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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIX HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 29 February 1956, at 2 p.m.

President:

Mr. SEARS

(United States of America)

1. Examination of conditions in Togoland under French administration [3e, 4, 5] (continued)
2. Examination of conditions in Tanganyika [3a, 4] (continued)

Note: The Official Record of this meeting, i.e., the summary record, will appear in mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.672. Delegations may submit corrections to the summary record for incorporation in the final version which will appear in a printed volume.

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION (T/L.630);

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY FOR 1954 (T/1202, 1202/Add.1 1223 and 1232) [Agenda item 3 e]
- (b) PETITIONS CIRCULATED UNDER RULE 85, PARAGRAPH 2, OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL (T/PET.7/L.10 to 13) [Agenda item 4]
- (c) REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS VISITING MISSION TO THE TRUST TERRITORIES OF TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION AND TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION, 1955, (T/1211 and 1228) [Agenda item 5] (continued)

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Tourot, special representative for Togoland under French administration, took a place at the Trusteeship Council table.

General debate (continued)

U THAN HLA (Burma): In expressing its views on the political advancement of Togoland under French Administration, my delegation would first like to refer to the question of the association of the Territory with the French Union, a matter on which the Council made its recommendation at the fifteenth session and which the 1955 Visiting Mission has examined in its report.

A point of importance has arisen in connexion with it during the examination of conditions in Togoland under French Administration. It relates to the question of when the wishes of the people are to be ascertained in regard to their future. The Visiting Mission takes the view that the objectives of the Trusteeship System will be better achieved if the people first participate faithfully in the law-making process and thus enjoy a large measure of self-government before they decide on their future.

The representative of France said, however, in reply to a question put by the representative of Syria, that the Government of France is more optimistic than the Visiting Mission in this respect and that in view of the Territory's advancement during past years, considers that the peoples wishes can be consulted earlier. Later, during a general exchange of views on this subject

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based on the provisions in the Charter, the representative of France gave a very interesting interpretation of Article 76(b) of the Charter.

This interpretation, taken together with his reply to the representative of Syria on a matter of a specific nature pertaining to Togoland, would seem to suggest that in the opinion of the representative of France, the Trusteeship System can end before substantial legislative powers are granted to the people and they enjoy a large measure of self-government.

While my delegation will defer a detailed examination of the question until it comes up later in connexion with the future of Togoland under French administration, we feel obliged to say that in our opinion Article 76(b) of the Charter goes much further than what the representative of France appears willing to accept in this respect as an obligation under the Charter. To us the ultimate objective is self-government or independence and nothing less than that, and to us the question of whether or not the objective of the Trusteeship System has been achieved will depend on what degree of advancement has been reached in a particular territory in relation to this ultimate objective.

Regarding the reforms brought about by the law of 16 April 1955 concerning the powers of the Territorial Assembly and the Government Council, it will have to be observed that while those reforms substantially increase the powers of those two bodies in comparison with the powers given to them under the 1946 decree, the Territorial Assembly has as yet no legislative powers, though it enjoys wide deliberative powers, and that the Government Council has no executive powers and is not responsible to the Territorial Assembly which elects half of its members. The only participation which is now possible for the Territory in the legislative process is through its one representative in the French National Assembly and its two representatives in the French Council of the Republic.

The Visiting Mission has, in paragraph 66 of its report, expressed the hope the further reforms will be introduced in the next few years to elect the Territorial Assembly by direct universal suffrage, to make it a legislative body, and also to turn the Government Council into a body responsible to the Territorial Assembly. These reforms are clearly needed if the Territory is to

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emerge soon from its trusteeship status, and it is to be hoped that the French Parliament accedes to the early grant of these reforms.

Similarly, to keep in step with the reforms for the Government Council and the Territorial Assembly, there should be a progressive widening of the powers of the District Councils and a system of election by direct universal suffrage and secret ballot. Also, as regards traditional chiefdoms, no time should be lost in establishing gradually communes governed by a democratic system. The representative of France has said, in connexion with these matters, that we should proceed very carefully and very prudently. My delegation agrees that care should be exercised, but there should be no delay in the matter.

The reforms and happenings in neighbouring Togoland under British administration and the Gold Coast are bound to have their impact, and considerations of prudence would seem to require that the Administration proceed not only with care but also with haste. This would be particularly true of the South where, as a result of the political consciousness of the people, the African society is gradually losing its tribal character and the authority of the chiefs is declining.

On the question of suffrage, my remarks will be brief as I touched on this already in my earlier observations on the Territorial Assembly and the District Councils. The Visiting Mission has expressed the hope that the Administering Authority would be able to take the necessary measures to apply the system of universal and direct suffrage to all the elections in the Territory in the very near future, in particular with regard to the approaching elections to the National Assembly and to the District Councils. All that my delegation feels it necessary to say by way of a further statement on the question of suffrage is that the Visiting Mission's view has the full support of my delegation.

On the question of political liberties, the Visiting Mission has recorded some very interesting impressions. My delegation has given the latter careful consideration and agrees with the Visiting Mission that caution is really necessary in using the provisions of the law on freedom of assembly, and that, subject to proper supervision, political rallies should be able to take place without incident. My delegation also agrees with the observation that active political campaigning by agents of the Government, who are entrusted with the duty of protecting civil rights, may create misunderstanding, and that it is necessary to make it clear that any action taken by administrative and police officers is just and impartial and has no political bias. My delegation hopes that the Council will take note of these observations and recommend that appropriate measures be taken by the Administering Authority to remedy this situation, as suggested by the Visiting Mission.

Finally, reforms are necessary in the judicial organization of the Territory. Only the court at Lomé operates under normal conditions, and the justices of the peace with extended powers exercise the functions of the public prosecutor, the investigating magistrate and the trial magistrate at other places. The existing

arrangement under which those justices of the peace are placed under the supervision of the Public Prosecutor's Office in prosecuting offenders, and under the authority of the Court of Appeals in carrying out their functions as investigating magistrates does not, in the opinion of my delegation, offer adequate safeguards. In fact, the Public Prosecutor himself recognizes the need for reforms, and the Council should recommend that the Administering Authority introduce the necessary reforms that will give more substantial guarantees, as suggested by the Visiting Mission.

Turning to the economic field, my delegation is happy to note the improvement in the economic condition of the Territory. The Territory has benefited greatly from the Ten-Year-Plan ending in June of next year, and my delegation welcomes the statement of the representative of France that a second plan is now under study. My delegation believes that a second plan is necessary and proposes that the Council recommend that the Administering Authority give the earliest consideration to the introduction of the second development plan.

