rashly, lightly or unknowledgeably.

One cannot in this connexion overlook the Trusteeship Council resolution on the Ewe and Togoland unification problem, which it adopted at its eleventh session, namely resolution 643 (XI). In that resolution, the general desire of the population of the two Togolands for unification was noted. As regards the question of what is the concensus in Togoland, the situation is quite clear: the majority of the population has called for the unification of the two Trust Territories and the overwhelming majority of the population has called for independence as well.

Faced with all these resolutions of the General Assembly calling for the unification of the two Togolands, and faced with the resolutions of the Trusteeship Council, which likewise call for the implementation of the demand for unification of the two Togolands -- faced with all these decisions adopted by organs of the United Nations -- one might have expected the Administering Authorities to bend every effort toward fulfilling the wishes of the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council. But what actually did happen? Just the reverse happened. The Administering Authorities adopted an attitude which gives the appearance of supporting the decisions of the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council concerning Togoland unification, but in reality their position is tantamount to fostering the establishment of conditions that would frustrate the decisions of the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council for the unification of the two Trust Territories.

In this connexion, we cannot fail to recall one incident which occurred in the Fourth Committee of the eighth session of the General Assembly. I am sure that members of the Trusteeship Council well remember this incident. I am referring to the time when the General Assembly received petitions from Togoland, including a secret document entitled "The Future of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship", which was published as document T/PET.6/L.11. The Administering Authority and the Gold Coast Administration have stated that they did not have any hand in the compilation of that document. However, it is most interesting to note that the plan of action laid down in that secret paper, a plan designed to thwart the unification of the two Togolands and designed to bring about the integration of Togoland under British Administration with the neighbouring Gold Coast colony, as we are well aware, has been methodically implemented by the Administering Authority.

The secret paper lays down a programme of measures designed to mold public opinion and to lead the United Nations into confusion as to the true nature of the desires of the people of Togoland in order to obtain United Nations acquiescence in the final absorption and dissolution of the Trust Territory in the neighbouring British colony of the Gold Coast. Paragraph 13 of the secret paper states:

"Undoubtedly the safest and best way of persuading UNO is to arrange for UNO to be bombarded by a broadside of petitions which demand the integration of British Togoland into the Gold Coast. This would, it is to be hoped, contrast with an absence of petitions seeking any other solution. The petitions should be followed up by the appearance before the Trusteeship Council, and perhaps also later before the UN Fourth Committee, of carefully selected and trained representatives who would support orally the demands made in the petitions."

The document then sets out the following plan of action for the year 1954: "Ideally, therefore, the "bombardment" should work up to a first crescendo in January and February and the C.P.P."-- which, as you know, is the party whose government is now in power in the Gold Coast -- "should have ready by then selected petitioners from the Territory who can appear in support of their demands at the Trusteeship Council. The wishes of the people having been made abundantly clear to UNO at that session, four months would be allowed to the Trusteeship Council in which to send out, if it wished to do so, a Special Mission to the Territory. H.M. Government would then be able to lay before the summer session of 1954 (July) of the Trusteeship Council a formal request for the abrogation of the Trusteeship Agreement."

That is the ultimate aim of the campaign now on foot in the Gold Coast and in Togoland under British administration - to revoke the Trusteeship Agreement, to remove Togoland under British administration from the Trusteeship System of the United Nations and to amalgamate that Trust Territory with the British colony of the Gold Coast.

What is happening across the border? What do the French administrators do in Togoland under French administration? A parallel process is under way there. While the British authorities seek to include Togoland under British administration in the Gold Coast, as an integral and amalgamated part thereof, the French authorities seek to incorporate their section of Togoland in the so-called French Union, which is the new-fangled name for the French colonial empire. Thus the territory of Togoland, whose population has called for unification, would be divided in two for ever. One part would be absorbed under British control; the other part would be placed under French power. That is the fate in store for these two Trust Territories.

And what about United Nations trusteeship? Well, that is easy: it will vanish. The two territories will be finally absorbed, the French part by the French Union and the British part by the Gold Coast colony. No more Trust Territories. Thus the Administering Powers are committed to the elimination of the Trusteeship System, as such, within a few years. But the Trusteeship System is set forth in Chapter XII of the United Nations Charter, which says that the Organization shall institute the Trusteeship System with the aim of leading the peoples under trusteeship to self-government and independence. We do not say that the Trusteeship System should be eternal. It will lapse once the generous objectives confided to it by the Charter have been fulfilled - that is, once the people of the Trust Territories have been led to independence and full self-government. When that has been done, of course, the Trusteeship System will lapse of its own accord. The people concerned will no longer need United Nations trusteeship, since they will then be independent.

If peoples desire unification or integration, let them, as independent peoples sovereign in their own states, decide freely whether they wish to be unified - whether to the Gold Coast, to the French Union or to any other entity.

Once these peoples were independent the decision with reference to unification would be the free act of sovereign states. Under the present circumstances however - when these people, so far from being independent, are at a stage where it is a struggle for them to obtain even a modicum of self-government, where they have to fight for every deputy and for every additional appropriation for education or health purposes, where they are still in an entirely disorganized situation because they are not allowed to organize as they would wish, and where every obstacle is heaped in their path - to sever the two territories and absorb them in neighbouring colonies would be an error and, what is more, a mockery of the Trusteeship System.

In view of all this it is small wonder that we find that, when petitions are received from British Togoland and French Togoland stating that the former wants to be swallowed and digested by the Gold Coast as rapidly as possible while the latter thirsts for absorption in the French colonial empire, which is now called the French Union, others are received at the same time which protest against these contrived petitions. For example, I might cite T/PET.6/L.8, of 29 July 1953, in which the Secretary-General of the Togoland Congress at Hohoe advised the Secretary-General of the United Nations that the Central Government of the Gold Coast had made use of members of the Legislative Assembly - officials and others - with a view to incorporating the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration in the Gold Coast colony, and thus implementing the plan of the Convention People's Party which is laid down in the secret paper to which I referred earlier.

The petition says that party leaders and people in the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration resolutely protest against these actions and petition the United Nations to avert this catastrophe - that is, the absorption of the Trust Territory by the Gold Coast colony. There is another petition, dated 22 February 1954, from Mr. Augustino de Souza, who informs the President of the Trusteeship Council that before examining the telegram from a certain chief with reference to the incorporation of Togoland in the Gold Coast colony it is necessary to take measures for the reconstitution of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs in order accurately to ascertain the views and wishes of the populations of the two Togolands concerning future proposals as to their fate.

I might draw attention also to another petition received from Hohoe on 22 July 1953 addressed by the paramount chief of British Togoland to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. In his petition the paramount chief expresses the concern and alarm felt in Togoland in connexion with the demand for the integration of the Territory with the Gold Coast. Measures to that effect taken by the Gold Coast Government are, it is stated, designed to sow confusion among Members of the United Nations. The chief of Buem, in British Togoland, resolutely protested against all proposals calling for the incorporation of that Trust Territory in the Gold Coast. In the same telegram the reconstitution of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs without delay is called for.

It is noteworthy in this connexion not only that the Administering Powers are committed to a policy of thwarting the implementation of the recommendations of the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council calling for unification of the two Togolands, but also that in the two Trust Territories political parties and political leaders who represent the indigenous population and uphold the interests of their peoples, and who call for the unification of the two Togolands, have been subjected to extraordinary persecution and victimization.

The Standing Committee on Petitions is now considering two petitions in this respect which have recently been received; these petitions are contained in documents T/PET.6/325 and T/PET.6/326 and Add.1.