In agriculture, a good beginning has been made to increase production by encouraging improved cultivation methods and the use of manure and selected seeds, and by controlling plant diseases. While some progress has been made in the South, the results so far achieved in the northern part of the Territory do not seem to have gone much further than the stage of using manure. As the economy of the Territory is basically agricultural and the greater part of the indigenous population makes its living from agriculture, my delegation hopes that the Administering Authority will continue to give the promotion of agriculture a high priority in the economic development plan for the Territory.

Connected with the agricultural development plan is the system of land tenure. My delegation has listened with interest to the explanations given by the special representative and the representative of France of the existing customary forms of land tenure. The system of registration as it applies to lands held under customary rights is not complicated, involving in effect establishing the right of possession and then getting the registered title of ownership. My delegation is happy to note from the statements of the special representative that farmers in export crop areas are moving in the direction of registration, ^{that} credit obtained from the mortgage of the lands is applied to the improvement of those lands and that the Administration is proceeding as rapidly as possible in the matter of the

registration of all lands. My delegation therefore hopes that the Administration will have some good results to report in the next few years in this matter.

Regarding industry, it is at present at the beginning stage of processing some of the agricultural produce of the Territory, and the pattern of the economy is still largely one of exporting raw materials. While the expansion of industry will depend on considerations of the problems of production, costs and world prices for comparable finished products, what has so far been attempted gives my delegation hope in the possibilities of expanding the present industrial activities. Both the Council at its fifteenth session and the Visiting Mission have drawn the attention of the Administering Authority to this point, and my delegation hopes that the Administering Authority will do everything possible to give the necessary encouragement.

In this connexion, my delegation attaches an equal importance to associating the indigenous inhabitants with the industrial development of the Territory and with its trade and commerce. At present, there is not even one small indigenous enterprise in the industrial field, and the same can be said about trade and commerce where foreign trade is entirely in the hands of Europeans. Bringing the indigenous people into these spheres of the economic life of their land is a necessary part of preparing them for self-government or independence, and my delegation hopes that the Administering Authority will do everything possible to achieve this end.

In other fields of economic development, my delegation endorses the views expressed by the Visiting Mission in regard to the construction of a seaport, improvement of the communications system and the working of the phosphate deposits found in the Territory. In the last-named enterprise, my delegation hopes that, in addition to matters concerning the Administration's share in the capital and private investments from Togoland, the question of the company providing facilities for on-the-job training in technical and general managerial fields to qualified indigenous people, is also taken into consideration as a long-range measure.

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In the field of social advancement, women still have to secure their rightful place in African society. Polygamy and the bride-price system are widely practised in the Territory, and hard manual labour and an inferior position in society are still the lot of women.

The Administration has taken various measures, some practical and some quite bold. Those are all good measures, but they are of a character that remedy the situation rather than reach the root cause, which is the local custom. Women are to be educated if this root cause is to be eradicated, and the Visiting Mission's recommendation in this respect merits very careful consideration.

In the field of public health and medical treatment, the Administration is doing very good work within the limits of its present staff resources, for which it should be congratulated. It is hoped that the Administration will take every possible step to increase the strength of staff, particularly the number of doctors of medicine, and to solve the present problem in the North which arises out of reluctance of African medical personnel to go there.

In the field of labour, my delegation notes with satisfaction that orders were issued in 1954 fixing minimum hourly wages, hours of work in the railway service, conditions of employment of domestic servants and the terms of labour contracts. We hope that the draft order prepared by the Administration in respect of a system of dependents' allowances will be put into effect according to schedule.

The Visiting Mission has made some comments on the condition of the premises and management of two of the prisons and on the rehabilitation centre it visited. Corrective measures are clearly within the area of competence of the Administration and it is hoped that they will soon be taken.

Regarding educational advancement, school enrolment and attendance in respect of primary classes show a steady increase for both boys and girls. A very welcome increase is that of the number of students in the North which now stands at 30 per cent of the total. It is hoped that the Administration will intensify its efforts there and bring up the number of students to a higher figure.

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Regarding secondary education, a very small percentage -- it is less than 3 per cent -- of the total school enrolment at primary schools gets to the secondary schools, and there too the percentage of classes is not encouraging, ranging as it does from 21 to 43 for different courses. This poses quite serious problems in the matter of enabling more Togolanders to receive higher education and for training qualified African leaders in cultural, social and economic fields. The Trusteeship Council has stressed in its previous resolutions the need to accelerate the development of education, particularly at the secondary level, and it is to be hoped that the Administering Authority will give this matter its very early attention.

My delegation has referred earlier in this statement to the need for the education of women as a means of removing the social injustices imposed upon women by local custom, and in order to enable them to take their rightful place in society. My delegation regrets to note that the rate of progress in this field is anything but encouraging. It is slow in primary education and there is no improvement in secondary education. It is hoped that the Administering Authority will take early steps to improve the situation.

In the fields of awarding scholarships for higher studies abroad and improving the present programme of fundamental education, UNESCO has put forward interesting suggestions. It is hoped that these suggestions will receive the very careful consideration of the Administering Authority.

Before concluding, my delegation wishes to thank the two special representatives and the representative of France for the kind and courteous assistance they have given in the examination of the report.

Mr. ARENALES CATALAN (Guatemala)(interpretation from Spanish): The statement of my delegation on Togoland under French administration will be similar to our statement made on the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration.

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We should first like to refer to the working procedures and methods of the Trusteeship Council before we embark upon our statement. After nine years of reports of Administering Authorities, of reports of Visiting Missions, of careful examination of all the facts by Administering and non-administering Powers of resolutions adopted by the Trusteeship Council, it would be logical to assume two things. The first is that the work of the Council has been limited to the important work involved in finding out whether the resolutions of the Council and the suggestions of the various representatives have been carried out as far as possible by the Administering Authorities, bearing in mind of course that some of these resolutions or suggestions called for a certain lapse of time before they could be fully implemented. But, in general, the general approach to the problems besetting the Trust Territories are sometimes left aside. One goes into detail with regard to statistics, and one studies the step-by-step progress of a Trust Territory. Many of these over-all general problems are matters for subjective appraisal and appreciation, and sometimes they must be covered by a statement of general policy, and such statements of general policy cannot always be changed. It seems to us that the statistical labour involved and the careful supervision and effective technical criticism and study of any specific detail in the administration of a Trust Territory is important and cannot be postponed. This is the work of a parliament in any democratic system of government; this is a function which has been discharged by the Council over a period of many years, with a growing knowledge and acquaintance of the Territories and the problems confronting both the Territory and the Administering Authority.