In the petition contained in document T/PET.6/325, Mr. J. J. Amoa, an African teacher, states that there have been administrative reprisals against him because of his political views, because he has called for unification of the two Togolands and has opposed the integration of British Togoland in the Gold Coast. The petitioner also refers to the Convention People's Party, a Gold Coast party -- the Gold Coast has hardly come out of its shell as a new-born, so-called self-governing territory, and already one of its political parties wants to gobble up additional territories, particularly Trust Territories. The petitioner says:

"It is evident the CFP (Convention People's Party), assisted by the English imperialists, is working along the lines of the plans laid down in this unearthed secret document to integrate Togoland."
(T/PET.6/325, page 2)

By such inducements as the payment of large salaries, and so forth, the Administering Authority is seeking to persuade some leaders of the unification movement to change camps. That is why those leaders are now telling their people that, since the United Nations has not brought about the unification of the two Togolands, the only alternative is integration in the Gold Coast: the precise aim of the Administering Authority.

Another African teacher in British Togoland, Mr. Gilbert Osei, states in the petition contained in document T/PET.6/326 and Add.1 that he was illegally dismissed from his post because he would not agree with the views of the Convention People's Party and because he had once been employed by the Togoland Congress, another Togoland party which, as is commonly known, has called for the unification of the two Togolands and the granting of full independence to those Territories.

That is the political situation in Togoland. That is the attitude which the Administering Authorities have towards the peoples' demands for unification. The general line of policy is clear. We all know what lies behind the policy of administrative union. At first glance, those words seem innocuous enough.

Exactly what we forecast, however, has taken place: Either with or without the benefit of flowery phrases, the policy of administrative union is actually a policy of annexing Trust Territories to neighbouring colonial territories. One after the other, the Trust Territories would be removed from the protection of the Trusteeship System and, finally, that System would vanish from the face of the earth.

At its eighth session, last year, the General Assembly adopted resolution 750, consisting of three parts: A, B and C. The resolution was adopted on 8 December 1953. In part A, the General Assembly again called for the re-establishment of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs as an organ where questions pertaining to the unification of the Togolands could be examined and where all political, economic, social and educational matters affecting the two Trust Territories could be discussed. The Assembly also invited the Trusteeship Council to submit a report in this respect. The Assembly conceived of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs as a representative organ, an organ endowed with broad powers and representative of the indigenous population of the two Togolands. If that Council had been re-established, if the General Assembly resolution had been implemented by the Administering Authorities, we should now have before us the valuable opinion of that organ on the crucial issue of Togoland unification. We do not have that opinion, because the Administering Authorities have erected obstacles in the path of the Council's re-establishment.

Part B of resolution 750 urgently invited the Administering Authorities to revise the system of electoral qualifications in force in the Territories and to put into effect an electoral system based on universal, direct and secret suffrage, so as to reflect the opinion of the population as a whole. What did the Administering Authorities do to implement that recommendation? Nothing.

The Administering Authorities have opposed and frustrated the General Assembly recommendation that the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs should be re-established and, at the same time, have not done anything to reform the electoral system and make it more democratic.

What, therefore, is the state of affairs? The Joint Council for Togoland Affairs has not been reconstituted. The General Assembly resolution has not been implemented. The electoral system has not been reformed. The demand of the population for unification of the two Togolands has not been heeded. Moreover, the people of the Territory who call for unification have been subjected to persecution. Those who have been "processed", as it were, by the Administering Authorities, who have been "coaxed", shall we say, into accepting the Administering Authorities' plan for integrating Togoland in the Gold Coast and the French Union, respectively, enjoy the protection, favour and sympathetic indulgence of the Administering Authorities. That is the picture.

Hence, there are no real difficulties. The difficulties about which we have been told are merely convenient figments of the imagination of the Administering Authorities, which do not wish the two Togolands to be unified. Whereas Togoland was once universally recognized as a distinct territory inhabited by a distinct people, we are now told that there is no such thing as Togoland; Togoland does not really exist. Perhaps there is actually no Togoland. Perhaps British Togoland is essentially already a part of the Gold Coast. Gold Coast officials are in charge in the Trust Territory. The local indigenous population has perhaps already been stripped of its rights. The Visiting Mission, when it goes to the Trust Territory may find it interesting to look into this matter. What I have said refers also to Togoland under French administration.

The population of Togoland is in favour of unification. The General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council are in favour of unification; they have so stated in resolutions, and, in particular, have called for the re-establishment of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs. That Council should be re-established. Democratically elected representatives of the political parties and population of the two Togolands should be members of the Joint Council. If that representative organ were duly re-established and allowed to meet, it would be able to report to us the consensus, the aspirations, the yearnings of the peoples of Togoland. Only if that path were followed could we uphold the prestige of the United Nations and of the Trusteeship System and put an end to the mockery of Chapter XIII of the Charter in certain quarters.

I have one more point. With regard to the proposal of the representative of the United Kingdom that consideration of this question should be postponed, that events should be allowed to take their course and that this session of the Trusteeship Council should pass without a decision, I think this is an ill-advised proposal. There is no reason why we should be led on a leash by the representative of the United Kingdom. We have a fairly good idea why the representative of the United Kingdom would like us to postpone a decision on this question. We well understand the reason, because we are well aware of the fact that in Togoland and in the Gold Coast measures are being rushed through for so-called constitutional reforms. These constitutional reforms concerning the Gold Coast are being carried out, of course, without any consultation with the United Nations General Assembly or Trusteeship Council. What is of concern to us is that by means of these reforms the Administering Power will be taking a decision on the destiny of the Trust Territory of Togoland under United Kingdom Administration.

How can we acquiesce in that? How can the Trusteeship Council, one of the major organs of the United Nations, tolerate that the Council should be confronted in a few months with a fait accompli of the Administering Power? At the summer session of the Trusteeship Council, the representative of the Administering Authority would turn up and say that there had been such a thing as the problem of the unification of Togoland, but the problem really had been solved, and there was nothing to be done about it any more. He would tell the Council that the constitution of the Gold Coast, a British colony, had raised that colony to such a degree of self-government as to warrant it receiving the appellation of "independence", and that in that constitution of the Gold Coast a niche had been prepared for Togoland under United Kingdom Administration.

Another mine is being placed under the Trusteeship System. We are told that within the Gold Coast, Togoland can obtain independence, while through the application of the Trusteeship System, Togoland cannot become an independent and self-governing state. There is the different treatment.

I do not think that we can acquiesce in a further development of this question. The issue is crystal clear. There are enough decisions of the

Trusteeship Council and of the General Assembly. Only too often have the Administering Powers frustrated and thwarted these decisions, which call for the unification of Togoland. These decisions should be implemented, starting with the reconstitution of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs, which should consist of democratically elected representatives of the people of Togoland. These representatives could convey to us the advice and the aspirations of the people of Togoland. That Council, of course, should be reconstituted and elected on the basis of a democratic electoral system, according to the principles laid down in resolutions of the General Assembly, especially resolution 750 B (VII).

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): I think it is necessary for my delegation to state at the outset the context of the present discussion. This debate, as we see it, is on the item on the agenda entitled "The Togoland unification problem". I want to refer to our understanding of what the meaning of this item is in the context of the facts before us and the course of the debate. Secondly, and I should like to refer first to this second point, I want to take up the position as put forward by the representative of the United Kingdom and to say, here and now, that it is not the view of my delegation that the question, whatever the content of this item may be, can be disposed of so far as the Trusteeship Council is concerned at this session. The reason why we intervene in this debate is that we consider it necessary for the proceedings of the next session of the Trusteeship Council in the context of the development of events in the Trust Territory itself, and for the work of the Fourth Committee at the next session, that at each stage of the development of events in the Territory there should be a consideration of them.

Furthermore, we have the evidence given by three representatives, the criticism of that evidence, and also the petitions that have been received in regard to this problem, and therefore, we want to make it clear that we are not differing in substance on the proposition put forward by the Administering Authority, which, I say with great respect, from the point of view of the legalities involved in the Trusteeship Agreement, the practical positions concerned in the situation, as well as the responsibilities of the United Nations in regard to the Trust Territories, is entirely on correct lines. Therefore, we do not intend that anything we say should be regarded as a final expression of views on the future of the Trust Territories concerned.

Now I come to the next aspect. The item is called "The Togoland unification problem". From these words it would appear that we are discussing something that has been decided by the General Assembly, that there should be a unification and that the future of these Territories lies in the direction of unification. I have studied these resolutions, the evidence that has been marshalled before the Commission from 1947 onwards, and I have also had an opportunity to look at the papers before the Mandates Commission in regard to these Territories. I am not ~~suggesting~~ an amendment of the title of this item -- I have no right to do so -- but from all this it is my understanding that we are dealing with the future of these Trust Territories, and that that future can lie in several directions. That is what we are discussing and, therefore, the Togoland unification problem should, so to say, metaphorically appear in inverted commas. Otherwise, it means that it may be regarded that the General Assembly has already, prima facie, or even in principle, come to a decision on this matter and that we are only discussing the mechanism. That is not the situation, and I shall refer to this problem when we discuss the resolutions of the General Assembly.

There are many resolutions, but the one that is most relevant is resolution 750 (VIII), adopted at the last session. If the Council will look at this resolution, it will be seen, and this has been pointed out several times, that it consists of three sections. The first section deals with the setting up of a Joint Council, the second with the electoral system, and the third with changes in the Gold Coast constitution. This last section throws a significant light upon the fact that this item on the agenda refers not to a settled fact, but to the future of a Trust Territory, particularly in relation to the constitutional developments that may take place in a neighbouring area.

With regard to the Joint Council, there is no doubt at all that the General Assembly, from a study of the information it had received and in its wisdom at that time, resolved that this Joint Council should be set up. It stated that the Joint Council should be set up on the basis of universal suffrage; that is to say, it should be broad-based, but I cannot see anything in this resolution regarding proportional representation between these two Territories. If Western Togoland and Eastern Togoland are to have representatives on this Joint Council in the proportion of their populations, then it appears to me that if there is an opinion

in French administered Togoland in one direction, that would dominate the other section, and that would be entirely contrary to the whole basis on which even the United Nations is based.

We are a country of 365 million people. There are countries in the United Nations with a population of a quarter of a million. We have one vote like the others. On the basis of proportional representation, we really should have 1,200 votes, far too many for us to carry. One is bad enough. A joint council is not a representative council, it is a joint council which aims at a union of two parts. Obviously it could be argued that while this problem may well not have been in mind at that time, if the General Assembly had discussed the question, the question would at once have arisen, how best could the equitable representation of the two Territories be kept.

Otherwise, it would be deciding in a way that a minority opinion that would be represented there, on account of the smaller population in Western Togoland, would be completely overwhelmed by the other one.

At any rate, in this session of the Trusteeship Council we are faced with a new factor. We have reports from the two Administering Authorities -- and I want to say at once, without any disrespect to the Administering Authorities, that it is our duty to take the report of an Administering Authority with reservations and to take into consideration all the facts. For the moment, however, they are the people who have been asked to report -- and both Administering Authorities have reported on the difficulties, or almost the impossibility, of setting up this Joint Council.

We have had witnesses before us, and those witnesses have also pointed to the limitations in which the Joint Council can work.

We ourselves believe that any joint arrangement between two territories -- whether Trust Territories, independent countries or parts of any kind of fraternity -- is all to the good because it would solve so many problems. As one of the witnesses said yesterday, if a Joint Council were to consider questions of customs or of traffic or movements between the two countries, that would be an excellent idea.

However, I do not feel that we are competent to revise the resolution, and all we can therefore do is to report to the Assembly the situation as we find it, the steps that have been taken by the Administering Authority, and the fact, as the representative of the Soviet Union pointed out a while ago, that this Joint Council has not been established. It will be for the Assembly in its wisdom, in those circumstances, to reinterpret this resolution and say exactly what it means as regards the Joint Council. I can see a Joint Council arising even if, as some of the members of the Council may desire and as some of the witnesses may desire, Western Togoland becomes part of a Gold Coast State in the future.

The third part of the resolution deals with the changes in the Gold Coast constitution, and I ask the indulgence of the Council while I read from the resolution:

"The General Assembly requests the Trusteeship Council, at its thirteenth session, to re-examine in all aspects the problem of achieving in the two Trust Territories the basic objectives of the International Trusteeship System as set forth in Article 76 of the Charter" -- that is what we are asked to do, and it is on that basis presumably that this heading has been put down -- "and, in particular, the progressive development of the inhabitants toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the Territories and their peoples and their freely expressed wishes, having particular regard to the special circumstances created by the constitutional and political situation in the Gold Coast as it affects both Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration." It does not say here: "as it affects this problem of unification as such".

That is what we are discussing, then. With that background, I would ask permission to go very briefly into the history of this matter. I think it will stand reiteration, particularly coming from a delegation like ours, which cannot be accused of having any kind of reservation in appreciating fully the significance of nationalism and national movements. We are believers in territorial nationalism. It is under that aspect that we examine this problem, and we find that, as has happened in the greater part of Africa, the present situation and the present difficulties are the results of the incursions of Western imperialisms on African territory. These boundaries, these problems, are the results of conquest in the past and afterward a settlement at the Peace Conference. Even the name of the Territory has arisen in that way. In 1884, Germans entered Africa and, without having any regard to the tribal unities and the social structure and the configurations existing at that time, drew boundaries which constituted political units. Then came the war, and the consequent changes that came about had nothing to do with the will of these peoples at all. It was very much like the wars that were waged in India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a result of wars between France and Britain, as a result of conflicts between the metropolitan Powers on the continent of Europe. When the Allies were fighting Germany in the First World War, naturally, according to the laws of war and international practice, all its possessions also came under attack -- and that is how the Mandate System originally arose.

We believe that the Trusteeship Council, in examining these problems, can never be unmindful of the background or the origin of the Trusteeship System itself. We cannot look upon these Territories as though they were Territories that had come under tutelage or under supervision or under the administration of the metropolitan countries only with the founding of the Trusteeship System.

In regard to West Africa, the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference decided on 6 May 1919 that France and Great Britain should make a joint recommendation concerning Togoland and the Cameroons, and these Powers took advantage of the occasion "to rectify some of the obnoxious diplomatic boundaries" in favour of ethnic claims. Therefore, even at that time, the international view was that ethnic claims would be taken into account.

In the records of the Permanent Mandates Commission V, page 42, the distinguished delegate of France stated that in Togoland "the British mandated territory was composed of precisely those tribes which formerly were more or less intimately connected with the tribes of the Gold Coast".

Now, that was the statement of the distinguished delegate of France -- and that, of course, would express only the point of view either of the French or of the Administering Powers.

Then we come to a statement of the view of the Mandates Commission:

"Sir Frederick Lugard" -- of the Mandates Commission -- "pointed out that the reason why a mandate had been conferred upon Great Britain in respect of these small areas in Togoland was in order to reunite portions of tribes which had been cut in half by the previous political boundary between the Gold Coast and German Togoland."

In fact, it was a remedying of the situation created by the German conquest.