But these essential functions of the Council can be discharged only by those who have served on the Council since its inception or who have been members of the Council for at least several years. However, it is not because Guatemala is a new member of the Council that at this time we are making a general approach to the question of French Togoland. It is because it seems to us that if one does not take advantage of the time when a delegation has a fresh outlook on the work of the Council to make such statements, this valuable opportunity may well be overlooked. Very often, the general approach is more important than,

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for instance, ascertaining a concrete fact such as whether or not the Administering Authority has built a number of new schools which the Council recommended should be built. It is not, as a matter of fact, because we feel that we may have a novel approach or that we may be able to point out new problems. These problems may well have been in the minds of representatives over the past years, but they have lost some of their acuteness because resolutions have been passed on those subjects, because declarations have been made thereon and because the Administering Authority has in fact acknowledged these resolutions and has taken steps to tackle the situation and perhaps has enacted laws to solve these problems, although we never really can know whether these problems have been solved.

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Many of the most important general problems of the people of Togoland still exist. We do not claim to be able to study or to discuss in detail the development of any Territory without first undertaking a general approach to the whole problem of the progress of the Territory. That is the spirit in which we shall consider the situation in Togoland under French administration.

In giving consideration to the field of political advancement, my delegation would like to take up the following problems: the general policy of France with regard to the destiny of Togoland under French administration, the status of Togoland within the French Union, the future of Togoland under French administration, the proposed consultation with the inhabitants of the Territory and the political status of the inhabitants of the Territory.

In considering these various aspects, I shall endeavour to distinguish between them. However, as all members are aware, these problems by their very nature are intimately interconnected. In referring to the policy of France with respect to Togoland under French administration, I shall refer to its declared purpose, the manner in which the policy is being carried out, the consequences resulting from that purpose and the steps taken to achieve it.

The representative of France, in the course of his replies to our questions on this subject, made two points with regard to general policy which he felt were not mutually exclusive. On the one hand, he stated that in fact the objective of France with regard to Trust Territories was to bring them to self-government or independence. On the other hand, he stated that it was not the purpose of the Trusteeship System to bring Trust Territories to self-government or independence but only to promote their progressive development towards these objectives.

My delegation does not wish once again to reopen a polemic debate as to the proper interpretation of a particular Article of the Charter. We do want to state, however, that we completely differ with the views advanced by the French delegation on this point. My delegation can never agree that the destiny of a Trust Territory should include the possibility of a perennial state of the status quo or that the Administering Authority should decide whether or not a people under its administration have or do not have the right to attain self-government. With due respect but with firm conviction we do want to record this disagreement.

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We should like to point out that, fortunately, the United Nations Charter has developed a statutory interpretation quite apart from any subjective interpretation. In resolution 226 (III) and in resolution 752 (VIII), the General Assembly has stated that the attainment of self-government or independence is the final objective of the Trusteeship System for each Trust Territory. A comparison of Chapter XII and Chapter XI would be illogical if we were to accept the thesis propounded by the representative of France. The logical interpretation of Article 76 b of the Charter and the words "progressive development", lead to a dynamic interpretation of the Trusteeship System. This dynamic interpretation cannot be retrogressive if we bear in mind the content of these words. It is therefore not possible for us to conclude that self-government or independence are anything but the final objective of the Trusteeship System as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

In taking up the second aspect of political advancement in the Territory, that is the status of the Territory within the French Union, my delegation would like to call certain facts to the attention of the members of the Trusteeship Council, the first of which is the following. As acknowledged by the representative of France, the international status of Togoland under French administration is not defined in the French Constitution, but is defined in the United Nations Charter and in the Trusteeship Agreement. But the representative of France also agrees that the political-juridical status of Togoland under French administration within the French Union is that of an Associate State. Nonetheless -- and this is a point that I wish to stress -- the fact remains that Togoland under French administration has been administered and is being administered as a French overseas territory and not as an Associate State.

This is the legislative system that France applies in Togoland; thus the Territory is dependant upon the executive branch of the French Government in metropolitan France.

The Administering Authority feels that this situation is justified because the Trusteeship Agreement makes it possible for Togoland under French administration to be administered as an integral part of France.

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Without discussing the limits and boundaries of what can be considered as French Territory, I would submit to the Trusteeship Council that the French Union is not an administrative union but a political union and that, therefore, Togoland under French administration is not simply being administered as part of the Territory of metropolitan France but is being governed as part of a political union. This is a circumstance that unquestionably has very serious repercussions on the development and the final destiny of the Territory and its inhabitants.

There is a second point that I should like to call to the attention of the Trusteeship Council. In reply to a question of my delegation, the representative of France stated that the major advantage that Togoland under French administration derived from its part in the French Union was that it was administered by France. The representative of France then made certain general statements which necessarily were incomplete -- a fact which we can easily understand -- in outlining several other political and material advantages which accrued to Togoland owing to the fact that it was administered by France.

My delegation understands that the Administering Authority could make very lengthy declarations dwelling on the advantages that Togoland obtained in being administered by France, and we would be the last to underestimate those advantages. However, I should like to put this question to the Trusteeship Council and to the Administering Authority: could not Togoland be administered by France outside the French Union? Could not Togoland derive the advantages which were called to our attention and which derived from its being under French administration outside the French Union rather than within the French Union?

I come now to a third point which I should like to put before the Trusteeship Council. The representative of the Administering Authority has informed us that the political-juridical status of an Associate State within the French Union was not defined in the French Constitution because all these matters could be defined under the terms of the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement. I should like to put the following question: If the political-juridical status of Togoland within the French Union is not defined and determined in the French Constitution and if it was not so done because it was going to be defined in the Trusteeship Agreement, then why administer and govern the Territory as if it were merely an overseas territory over which France claims to have absolute sovereignty.

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These are three points that I should like to put before the Trusteeship Council. On the basis of these three points, which constitute three elements of doubt in our minds, we are inclined to draw the following conclusions. It is not possible to prepare a Territory and its inhabitants for self-government or independence, making it possible for them eventually to choose their own political destiny, if they are governed and not merely administered as an integral part of a political union. Secondly, we believe that it is time for the Council to bear this situation in mind in dealing with the political advancement and destiny of Togoland under French administration, particularly with regard to the events which are to take place in the near future.