Then a joint recommendation was made by the British and French Governments as to these Territories. Their declaration, which was made before the Council on the initiative, I believe, of President Wilson, was as follows:

"The two Governments, animated with the desire to arrive at a mutual understanding, have come to the conclusion that the plan which they ought to recommend to the League of Nations is that the territories of Togo and the Cameroons should be placed under a mandate, but that the terms of the mandate should take into account, firstly, the interests of the natives, up till now artificially separated from the areas occupied by people of the same race... and, secondly, the peculiar features of the areas to which the mandates will apply, particularly the administrative difficulties..."

Those are the two relevant documents in this matter.

We then come to a later stage, when the rectification of boundaries took place. There was a considerable discussion, and the main statement in this matter was made by the representative of Spain, which at that time was a democratic country. In this connexion, the minutes of the fourteenth session of the Permanent Mandates Commission, held from 26 October to 13 November 1928, read as follows:

"Mr. Palacios said that the same question of the unity of the tribes arose as regards the territory and also in connexion with the delimitation of the frontiers. On page 65 of the report reference was made to the work of a Delimitation Commission concerning the frontiers between Togoland under British and Togoland under French mandate. Reference has been made to this work of delimitation on several occasions and also to the arrangements of 1914-18 and the Milner-Simon Agreement of 1919. The Press and public opinion had often criticized the boundary line on the ground that, when it had been traced, sufficient account had not been taken of natural considerations such as divisions of language, race, tribe, local custom, etc., in connexion with which the requirements of justice were more important than the convenience of the Powers."

The British view was stated by Sir Ranford Slater, who said:

"It had been hoped that, as a result of the war and of the subsequent division of Togoland, it would be possible to eliminate entirely any division of the tribes." -- That was the problem that would be achieved, certainly in the northern territory where the Dagombas, who had been divided during French administration, came together again. -- "As far as the northern section of Togoland was concerned, he believed that the division of territory had been successful in this respect, but he could not pretend that all the tribes in the southern section were satisfied." -- Of which we have evidence in the agitation and the representations that have been made for Ewe unification.-- "It was, however, the British Government's policy to restrain the tribes from re-opening questions which must be regarded as having been finally settled in 1919 and 1922, and he had always presumed that it would be improper for the local government to do so."

The boundary was modified by the Protocol of 21 October 1929.

As one would expect, the view of the Administering Authority in regard to the British-administered Territory has undergone a change in these years corresponding to the changes in its policy towards West Africa. We very much regret that we cannot say the same thing with regard to the other Togoland. There, already, it is not correct to say that it is the Administering Authority's point of view that was put forward in the representations made by the gentlemen who came before us. Our delegation is entirely prepared to accept their bona fides and the genuineness of their position. We are entirely prepared to accept their reasons why their point of view has not been put before us in the past. But that does not mean that my delegation is prepared to accept the position that there are no other views held on this question. We can start with the point that what we are really discussing is the future of these two Trust Territories.

It so happens that the Trusteeship Council had this problem before it from 1947 onwards. In 1947, it came up before us as a problem of Ewe unification. The witnesses told us that ^{of} some 300,000 of the Ewe tribes in the south as well as in

the Gold Coast Territory, about 137,000 or so were in British-administered territory and 175,000 in French-administered territory. Therefore, at present, taking account of the fact of the administration of these trust areas as part of the metropolitan countries, nearly half a million of these people are in one part and less than 200,000 of these people are in the other.

The Visiting Mission of 1949 makes this observation:

"...the Mission felt that it was its duty to point out that the problem had attained the force and dimensions of a nationalistic movement and that a solution should be sought with urgency in the interest of peace and stability in that part of the world."

That observation really means more than what appears in these words because it came in the confusion that had been created by the way this item had always been worded. We had always put this down as the Ewe and Togoland unification problem. What the Assembly was discussing in 1949 and what the Mission was considering was the agitation and the demand for Ewe unification. It had always appeared before us as the Ewe and Togoland unification, and they said that it had reached the stage of a national movement.

There is no doubt of the desire in the minds of the Ewe people, as we would expect -- as indeed happens in the case of the Dagombas -- for their Territory to be united and, if it is at all possible, to persuade the Administering Authority to give up that part of Ewe territory which is in the French area. That could have been done but it raises other problems.

The point that my delegation wants to make is that it is not sufficient to dismiss the whole of this problem by talking about Togoland unification. We have to look into the content of it. From the records and such information as one has gathered, it appears that it has come here first in the way of Ewe unification. So far as the British Territory is concerned, the problem in the north has always been accepted as a settled fact. Apparently the populations, even from the early days before the First World War, had been agitating in the direction of a movement towards the West. Finally, as a result of the war, they were reunited and they were very happy.

In the memorandum from the All-Ewe Conference on the future of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship, the following is stated:

"Since 1946 the Ewes have started the demand for unification of their people arbitrarily divided into three, namely: " -- that is what has been called the Togoland unification problem as though it were interchangeable -- "Ewes in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship, Ewes under French Trusteeship and Ewes in the south-eastern part of the Gold Coast..."

"There and then the Administering Authority misdirected the Ewe unification demand (the demand for the unification of people of the same language, custom, culture, etc.) to Togoland unification demand" -- this is the All-Ewe Conference that is saying this --

"(demand for territorial unification with no regard to tribal unity and customary allegiances dear to Africans)..."

I speak subject to correction and I do not want either the representative of the United Kingdom or the representative of France to misunderstand my position. It appears that, at that time the metropolitan territories were probably considering or at any rate allowing their minds to work upon the idea of Togoland unification in the sense that it is put forward here. They were in favour of it. The memorandum continues as follows:

"The All-Ewe Conference is well aware that Togoland and the Gold Coast are involved in two serious tribal unification problems: one in the South affecting Ewes, the most important tribe in the area, and the other in the North affecting Dagombas, also the most important tribe in that area. These problems are equal in importance and, we believe, should be given equal consideration irrespective of their respective territorial expansion..." (T/PET.5/L.11/Add.2, page 5)

We come now to a more advanced position. The Visiting Mission, in its second mission makes another note on this. It appears in paragraph 402 of the report of that Visiting Mission. It states:

"The fact that there is a desire in principle for unification of the two Togolands should not be interpreted to mean that there is wide support for any one form of unification which would be acceptable to the majority of the inhabitants of the two Territories."

In plain English it means this. There is talk about unification. There are various schemes put forward about unification, I suppose in the same way as soon after the French revolution when the various people produced pamphlets about a constitution of France at the time the Constituent Assembly was called. Thus the Visiting Mission gives us no evidence and makes no conclusion as to the overwhelming weight of opinion in this direction. It says nothing that can be called conclusive. In paragraph 422, it goes on to state the following:

"...from the examination of the large mass of material available to it, it" -- the Visiting Mission -- "is of the opinion that there is not present in the two Territories wide enough support for any particular form of unification as to warrant alteration of the existing administrative arrangements."

I would say that there is a finding by the Visiting Mission against the integration of the two Trust Territories. Against that, there is always the legitimate desire on the part of the United Nations to see all the Territories under their wardship, under the Trusteeship Agreements, attain statehood and independence. It is from that point of view that we shall have to examine this problem. This makes us at once address ourselves to the alternatives in the situation.

I said a while ago that we were considering the future of these Trust Territories. A similar problem faced the League of Nations with respect to the United Kingdom and one of its mandated territories, Iraq, somewhere in the early thirties and before Iraq was admitted to the League of Nations. The problem arose as to how a Trust Territory, a mandate, can be terminated. There were all the legal arguments involved in the matter. This is very much the same position we have to face.

My delegation has no doubt in its mind that in this part of West Africa there is no solution short of total independence and self-government for these people. We are more concerned with that aspect of it. We would have liked to hear from the representative of the United Kingdom more about the content of the constitution which, we quite appreciate, he is unable to give us at the present moment.

Very much of this future depends on the new constitution of the Gold Coast, whether in fact it embodies in itself that quality, that volume and the attributes of self-government which make it an independent State like anyone of ours. Therefore, the resolution, having had that in mind, refers to that part of the problem.

What are the other alternatives if we consider it from this point of view, that is, the termination of the Trust by the United Kingdom so far as this place is concerned -- and its alteration has to be considered? Neither the Trusteeship Council nor the United Nations should be in the position of having to meet a new situation without either political or mental preparedness for it. We can therefore ask ourselves what are the alternatives. Western Togoland can become a self-governing Territory along with and as an integral part of the Gold Coast. By integral part I mean an integral part in the terms of what Prime Minister Nkrumah said. He said:

"If you want to come in with us, you have to come in with us for good and all. You cannot be in and out at the same time."

That is the position with regard to most of our constitutions -- most but not all.

The United States fought a war to decide this issue: whether parts of a Territory can go out or not. In our Constitution we do not permit any Territory to go out once they have come in. They have the right to accede, but once they have come in they are part of the State. It is necessary for our survival. In the present state of the world we cannot have sovereign States as a kind of social club where you can resign at any time you like. That is the position that is put forward. Thus, when we talk about integral territory it is not integration in the sense of a merger or amalgamation, but it is a voluntary union which is regarded as being common to all parties that join in the union. That is one alternative, and that alternative, so far as we are concerned -- and I venture to believe that it is the same in the minds of a great number of Members of the United Nations -- when the matter comes up before it for discussion will very much turn upon the content of the Gold Coast Constitution because the future is decided by two

considerations: self-government, independence of the people and their interests.

It is the desire of all of us, whether Administering Authorities or others, whether we are ex-colonials or not, to see the people of these Territories obtain self-government. The first of these alternatives, therefore, will very much be governed by that situation. The second alternative -- that is the position which I have just set out -- is also in the first paragraph of the Preamble of Article 73 of the Charter:

"Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation ..."

The second alternative is to administer this Territory as a separate Territory, a separate area from the Gold Coast -- that is to say, so alter the Trusteeship Agreement as to take out the words "administered as an integral part" or whatever the phraseology is because it is quite obvious that Western Togoland cannot be administered as though it is a county of the United Kingdom. It could only be administered as a part of a Territory in Africa; if there is a part of a Territory in Africa, it follows reasonably that it must be part of the adjacent or contiguous Territory. Now that Territory is the Gold Coast. If the Gold Coast is independent, would it not be an inroad on that independence for the Metropolitan Country to try to administer a part of it or another part of it as an integral part of the Gold Coast? Thus, the second part, which means the continuance of the United Kingdom as the Administering Authority, is faced with the following situations.

First, the independence of the Gold Coast. We must consider the changes that come about in the relations with the Gold Coast, which is a State on its own, and the United Kingdom, which is a former ruler of that Territory but is now the Administering Authority in the neighbouring Territories.

It is inconceivable to me that an independent Gold Coast Government would permit the inclusion of the Metropolitan Authority into its administration. It is also inconceivable to me -- again I speak with great reserve in this matter; not mental reserves but reserves that other considerations demand -- that Prime Minister Nkrumah and his colleagues and the people of the Gold Coast would view with a great deal of appreciation and approval the idea of a United Kingdom Territory next to them which is not self-governing. Of course, the agitation for independence that already exists would continue and would increase in this Trust Territory; it would affect the stability and difficulties that beset an infant State in the Gold Coast itself.

Secondly, in this alternative one has to consider the status of Western Togoland independently administered by the Colonial Office without all the impact of self-government in the Gold Coast administered by a comparatively lower level of staff and so on, because there are only 400,000 people; it is a Territory that is not viable and its economy is so totally integrated that, if it has to be separately administered and if the Gold Coast is independent, there must be a separate Cocoa Marketing Board and everything else. That really would be what in our country in the old days used to be called "a Chief Commissioner's Province".

I do not want to be misunderstood; I do not look with enthusiasm on that prospect. It is, in its name of independence, putting them back in the condition of a squirearchy. It becomes rule by some Colonial Office officials -- no doubt very good-intentioned people but nevertheless Colonial Office people. That would be the position. This prospect is really very alarming. What is more, the Administration of the Territory would be in no enviable position because on the one hand there is the French Administering Authority which is their access to the sea /^{and} there is the independent Gold Coast Territory which would not look with kindness -- and I take the freedom to anticipate this -- on a colonial Territory, whatever it is called, next door to it, to make their own country a kind of corridor to the outside world. These are practical problems which will arise from the second alternative.

I dare not even mention the third alternative without a degree of trepidation. It is joint trusteeship of the two Metropolitan Territories of the Togolands. Condominiums have their troubles in other places and I dare not refer to that. I have no doubt at all that the reaction of the African would be: "We formally had one master; now we have two; it is what is called joint imperialism." Of course, neither one nor the other can lose face with what is called "the native" by not showing off. Thus this idea of a joint trusteeship -- and what is more, a joint trusteeship in the present circumstances, circumstances which I very much regret -- is impossible because of the view the French take of their colonial Territories as being an integral part of their own. Thus the third alternative is totally impracticable, undesirable and, indeed, ominous.

The joint trusteeship therefore being ruled out and also, ^{separate} the/trusteeship of Western Togoland by the British, having all this backwardness, the first projects itself into prominence. We make no apologies for this. If this Territory were going to be made an integral part of a British dominion, we would be the first to stand out against it. However, what we see here is the emergence of an independent African State, and we are not subscribing or in any way supporting an African State absorbing any African Territory. African imperialism or any other imperialism is as bad as European imperialism or European possession. The negation of nationalism by an African or Africans is as bad or worse -- it cannot be worse -- as a negation by anybody else. Therefore, if it is the idea that Prime Minister Nkrumah was part of a kind of African aristocracy trying to swallow up a lot of backward people -- and this seems to be an opinion which is gaining ground -- it is all the aftermath of previous imperialisms; they are to blame for this. If that were the position we would not even put this point of view forward.

Those are the three alternatives we see before us. It is in that context that we must have a further look at resolution 750.

Representatives on the Council were also either members of the Fourth Committee at that time or were present when resolution 750 came before the Assembly. I have not the record before me, but it will be recalled that this resolution 750, when it came before the Assembly, had another paragraph, which at that time lacked an adequate number to support it, but if that paragraph had remained the effect of it would have been, more or less, to rule out what we are now considering because that paragraph -- if my memory is correct -- said that the question of -- "integration" is a bad word -- the joining of these Territories before each Territory had separately attained independence must not be permitted. That was its purpose. It came before the General Assembly from the Committee and failed to get a two-thirds majority; so it was dropped. Therefore, the Assembly, in its wisdom, foresaw the situation and said, we must leave the door open. That is our position. Our position is that no kind of legalisms, no red tape, no difficulties of finding a solution, should stand in the way of the advance of peoples to self-government. We believe that the advance of people towards independence in western Togoland as an integral part, in the sense of being a voluntary portion of the Territory, in every sense part of the sovereignty of the Gold Coast state -- which, in due course, will become a Member of the United Nations -- is a factor which will have a very dynamic influence upon the whole of Africa. It will have a very great influence upon the aspect of the French Colonial Empire in the African territory; and it is a factor that moves us very deeply.