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Guatemala)

Parenthetically, I should like to assure the French delegation that in making such observations we have no other motivation than our sincere desire properly to discharge our role in the Trusteeship Council. Moreover, at no time have we passed judgment as to whether eventually it will be appropriate for Togoland to choose its destinies with regard to the French Union.

We have dwelt only upon the political status of the Territory at present. Now I should like to go to another political aspect, that of the future of the Territory and the proposed consultation with the inhabitants on that score.

We have taken note of the statement made by the representative of France at the beginning of our examination of French Togoland to the effect that it is not possible for the time being to put before the Council any clear-cut proposals regarding the measures to be taken to determine the aspirations of the Togolese people with regard to their political future, and that possibly these facts will be made known later or during a session called for that purpose. That being so, we feel that it probably is not appropriate to discuss this problem in detail at the present time. We are, however, aware of the fact that the time factor does have very special repercussions on this aspect of the problem and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. For these reasons, and although we may expand upon our statements at a later time, we should like to record the following:

First, my delegation takes note with pleasure of the statement made by the representative of France to the effect that he will transmit to his Government our observation that it is not necessary to wait until the Council or the United Nations plans the formal or substantive details with regard to the consultation of the inhabitants of Togoland in order to inform them, through a publicity campaign, that they may in the near future -- without necessarily specifying the time -- be called upon to express their views and opinions as to their political future.

Secondly, my delegation is confident that the information and publicity campaign to which I have just referred will encompass all sectors of the population and will enlist all information media, bearing in mind the educational level reached by the inhabitants.

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Thirdly, we are also confident that the suggested information and publicity campaign will be couched in objective terms and that it will advise the inhabitants beforehand that they can express their views on all the alternatives submitted to them, either independence or autonomy within or without the French Union, the maintenance of the status quo for some time, or integration with other neighbouring Territories, in particular British Togoland or British Togoland and the Gold Coast -- and, in saying this, I am not expressing any opinion as to the political destinies of the two latter territories. All these alternatives should be put before the inhabitants.

With these three comments, we do not propose to pass judgment on the general problem involved, and we reserve the position of our delegation on this score. We do feel, however, that we should at this time submit four additional points to the Council and to the Administering Authority. We will dwell on these points at some later time, but they should be borne in mind now.

First, it is necessary to decide when the consultation of the inhabitants will take place.

Secondly, we should reflect upon the impact on public opinion of the circumstance and status of Togoland within the French Union. I have already referred to this point.

Thirdly, it is necessary to consider the degree of evolution of the inhabitants who are called upon to pronounce themselves on their political destinies, since the various alternatives open to them will be complex. They would seem complex even to representatives on this Council, and the inhabitants of Togoland, including a large percentage of illiterates and approximately eighty members of an educational élite, might find it very difficult, if not impossible, to understand the proposed alternatives with regard to their political destinies.

Fourthly, it is necessary to study the possibility of United Nations participation, not only in carrying out a plebiscite under the aegis and supervision of the United Nations but, more particularly, in a preparatory stage which would have an educational and informative purpose.

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I have a fifth comment: it is necessary to bear in mind the statement made by the representative of France, who, when he replied to questions put on economic matters by my delegation, stated quite frankly that the financial assistance accruing to Togoland under the FIDES would cease if the inhabitants of the Territory were to decide to pursue their political destinies outside the French Union. The inhabitants of Togoland, we were told -- I am again quoting the representative of France -- would therefore have to weigh their decision very carefully, bearing in mind these financial benefits, and they would have to weigh these factors before deciding upon their political destiny.

In the light of these last points, perhaps the United Nations should envisage the need for providing international financial assistance to the inhabitants of French Togoland if the assistance given by FIDES is to cease and if the inhabitants are well aware of this fact beforehand.

I do not want to go further in thinking out loud on the question of political advancement in French Togoland. I did, however, feel it necessary to mention certain aspects of the problem right now, and I should like to submit them to members of the Council and to the Administering Authority for their careful scrutiny. When we discuss the matter more thoroughly, I should like to return to it. For the time being, I wish to add some comments which I have already made with regard to Ruanda-Urundi.

There can be economic interdependence between two sovereign States. There can even be political interdependence when this is due to the consent of the two sovereign States involved. But political independence resting on economic independence is not genuine, nor is political independence a sound thing when it rests on economic dependence.

With regard to political matters in French Togoland, I should like now briefly to refer to the status of the inhabitants. I did not want to refer to the political and juridical status of the Togolese or their citizenship, since it seems that in the Council, when reference is made to the citizenship of the Togolese, reference is really being made to their nationality, and I thought this might confuse matters. But if, by "citizenship", we mean the political and juridical status of an inhabitant as distinguished from his civil status and his international status or nationality, my delegation would like to express its

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satisfaction at being assured by the representative of France that in the new electoral law there will no longer be an arbitrary division into eighteen classes of voters but that all who have reached the age of twenty-one, whether literate or illiterate, will vote, and will vote by secret ballot.

We take note also that only through a recent dissolution of the French Assembly did it happen that this law has not as yet been promulgated, but that this is a matter that will be resolved in the immediate future, and it is virtually certain that it will be resolved along the lines of the law which was approved last year and which was outlined to us by the representative of France.

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There is another aspect, however, which relates to what we call in Spanish the problem of nationality. The French delegation has referred to it during the discussion as the problem of citizenship, and it has been defined as the question of the juridical status of the indigenous inhabitants. It is not sufficient to have the indigenous inhabitants given a status which means that they are administered by France and thus have a standing different from that of nationals of the Administering Authority. The fact is that the Togolese are called citizens of the French Union, not citizens of Togoland. The psychological effect of this upon the Togolese is incalculable, and this situation demonstrates once again the fact that the political advancement of the Territory and its inhabitants is not proceeding according to what was provided in the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreements -- and, as a matter of fact perhaps, not as provided by the Administering Authority. Since a new opportunity has been given to study the electoral law we would suggest that some reference to Togolese citizenship might well be included in these legislative texts. Of course, such a legislative step would have to be followed by administrative measures which would make the Togolese aware of their status as Togolese citizens. It is only in this way that the people can be brought to a stage of stable political development from which they can move on to greater political development.

This brings me to the end of the statement of the views of my delegation on the political situation in Togoland under French administration. We do not feel it necessary to refer to other specific points mentioned by other delegations which are more closely acquainted with these questions since they have had the opportunity over a period of years to follow the various stages and study the background of the country. I shall not, accordingly, dwell upon the need for the Territorial Assembly or the District Councils, nor shall I deal at length with our confidence in the growing role of municipal councils and the need to continue to foster the participation of the indigenous inhabitants not only in the electoral procedures but also in administrative procedures -- particularly those in the higher echelons. I do not want to refer to these points in detail, but I should like to state for purposes of record that we are satisfied with the establishment of the Government Council and the extension of the powers of the Territorial Assembly, as well as with the growing administrative decentralization at the district level.