I believe that the mergence and independence of these peoples by becoming responsible for their own government and having their own voices heard in the United Nations -- the western Ewe an independent and the eastern Ewe not an independent -- would be a factor that would gravitate towards making the eastern Ewe an independent.

We do not rule out at any time other solutions. It may be that between now and the meeting of the Fourth Committee French Togoland will advance towards independence. There may be a revision the idea that they should be an integral part of the metropolitan territory. It may be that there will be

changes in North Africa or certain parts of Asia which will move in that direction and, therefore, if present French Togoland, or any other territory in the context of its independence, wants to make administrative unions, as have been made in other places in Africa, or wants to favour other constitutions, that will be an act of a sovereign state. All we would say is that at the present moment we have to bear in mind that we are likely soon to be faced with the problem of the establishment of its independence by the Gold Coast -- as soon as it establish its independence it will. I want to take this opportunity, with the greatest respect, of urging upon the representative of the United Kingdom, for the information of his Government, that very much turns upon this and I do hope that nothing will happen in his country which will act as a brake upon this progress towards full independence. I am glad that Sir Alan Burns and I would not like to charge him with reassurance because I do not want to make difficulties between him and his Government, but he has said here that he has agreed completely with the representative of El Salvador, who observed in our general debate on the Territory that the important element must be the expression of the genuine desire of the people. My delegation has also taken that view and has so stated it.

Having said all this, there is one factor which the Trusteeship Council, and ultimately the General Assembly, cannot overlook. That is, that these Territories are held under Trusteeship Agreements as part of the provisions of the Charter. Therefore, while the elections that take place in the Gold Coast -- about which I should like to say a word or two later in view of the observations made before -- would, as the representative of the United Kingdom has mentioned as his opinion, and with which we concur, certainly have an influence, they cannot be constitutionally a determining factor because we would be setting a precedent which might have other difficulties. We would certainly take into account how the people in the Territory voted.

We have been told that the political parties are going to put forward this idea -- what has been called here integration and independence -- as part of their platforms. But obviously, the other people will also come out with

their platforms, and I cannot understand the argument as to how the Administering Authority can either promote this campaign or prevent it. If the Convention Peoples Party puts it forward as a plank to its platform, obviously the Togolese Congress, if it is still opposed, will come out in opposition. We ourselves would not be in favour of the British Authority in Togoland intervening in the free elections in that Territory. We should look upon that with a great deal of suspicion, and I am sure it is a circumstance which is not likely to arise.

The governing party in an independent country, or a pro-independent country, is not a factor of illegal, undue, or unwarranted interference. It is the experience of all parliamentary democracies that the government of a country has one facet as a government and another facet as a majority political party. Therefore, it is to be regarded as quite right and proper that the governing party in the Gold Coast and western Togoland should be free to campaign and to put forward its point of view. What it is not proper to do is to suppress freedom for its opponents, or in any way to distort the opinion of its opponents. We have the assurance of the Visiting Mission that there is no limitation on the expression of political opinions in this case; in fact, the Mission said that anybody at all came and put forward a point of view to its members. Therefore, if the Visiting Mission, which is not part of the Administering Authority and not part of the Prime Minister's Government, in a context that is entirely different, has found a free expression of opinion in the place, I think it would be a little ungracious on our part, as a part of the United Nations, to make observations in this Council -- which will be telegraphed all over the Gold Coast -- as though we had some doubts with regard to political organizations in the Territory, particularly on the eve of an election. We should like to say that we disassociate ourselves from any observations of that character. Therefore, the elections held on this basis would not be a determining factor; but they would be a factor of considerable influence. Then, with those factors before us, and the situation which the Administering Authority will have to face as to its own future in the area, at the next session of the Council or perhaps

at the Fourth Committee, the final question would arise as to what is to be done with regard to the future of the Territory. It is at that time, as has been said by the witnesses and implied or stated by the representative of the United Kingdom himself, that some machinery, some technique, some mechanism of assessment of opinion will have to be discovered. This is not at all an argument for leaving the population of Eastern Togoland -- I do not expect the Administering Authority to agree with this -- in what some of us regard as a comparatively backward position. We believe that it is one of the vicissitudes of our existence that these differences appear, but we are not prepared to subscribe to the theory that in self-government on a continent we have to go by the pace of the slowest. We believe that assisting the pace of the others would, in the end, affect the pace of the slow as well.

The problem of eastern Togoland will be posed to us in a much sharper way, and the question of its total independence, not as part of the French Union --

I entirely agree, is only another name for the French Colonial Empire -- would not be cast in its present context. Therefore, for all these reasons, I would submit that the view of my delegation is that we have made some advance on this problem; more facts have come before us.

Whatever have been the limitations of this presentation, we have tried to point out that we must examine the content of these words "Togoland Unification" and also examine, by way of content, exactly what the United Nations has been presented with, and what it has been examining in the past, and not confuse the issue of Ewe Unification with the unification of the two Trust Territories.

Finally, my delegation and my Government are keeping our minds open on this matter. We believe that the General Assembly, by the rejection of that particular paragraph and by casting its resolution 750 (VIII) in that form, has already expressed that view. It has also placed a considerable emphasis on the aspect of self-government in the Gold Coast, and at the next session of the Trusteeship Council, therefore, with the situation that would then arise in the Gold Coast, both in regard of its own constitution and with regard to the views of its people on this particular issue, we would be in a better position to make a recommendation to the General Assembly.

The PRESIDENT: I have no further speakers on my list. This matter indeed seems to have been discussed exhaustively. The proposal of the representative of the United Kingdom is that further consideration of the item should be postponed to the next session. I therefore propose to put that proposal to the Council.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): I do not quite understand the significance of that proposal. May I submit that we could not postpone it in the sense as though we had not discussed it, for I hope there will be a report on what we have said. The item must still remain on the agenda of the next session. I think it should be put in that way. The item must be retained on the agenda. Otherwise, it means that we regard everything we have said as not said.

The PRESIDENT: I think that the representative of India can be quite sure of the matter. I agree with him. I have never particularly liked the heading "Togoland unification problem", but I understand that it was settled by the Fourth Committee and it seems to be binding on us. But we will still have on the agenda for the next session the General Assembly resolutions and the hearing of petitioners. It will therefore be apparent from our records that we have discussed this matter fully. Thus the proposal is -- and the representative of the United Kingdom can correct me if I am wrong -- that after this discussion, and having heard the petitioners, further consideration of this particular item should be postponed until the next session. I think that meets the point of the representative of India.

Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom): Yes, that is exactly my idea. I put my proposal forward when there was no other speaker and it seemed to me that the debate had come to an end. I simply suggested that as we would be in a better position -- as had been appreciated by some of the speakers -- to give that indication of the wishes of the people at the next session, it would be better to wait until then before we proceeded.

Mr. ASHA (Syria): I made a few requests at the end of my intervention today. I heard the reply of the representative of France and I would like to hear the views of the representative of the United Kingdom.

The PRESIDENT: I heard the representative of France, but I did not understand him as agreeing to a special visiting mission. I listened, of course, to the proposals of the representative of Syria, but I do not pretend that they are firmly in my mind. There are various matters which he did raise. If the representative of the United Kingdom cares to comment on them, of course the Council will be glad to hear him. I have not treated the observations of the representative of Syria as a proposal.

Mr. ASHA (Syria): Mr. President, you are quite correct. I have made no formal proposal. But the representative of the United Kingdom made a statement yesterday with regard to some of the points I raised. The representative of France likewise made some statements; he accepted some points and he was unable to do anything for the others. I wanted to hear the views of the representative of the United Kingdom with regard to some of the points on which he has not made an observation, if he cares to make it. If he does not care to do so, I will not insist.

The PRESIDENT: It is, of course, a matter entirely for the representative of the United Kingdom to decide.

Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom): I am always most reluctant to speak in this Council even on matters of procedure, but I am quite ready to reply to any point. It is not very clear to me what the representative of Syria wishes me to speak about. I made our position perfectly clear, I think, in my opening statement and again subsequently. If he would like to ask me any question, I would be glad to reply to it, if I can do so.

Mr. ASHA (Syria): There are two points. The first point is whether the Administering Authority in British Togoland intends to do something about the re-establishment of the Joint Council. Secondly, what are the views of his delegation on the question of the visiting mission?

Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom): On the question of the Joint Council, I dealt with that very fully in my opening statement. If the representative of Syria would look at it, he will find that I gave my views very fully on that.

The PRESIDENT: I think it will now be proper for me to put this proposal, which ensues after this debate and after hearing the petitioners, to the Council.

I note that the representative of the Soviet Union has asked to speak. He has the right to speak and I am happy to call on him. However, when I ask for a vote, it is normally too late to do so.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): No, I do not think I am late, because I would like to have the text of the resolution before me.

The PRESIDENT: The proposal is that further consideration of the Togoland Unification problem be postponed until the next session of the Trusteeship Council.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): But why has this text not been circulated, if only in English?

The PRESIDENT: It is not necessary because this is a motion under rule 56 of the rules of procedure, to postpone the discussion of the question to a certain day or indefinitely, and it is not the custom, in my opinion, for such a proposal to be put in writing. I have sat in many Committees of this Organization and no such proposal, in my experience, has been lodged in writing, or very rarely.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): I think we have an agreement on the idea of what we are voting on but not quite so much as to the form of it. We would be happy if the proposal were to state that this item would be on the agenda of the next session or that the further consideration of this problem will be had at the next session. I do not want to see the word "postponement".

The PRESIDENT: It is a matter for the representative of the United Kingdom, subject to what he may say. The proposal would be as follows: Further consideration of the Togoland Unification problem will be adjourned until the next session of the Trusteeship Council.

Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom): I am in perfect agreement with that wording.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the proposal that further consideration of the Togoland Unification problem be adjourned to the next session of the Trusteeship Council.

The proposal was adopted by 11 votes to 1.

The meeting was suspended at 4.20 p.m. and was resumed at 4.40 p.m.

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF TANGANYIKA (T/1091, T/L.419)

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT (T/1083) [Agenda item 3a]
- (b) PETITIONS (T/PET.2/L.2, 3) [Agenda item 4]

Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom): Mr. Grattan-Bellew, who is Attorney-General and a member of the Executive Council of Togoland for Local Affairs, is now here as special representative for Tanganyika and is prepared to make a statement to the Council if the President will be good enough to invite him to the table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Grattan-Bellew, special representative for the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, took a seat at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: I wish to assure Mr. Grattan-Bellew, on behalf of the Council, that we are happy to have him here and that we shall listen with close attention to his statement from which, I am sure, we shall all derive value.

Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative): First may I thank you, Mr. President, for welcoming me here. Secondly, I should like to convey to you and to the Council the regrets of Sir John Lamb that he is unable to be present at this session. It is, I think, the first time since the Council came into being that the Tanganyika report has not been presented by him. His doctors have told him that it is not advisable for him to undertake the journey to New York. However, it is hoped that when the 1953 annual report on Tanganyika is being considered he will be well enough to come here once again as the special representative.

Before I left Dar es Salaam he asked me to convey his regards to his friends on this Council and in the Secretariat, and to say that he is looking forward to meeting the members of the Visiting Mission when they come to Tanganyika during the course of this year. He hopes that he will be able to visit parts of the Territory with them.

There is little that I can add to the report which is before the Council, but as it is now more than a year old I propose, as well as emphasizing some of the matters mentioned in it, to refer briefly to some of the changes and developments that have taken place since the end of 1952.

During the course of 1953 provision was made in the Tanganyika (Legislative Council) Order in Council for the Legislative Council to be presided over by a Speaker. One of the leading unofficial members of the council has been appointed and has assumed his duties. The report of the Special Commissioner on constitutional development has been widely circulated throughout the Territory, although it is, perhaps, a matter for disappointment that this report did not arouse more local interest and controversy. The Legislative Council has recently signified its approval in general of its recommendations, and the report is being carefully considered by the Administering Authority and the Government of Tanganyika; it is probable that a public announcement will be made shortly indicating the changes which it is proposed to make in regard to the Legislative Council.

A comprehensive Local Government Ordinance was enacted towards the end of 1953 implementing the recommendations of the Special Commissioner in connexion with the setting up of county councils, town councils and local councils. It was the intention to establish, about January 1954, at least one country council and several town councils, and, dependent upon the reactions of the local people, some local councils. But when proposals were made on these lines opposition became apparent in an unexpected quarter. It was proposed to form a Kilimanjaro County Council embracing the Moshi district. This would have been an inter-racial body consisting of Africans, Asians and Europeans, and, as the area is a progressive one with considerable wealth and notable for good racial relations, it was thought that the task would not be unduly difficult and that it would be accomplished comparatively quickly. However, the Chagga viewed the proposal with suspicion, if not with distrust. Their attitude, which although mistaken is understandable, is that they have under their tribal constitution elected a Chagga Council and a chief, and they see no advantage at this stage in superimposing on this set-up the proposed county council. Their own tribal council seems to them to be operating well, and they are satisfied with their chief.

Views so strongly expressed by one of our most progressive tribes clearly cannot be ignored and simply brushed aside. To try to do so would be the surest way of forfeiting their co-operation and goodwill which is essential if any progress is to be made.

It may not always be proper, if true regard is to be had to the best interests of the Territory and its inhabitants, to allow action to be delayed by the expression of views based on inexperience or a desire to cling to tribal custom and tradition, but in the view of the Administering Authority it is of particular importance in such vital matters as constitutional development to carry the mass of the people with us; our policy is not to bring any changes into effect until every possible endeavour has been made to secure the full and willing co-operation of the people.

If the first of the proposed new local government bodies to be established were to fail for lack of such co-operation, it might well set back the development of local government for a considerable time.

Frustrating as it may be, particularly to those responsible for framing the legislation and preparing for further development, there seems no alternative but to postpone the setting up of this county council and to try to convince the people of the advantages and benefits which should follow its establishment. This it is proposed to do by setting up an inter-racial advisory and consultative body for the Moshi district on which it is hoped several members of the Chagga Council will sit -- the body to be, in effect, a "shadow" county council which will be transformed as soon as possible into a full statutory county council.

Sukumaland in the Lake Province has also been chosen for a prospective county council. Again, an inter-racial body is being set up as a "shadow" county council, but here the fact that the area is vast and contains about a million persons makes the task a formidable one.

The town of Tanga has not yet become a municipality. This is partly because the township authority could not be given an autonomous status until the rating valuation roll had been completed, which took longer than was anticipated, and also because a section of the townspeople who have studied the new Local Government Ordinance, 1953, are inclined to the opinion that the status of an autonomous town council under that Ordinance would perhaps be better suited to a town the size of Tanga than the status of a municipality. There is every reason to expect that, by July next, Tanga will have become either a municipality or an autonomous township.

It is also proposed to establish before the end of the year town councils at Mwanza, Arusha and Moshi, although in the case of Moshi some local opposition has recently arisen to any early change in the status of the town.