(Mr. Arenales Catalan, Guatemala)

I should like now to turn to economic questions. I must say that it has been somewhat difficult for us to obtain an over-all picture of the economic situation of this Trust Territory. It was difficult for us to see exactly what was the relationship of the Togolese economy with others through the various unions, and so on. For instance, we did not have available to us a per capita itemization, and certain income statistics were not provided, and so on. That is why we would have liked to have compared the statistical tables relating to the past few years. But despite these difficulties we have certain suggestions and conclusions which we should like to put forward at the present time.

First of all, from a very general point of view, the economic problems of Togoland, as is the case with those of any other Trust Territory, can be approached from two different angles. They can be approached from the economic phenomenon, per se, or isolated technical point of view, without relating this to political and social factors and the same economic phenomenon from a social and political perspective. In a non-self-governing or Trust Territory economic phenomena must necessarily be judged from a political viewpoint. It will suffice in this respect to recall that there can be no political independence without economic independence, and that economic development must therefore grow on parallel lines with political development. Economic development must establish the necessary prerequisite for political evolution or advancement, but if the economic, political and social advances are parallel, and if the awakening of the peoples is inevitable, then Territories with a primitive economy, such as Togoland under French administration, must have accelerated economic development making it possible to modernize their economies so that they will become adjusted to a more speedy economic evolution.

This is very difficult. There are great distances and chasms between primitive African concepts and modern economic concepts. It is difficult without a clear-cut plan or programme, and any such programme presupposes not only the definition of long-term and short-term objectives, with periods for revision of the programme, but also large-scale investment and a scheme governing the role to be played by private capital investment. There is a political condition for economic development, and it is necessary to plan and programme this economic development. We can draw conclusions such as that the tendency must be towards industrialization so as to avoid a situation where the Trust Territory exports only its raw materials.

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It is necessary to tend towards a higher standard of living, to increase economic activity, and so on. It is necessary to make use of natural resources but to bear in mind the fact that extractive industries very often exploit resources which cannot be replaced. The local population must try to meet the basic needs of the Territory, and economic policy decisions must be taken increasingly by the inhabitants themselves.

We can draw concrete conclusions from this over-all approach bearing on every aspect of the economic policy of the Territory. With regard to agriculture, it would seem that Togoland will always be primarily an agricultural country. It should not allow its mining industries to impair the development of its agricultural potential. Agriculture is very vulnerable to natural forces in the Territory. We have noted with satisfaction the fact that the Administering Authority is bearing in mind the need to improve agricultural technology.

With regard to forestry, it might be well to suggest that, apart from forest classification, which should be pursued without of course harming the interests of the indigenous inhabitants, the Administration should study the type of hard woods which can be produced in the best kinds of soil in Togoland. Not only should the factor of climate be taken into account, but various other factors also. As the result of such a thorough study it might well be that various kinds of hard timber could be developed in the Territory where other types of timber are being grown at present. It might, in fact, lead to a situation in which great benefits would redound to the Territory from such exploitation. And this kind of exploitation might even lead to exporting of this kind of timber.

With regard to coffee and cotton, for example, my delegation has taken note of the statement by the special representative that the majority of plantations are very small in size, that they are in the hands of indigenous inhabitants, and that they are exploited in a rather primitive manner. We have been informed, moreover, that the processing of coffee and cotton is in the hands of commercial companies to which the indigenous inhabitants sell the raw products.

With regard to this last problem we have the following suggestions to make: first, to foster the establishment of producers' co-operatives or processing co-operatives for coffee and cotton in their raw state; secondly, to launch a vigorous campaign to publicize the methods to be used in processing coffee and cotton, the same methods which are used in other coffee-producing countries; thirdly, to provide facilities so that in large areas, large coffee-processing plants, cotton packing plants or cotton mills can be established which can be owned by the indigenous inhabitants and which would also be used as model examples of how to process these resources.

There is another concrete suggestion which we should like to advance and which relates to the important role which should be played in the economic development of the Territory by private investment. First of all, not overlooking the fact that an economic development plan calls for substantial investment, it is necessary to plan and evaluate the role to be played in this development by private capital investment. I am not speaking in terms of direct control of investment, but of planning, directing and guiding this investment towards the aims sought by the development plan or programme.

Secondly, my delegation took note of the statement of the special representative to the effect that the laws governing investment of private capital are the same laws which govern similar investments in metropolitan France. In this connexion we should like to note a point which is very obvious, namely, that metropolitan France and Togoland are in two distinct positions. In France we have an industrialized country with large manpower resources, technical resources, etc. -- a thousand and one aspects which do not warrant mention but which should be borne in mind in order to realize that the situation in Togoland must be different with regard to the laws governing private capital investment, in view of its entirely separate state of development.

The Administering Authority has taken note of this problem, and we observed with satisfaction a statement by the special representative to the effect that non-French private capital receives in French Togoland the same treatment, guarantees and facilities as capital resources in metropolitan France.

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Before leaving this point I might make one last general statement. It is not sufficient to have economic development alone, and it is not enough to plan such economic development. A sound and autonomous economy can be brought about by adequate planning, but a perennially insufficient and dependent economy can also be brought about through economic planning.

In the field of social advancement, we have noted with satisfaction that many rights have been granted to the indigenous inhabitants. However, we feel that some of these will remain mere formal declarations if they are not surrounded by broad safeguards and guarantees of a legal and technical nature, particularly with regard to the separation of administrative and judicial functions. This is particularly true in the appointment of advisers in labour jurisdiction, which is not in the hands of the courts, but in the hands of the Administration. We have been pleased to note the degree of advancement in labour legislation. We know that it is not necessary to ratify international conventions in order to have a progressive and advanced labour legislation in force, but we cannot but point out that in territories under international control the guarantees of international conventions should be a sine qua non. We did not have from the representatives of the Administering Authority a sufficiently clear and final statement as to what international labour conventions are actually applicable in Togoland, and we note that many others have not been ratified, particularly those dealing with the indigenous workers. We hope that a reply to these matters will be supplied in the future and that they will be satisfactory.