Finally on this subject, the setting up of local councils to replace the administrative and executive functions of Native Authorities has been pursued. In many areas, district councils and district teams have been expanded by co-opting on to them leading members of the community, regardless of race, with a view to their meeting and freely discussing the problems which would arise if they were in fact a statutory local council. Marked success has been obtained in certain areas, particularly in the district of Newala in the Southern Province, where in a "shadow" local council, Africans, Asians and Europeans have lively debates and make recommendations on matters of local interest. The population of Newala is about 150,000, and it may well be that the first of the new local councils will be set up in this area.

As regards the Territory's general development, again the Administering Authority does not claim to have performed miracles, but, as is shown by the annual report now before the Council, steady and sound progress has been made in all spheres. It is the Administering Authority's policy to ensure that development should be balanced so that the Territory and its inhabitants will become not only politically independent but also financially and economically

independent. This balance cannot be achieved if unco-ordinated enthusiasms result in the growth and expansion of social services out-running the Territory's economic capacity to maintain them.

The chapters of the report dealing with public health give the details of the progress made during 1952. The more notable items are perhaps the completion of the new buildings at the tuberculosis hospital at Kibongoto, which comprises wards for 240 beds and ancillary buildings, and the new hospital at Korogwe, with 100 beds; in addition, the accommodation and facilities in many existing hospitals were increased. Further expansion of medical services, whether curative or preventive, must largely be governed by the extent to which Africans and other local inhabitants can qualify to take their place in medicine. During 1953, 17 medical assistants, 79 nurses, 35 midwives and some 45 other medical personnel completed their training and became qualified locally. Further, there are at present 7 African medical students from Tanganyika at Makerere College.

The health training centre at Kongwa and the school for health nursing at Tukuyu, which were opened in January 1952, have proved satisfactory as training centres. During 1953, the accommodation at the medical training centre for rural medical aides at Mwanza was doubled and plans have been made for the building of a hostel to accommodate midwifery and nursing students in Dar es Salaam, which is the first phase of a programme to provide a training school for 500 students.

The fulfilment of the ten-year education plan is proceeding. The number of children enrolled in primary schools is steadily increasing and, if the present rate of increase is maintained, the target set for 1956 will be reached before that date. The development of the primary schools is the foundation of all educational development, and in consequence must continue to be an important feature of the Department. Continuous steady progress, however, has also been made in the expansion of middle and secondary schools; that progress is now being reflected by the fact that, at the end of 1953, there were 28 students at Makerere College, 16 students at universities in England, and another 16 attending other higher training courses in the United Kingdom and elsewhere.

Seven African girls sat for the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate examination in December 1953. The results are not yet to hand, but it is hoped

that at least some of those who may have passed will proceed to higher education.

Three new Grade II teacher-training centres were opened during 1953, and, by the end of the year, there were 1,655 persons under training as teachers in Government or voluntary agency training centres. Nine African women students completed the professional Grade I teacher-training course and will, in 1954, take over work which had been done previously by staff recruited from overseas.

Co-operative societies have an important part to play in the Territory's development. At the end of 1952, there were 152 societies registered and operating with an average turnover of about £3 3/4 million; by the end of 1953, 198 societies were on the register. The Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union illustrates the extent to which some of these co-operative societies have grown. During 1952, their new headquarters building in Moshi, costing £100,000, was opened; these premises rival the offices of large business concerns. During recent years, this Co-operative Union and a similar one in Bukoba have at their own expense sent 13 students to the United Kingdom to study co-operative methods.

The year 1952 was not a favourable one for the agriculturist, and this, together with the failure of the rains in 1953, caused a food shortage in some areas. But the Grain Storage Department, set up some three years previously, had acquired and stored about 38,000 tons of local grain, which went a long way to relieve the situation and reduced the amount of grain which would otherwise have had to be imported at high prices. The new method of underground pit storage employed by the Department has proved successful.

The plan for development of communications has proceeded satisfactorily. The port of Mtwara has been opened. Much work on the three deep-water berths at Dar es Salaam has been done, and there is every prospect that one of the berths will be finished before the end of the year.

The 120-mile Namanga-Arusha-Moshi road has been completed. The new Dar es Salaam-Morogoro road, approximately 120 miles, should be in use by the time I return to Tanganyika.

Much work has been done on the Tanga-Korogwe road, and a considerable length of it is now complete; on the Morogoro-Iringa road, in spite of the very difficult terrain through which it has to pass, considerable progress has been made.

Continued progress has been made by the Water Development Department. During 1953, in the Northern, Western and Southern Provinces several dams for the storage of surface water were completed. In other places, good progress has been made in hand-built dams. The consequent increase in impounded capacity was 1000 acre-feet. Captain M. Symanski, an expert whose services were made available by the Food and Agriculture Organisation, has completed an initial survey of the Rufiji river basin and his report is now awaited. It is hoped that he will return to Tanganyika in 1954.

It is usual to illustrate a territory's progress by reference to the balance of trade. The figures for 1952 were satisfactory and show a favourable balance of approximately £10 million, total imports being just over £37 million and total exports just over £47 million.

The Territory's steady development is also reflected in other returns; for example, deposits in the Post Office Savings Bank have shown a steady rise over the past ten years or more, and at the end of 1952 stood at the figure of £2,140,000. Although figures are not yet available for 1953, it is estimated that deposits will be in the neighbourhood of £2 1/4 million.

Similarly reflecting increased prosperity amongst the rural population, the balance carried forward by the Central Native Treasuries Board to 1953 was £1,180,000, and it is estimated that the amount to be carried forward to 1954 will be just under £1,400,000.

Progress is also shown by the increase in the net registered tonnage of shipping entering Tanganyika ports, which has risen steadily from about two and a quarter million in 1948 to 3,600,000 in 1952. Further, it is of interest to note that during 1952 there were imported over 53,000 bicycles as compared with 20,448 in 1951, that 4,744 ploughs were imported, making a total import of ploughs for the last three years of over 14,000; and that the post offices in Tanganyika during 1952 handled approximately 23½ million letters, as compared with 14½ million in 1948 and 7 million in 1938.

It would not be right to omit some mention of the important local development schemes which have been set up in the various parts of the Territory, and on some of which the last Visiting Mission commented favourably. There are now a number of such schemes in operation. One of the latest and most important is that in the Bukoba district of the Lake Province, which envisages an ultimate expenditure of about half a million pounds. Several other development schemes are in the course of preparation or under consideration. An important aspect in connexion with all these schemes is the ever-increasing extent to which the people themselves, through their own Native Treasuries, are providing the funds for development; in several districts development schemes financed solely from native treasury funds are in operation.

Taking the concept of popular participation in such schemes a step further, efforts are being directed towards getting the African to play a more important and personal part in local development, and to give him a personal share in the fruits of the development. A start has already been made with the establishment of tenant farmers under one of the Overseas Food Corporation schemes. Other experiments in view include personal financial interests in water development schemes, such as the Makonde Scheme, and the planting of wattle, sisal or sugar cane to be processed in a factory owned either by a private company or by a co-operative society. If these experiments proceed and prove successful, they may well mean the start of a new epoch in the development of Tanganyika.

Some time later this year another Visiting Mission will be coming to Tanganyika and will have an opportunity of seeing at first hand some of our progress and some of our problems. I would like to assure members of the Mission that they will be warmly welcomed and I trust that they will find their visit not only informative but also interesting.

The PRESIDENT: Tomorrow at 2 p.m. the Trusteeship Council will continue the examination of conditions in this Trust Territory with the questioning of the special representative.

At 10.30 a.m. tomorrow the Drafting Committee on the Cameroons under French administration will meet in Conference Room 8 and the Drafting Committee on Togoland under French administration in Conference Room 7.

The meeting rose at 5.5 p.m.