Aside from labour questions, there are other specific points in social advancement, such as general problems of health and the need to increase the number of doctors, whether they come from Dakar or are in private practice. There is an ever-present need to increase the participation of indigenous inhabitants in administrative work, to respect the rights given to the inhabitants, to educate women so that they can be placed on an equal footing with men. Possibly, in this connexion, there might be some modification of the family structure while, of course, providing women with the sort of general protection which they need. A wage scale should be established

so that family allowances need not be used as an addition to salary, but as assistance of a social nature. We feel sure that these points have been borne in mind by the Administering Authority. Other points of detail in this regard have been mentioned by other delegations.

We should like to call the attention of the Council and the Administering Authority to what, in our judgement, is a key problem in the social development of Togoland under French administration and in the social advancement of other under-developed Territories. This is a problem which arises because of the social stratification, which is inevitable in a community which has been built from the existence of social classes, resulting in the development of an élite, however that élite may be classified. It is an inevitable social phenomenon in which leaders emerge from any group, whether such group is the tribe, the clan, the school, or the nation. The leader is a social phenomenon who appears whether as a result of planning or of deliberate promotion. The phenomenon of the élite is also an inevitable social one if, by élite, we mean a certain group within the mass which becomes influential and which, incidentally is given a higher social status. There are as many élites as there are social categories. There are governmental, intellectual, economic élites, to quote from a UNESCO study to which I referred a few days ago. But the problem of the élite is not only that of the spontaneous emergence. We see the problem arise as the objective of any educational or administrative policy. Will it be sufficient, however, as the objective of an educational programme, to consider that the existence of an élite is contrary to the purposes of the Charter? When I use the word "élite", I do not mean aristocracy; I am referring to an élite who are simply taking note of a state of facts, of a social phenomenon according to which small groups become influential and, in time, affect the development of that group. It seems to my delegation that the Administering Authority cannot be blamed if one of its educational objectives is to raise the intellectual level of this élite.

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However, there are two dangers inherent in any such educational policy. Firstly, the greater intellectual level which is given to the élite rests exclusively on a foreign type of education. Secondly, there is a danger that in planning for economic, social and, above all, educational development it may be forgotten that in thinking in terms of an élite or of social stratification, a mental operation involving deferentiation is being undertaken which may reflect a de facto situation in this society; but at no time should this deferentiation be allowed to become a profound division. Never should it be allowed to crystalize into the establishment of two castes. Never should it be allowed to bring about a society of a feudal nature, in which the ruling circles forget or overlook their responsibilities to the broad masses of the people.

These dangers, at least in part, have their root in educational matters, and they can also be remedied by educational policies. In fact, perhaps it may be said that education does provide the key to all the problems in a territory such as French Togoland.

At the conclusion of my statement, I may perhaps be allowed to make a very general remark on the problems of education in French Togoland, problems which are very similar to those in other Trust Territories. I hope the Council will forgive if, in speaking of educational problems in Togoland, I do not deal with such and such a development in this field, since many other representatives have already spoken on these points. Our views, particularly on this subject, may appear unduly general to the other members of the Council, but while fully conscious of this fact, and despite this fact, my delegation feels compelled to point out that the major educational problem in Togoland is that there is no real educational policy.

There is a policy with regard to teaching and that policy rests on a French conception of education. There is a policy which was evolved in terms of French needs. The title of the relevant chapter in the Administering Authority's report is "Progress in Teaching". No reference is made to education, and I am confirmed in my view after studying the chapters dealing with the purposes and objectives of this education, the language used, and so on. What does the Administering Authority state in the report with regard to the purposes and objectives of education? These purposes are listed on page 220 of the Annual Report, and they are: large scale dissemination of elementary education.

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to the greatest number of children, the formation of qualified indigenous cadres, the broadening of professional training, and a systematic effort to reduce the delay in the extension of education to certain areas. The Administering Authority states that this is a delicate problem because an endeavour is made to maintain principles of equality and also to establish an educational system which will respect the traditional cultures and at the same time make it possible for the indigenous inhabitants to take part in the modern world. It is stated that the education programmes have been prepared by specialists and experts with this objective clearly in mind.

My delegation would not contradict any of these statements made by the Administering Authority, but what was the ultimate educational objective of the experts who drew up the programme for Togoland? Was it to promote educational and social progress in Togoland, to prepare it for self-government or independence? Since an alien perspective was applied to the problem, is it not possible that a programme has been drawn up which will provide for self-government and independence for Togoland within the French Union, a programme which, because of these reasons, may be bringing about not only the establishment of an élite but the establishment of two classes which today may not be profoundly divided, but which tomorrow will be a major obstacle to the integrated development of an autonomous territory?

We are just stating our views, and we would ask whether it is not of lesser importance in a territory such as French Togoland that there should be bacheliers in various classical studies than to have an agricultural school with graduates from such a school. The problem is deeply rooted psychologically. It may create or suppress national consciousness on the part of the Togolese, and the desire is to have a curve of progress which is constantly rising and without any static positions at any point. We feel that this administrative educational policy is designed to smooth out the differences between the populations of Togoland and of metropolitan France.

This may all be very well, but we must be clear about the fact that in so doing seeds for profound division in and among the population of Togoland are being sown. Will it be sufficient, for instance, to make a recommendation to the Administering Authority? I feel sure that, in good faith, this recommendation would be accepted by the Administering Authority. The problem is very complex,

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it is very similar to other problems in Africa. Would it not perhaps warrant an international technical investigation or study? I refer to the possibility of having the United Nations, with the assistance of specialized agencies, undertake a careful study to define an educational standard or yardstick for this kind of a society and, on the basis of this definition, to draw up an educational policy. I do not wish to dwell on the scope of a such a study, but its purpose essentially would be revolutionary. It would be designed to discover a type of education which might be very similar and yet quite different from education in Europe.

It would have a thousand facets. Whatever might be the vocation of the students, the students should go through every stage of an educational programme, the basis of which would always be manual work and work as a peasant among the peasantry. Thus, no member of the élite would ever forget this stage in his educational development.

We could have expatiated on this point at much greater length or submitted our observations in a more organized fashion, but now I should like to come to the end of my statement. In this statement, I wished to give a general outline and to raise certain points for the reflection of the Council. I have spoken very spontaneously, and this is evidence of our sincerity and humility. We do not claim to have discovered anything, nor do we claim to have a monopoly of truth. We hope that our comments and observations will be received with the simplicity with which they were proffered.

Mr. KRISHNA MENON (India): My delegation would like to take this opportunity of expressing our appreciation to the representative of France and to the special representative for the patience with which they have answered questions and for the report submitted to the Trusteeship Council. This does not mean that all the answers were of a character to clear our doubts or that they were even entirely comprehensible, the fault, of course, being on our side. But we should like to say that as each session of the Trusteeship Council passes, we gain more knowledge and there is a greater appreciation on the part of the Administering Authorities of the need to furnish information and, if I may say so to take the other side into their confidence. This is as it should be, because this Council is a co-operative enterprise in the interests of the populations of the Trust areas.

(Mr. Krishna Menon, India)

We are now examining the problem of what is called Togoland under French administration. I assume that the ruling which the President gave yesterday afternoon that the two items on the agenda are to be treated together stands, and therefore my delegation, in its observations, proposes to traverse these two issues as far as it is possible and necessary in the context of our present debate. But if either at this session or in the future it should so transpire that the second item comes in for further debate, we would naturally reserve our position in regard to matters that may then arise.

This time, when we consider the issue of Togoland and these two items, we are doing it in a rather different background from what has been the case in the past. First of all, part of this Territory, socially and perhaps even economically -- certainly located in the same area -- is passing on to an adult stage, thanks to the Administration or the Administering Authority of that area, and its willingness to report to us on the culmination of their endeavours in that region.

Secondly, we have a resolution of the United Nations in respect of this Territory in regard to which, so far as I recollect, the French delegation, in the Fourth Committee or in the General Assembly, did not record its vote against. Therefore, we are discussing this matter not merely in the way of receiving reports about administration, not merely in the way of considering how many more children are in school this year than last year, but we are considering this issue in a much more mature stage than in previous years. Therefore, even when one deals with these questions of education or economic development, or sanitation, or doctors, and so on, our thoughts, as far as my delegation is concerned, are very much conditioned by this proximate development, and the Council will forgive us if, therefore, the observations we are to make in the usual character on the details of administration are rather limited.

We have always stated the view before this Council that the Council is not the Administering Authority. The responsibility of administration, the function of administration, rests on the Administering Authority. Our function is to receive reports, probably elucidate facts, and offer suggestions in such a way that they are only suggestions, because the responsibility for carrying them out is on the Administering Authority.

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The representative of France told us -- I think it was yesterday, or perhaps the day before -- that the basic objects of the Trusteeship System are, on the one hand, educational, social and economic development, and on the other hand, two lines. If by that he means that one must not wait for the other -- and one cannot wait for the other -- my delegation is in agreement. But we could not regard them as parallel in the sense that they never meet or that there is no proximate relation between them. In Togoland, for that reason also, when we are examining these questions, our minds are more focused upon what we hope is a comparatively proximate objective of the accomplishment of the purposes of the Trusteeship System. I will return to this point later in the course of my observations.

My delegation would also like to pay our tribute to the work of the Visiting Mission which, we are glad to say, has been able to earn the thanks of the Administering Authority, as well as of the non-administering members of this Council. Naturally, we shall only refer to the Visiting Mission's report in so far as it concerns French Togoland. There is also, in the answers that have been given on behalf of the Administering Authority, either by the representative of France or by the special representatives, an increasing recognition each year that the Trusteeship Council is very deeply concerned -- not concerned in the sense of being anxious, but deeply concerned -- with the progress of the Territory and that the questions are directed to that end. And if at times we have to differ from the interpretations put on them, or if we express the view that what is offered is not sufficient by way of information, it only proceeds from this anxiety. I shall now, therefore, merely touch on some of the aspects of administration, and the first of these is of course education.

There has been considerable advance in education in this Territory, judged by the pace of advance in these areas. As I said last year, when we look at these Trust Territories, it is not sufficient to think of them in terms of the last ten years. They have been in tutelage; they have been under the stewardship of the present administering authorities for nearly thirty-five years, and the Trusteeship arrangements are only successive arrangements to the mandatory arrangements. When they took over the mandate and it was

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conferred upon them, and they accepted the Mandate, they became the guardians of these Territories and responsible for administration. The progress in these matters, until very recently, has been very slow. Therefore, the present progress should always be compared in the background of that past progress.

This year, according to the reports that have been given to us, there is a considerable numerical advance in the number of children going to schools and even in the number of schools. But what concerns us is a problem that used to press us very much in our country; that is what is called the problem of wastage in education. I hope that in the next report of UNESCO, we shall have a more scientific study of this problem, not only as concerns this Territory, but as regards the Territories with which they are concerned, which they visit, and which they study, whether they are self-governing or non-self-governing. The wastage in education is really tremendous in some of these areas, which makes the returns of the figures for education rather unreal. We had the problem in our own country and I think we found it amenable to treatment.

Fifty-nine thousand children attend schools. Only 3,501 reach the final examinations. Considering that there are only six classes in a ^{school}, and if you divide 59,000 by 6 and, roughly speaking, if in the final classes one finds at least two-thirds in the lower classes, then there must be a larger number. But even as regards those who take final examinations, only a third of them come out of the final examinations, and then, of those who come out, only a minute fraction goes into secondary schools.

In the background of our education, we found, that in the years gone by, that children who were sent to schools probably left them at the age of eight or nine or ten, because they became part of agricultural labour, of economic circumstances, and they lapsed into illiteracy. So that one could count them in the book as though they had been to school, but for all social purposes they were just waste material from the educational point of view. Therefore, in the examination of educational problems, these statistical figures by themselves, unless they are weighted by the reality of social facts, are not of very great importance. From that point of view, I think that we still have a

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great deal of advance to make, and it is not a charge to be laid only on the Administering Authority. It is something that is the result of our different conceptions of the purposes of education, and here is a field in which UNESCO could perhaps offer advice and offer comparative results in different places.

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My delegation notes with great regret that higher education in the Territory is in a bad state. Out of the school population of about 100,000 or more, 59,000 are in the lower schools and only 1,150 attend the secondary schools. Out of these students, 202 take the examinations and thirty-six pass. Finally, of the thirty-six who reach the final examination stage, only twelve pass; that is to say, in the whole of Togoland under French administration, each year a dozen scholars pass the final examinations in the secondary schools.

This analysis is not intended to be by way of destructive criticism or by way of trying to put at a lower value the great endeavour that has been made, but only by way of placing these facts against the requirements of the Territory if it is to advance to self-government. It is quite inconceivable that a country can be self-governing if it cannot have administrative, social, educational and economic services from its own nationals. While in the old days it might have been a qualification for an administrator that he know nothing about a subject, that is no longer possible. Therefore, we think that greater attention to this matter is of vital political importance.

In answer to questions asked by one of the delegations, we were told yesterday that adult literacy in Togoland was about 40 per cent. We request the Administering Authority to forgive us for the observation that perhaps these figures ought to be re-examined. If adult literacy is 40 per cent, it is creditable and a factor which must give us a great deal of joy in that there is a population that is literate, very nearly half of the population. Unless the much older people were literate before they were conquered by the Germans, literacy can only come from the people who emerge from these schools. From the figures on primary education and the calculations one has made, it is quite impossible that there can be this number of literate people in Togoland. Either there were large sections of the population which were literate -- 100 per cent -- before the Germans went in until after the First World War and therefore the average is upset, or these figures are incorrect. There, again, factors that need not necessarily precede self-government but which is very necessary if a country is to maintain its independence. In this respect, we draw

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on our own experience. On the day of our independence, 85 per cent of our population were illiterate. Thirteen years after 1947, there will be no illiterate persons in our country because the planning of adult education has been such that it is beating its targets. It is surprising that most people who are regarded as uneducable and who certainly have not had opportunities with respect to education are very thirsty about it. We have no difficulty about driving people to schools or there not being any enthusiasm or adults lapsing back into illiteracy so far as their thoughts are concerned.

Therefore, I would ask the representative of France with great respect to have these figures re-examined. If I am wrong, I shall be only too glad to be corrected.

There was considerable discussion yesterday and today when my colleague from Guatemala was speaking about -- I would not say a vexed but a queer problem -- what is called the élite. I should have thought the day was passed when you would discuss these things seriously as part of a political and social topic. My delegation was inclined to dismiss this as probably one of UNESCO's cultural endeavours to give a name to somebody, or we were prepared to accept the statement of the representative of France that my colleague from Australia had introduced the subject. However, we examined the records and we found that officially it is the object of French educational policy. Therefore, we had to take this as a serious matter. We did so because if education is so conditioned in the Trust Territory as to create class divisions, and, what is more, to confer social responsibility and privilege upon classes, then we think quite seriously that it is contrary to the purposes of the Charter and of the Trusteeship Agreement.

When one of the special representatives of France tried to help us on this problem, largely due to my incapacity to understand, I think that each explanation made it worse because we did not quite know whether the élite was an official division, whether it was possible to get into it and out of it, or whether, like the member of the British House of Lords, once in it you cannot get out of it and, what is more, you visit the sin on your children. One does not know what the position is, whether it is hereditary or otherwise, what privileges there are, and what there is not. We were inclined to think that this was purely a kind of

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courteous appellation going around. But when we find official statements from the French side that this is the purpose of education, then I think we are inclined to take serious notice. We do hope that in the interests of general progress in Africa and, what is more, in order not to add to the various factors of conflict that exist in that unhappy continent, we shall not create another class division either based upon the conferment of privileges or declarations by the administering country or derived from older, tribal systems or by such social or other values that are set by those that are in power up to the present moment. I have no doubt at all that an administrator has greater capacity in some matters than a person who is a non-administrator in a Territory of this kind. But I refuse to believe that there are any persons who are by nature born to be either élite or otherwise; that is, I refuse to believe that mothers give birth to élite and non-élite. They just give birth to infants. The environment makes everything else. If that is so, however, it is possible to create environmental changes which lead to equality of opportunity and do not create the barriers which are serious politically. I will return to this subject again when I come to the question of consulting the wishes of the inhabitants of the Territory because this matter becomes very important in that connexion.

I turn now to the social aspects. Here may I say at once that my delegation is happy to see the representative of the ILO with us, just as in the earlier part I should have said that we are happy to have the regular presence of the representative of UNESCO.

One of our colleagues tried to elicit information yesterday with regard to the application of labour conventions to this Territory. I must state on behalf of my delegation that we deeply regret that the information was not forthcoming. What we were told was to refer to texts. Of course, we have them. We do not think it is a fair answer to ask the ILO representative to answer for the Administering Authority. We hope that the information which is available to the Overseas Ministry in France will be made available to the Trusteeship Council. I am not for a moment suggesting that there is any desire not to give it, but the fact is that it has not been given. It is no answer for any country to say that all conventions that are ratified in the Metropolitan Territory are automatically applicable to colonial Territories because in fact it is not so. The reservations that are stated in the book are sufficiently potent as probably to make the application of these conventions not real. I shall give an example.

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There are conventions relating to child and women labour and to maternity which are accepted and ratified by most of the civilized and industrial countries of the world. But the question is whether they apply to certain Territories under their administration. So far as one's experience goes, the answer is no. Now the matter had been raised and my delegation submits with great respect that the answer to this should come not from the representative of the ILO -- who should be here to help us with regard to any information -- but it should certainly come from the Administering Authority. The information is easily available in the Overseas Ministry of France; I therefore hope that the representative of France will make it available to us.

We have noticed -- and it is a matter of congratulations to the Administering Authority -- that there has been an advance in medical services. We would be the last ones to turn around and say that there is only one doctor for 35,000 or 50,000 people, or whatever the figure may be. There are many territories where there is not one doctor to 50,000 people. The main advance in this matter is that in the continent of Africa, in spite of its inaccessibility of many areas where populations are afflicted by diseases that spread very quickly, where perhaps even the appurtenances of modern medicine are not only not easily available, but not easily accepted, there has been a degree of advance and the advance is being maintained.

Here again one likes to pay tribute to the World Health Organization which has assisted with the problem of malaria and sleeping sickness. In our country we know very little about the tsetse fly and sleeping sickness, but malaria is a very old friend of ours. I am happy to say, thanks to international co-operation and to the advances in scientific knowledge in our own country, that malaria is getting pretty well stamped out altogether; it has become a controllable disease, and there is no reason at all why that should not happen in the African continent as well.

The Visiting Mission has suggested various improvements and they are in the same position as this Council. They can only offer suggestions. The Administering Authority has to accept them, as they normally do, in the way in which the suggestions are offered.

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There are, however, certain matters of social policy on which we should like to get some more information, and one of these matters concerns conditions in prisons. There are ten prisons in this Territory which is quite a large number for a small population, especially for a comparatively peace-loving people. The Administering Authority has made adverse references or other references to the conditions in prisons and to prison labour. We hope that in the next report presented in this Council it will be possible for the Administering Authority to give us more detailed information about these prisons and whether there has been any great improvement; and also whether these prisons are prisons where people are put who are not actually accused of crimes involving moral turpitude but probably for political or other offences. There are ten prisons, as I said, for a million people, which is a very large percentage as compared to prisons in most other countries.

Much has been said about the position of women in society and about the problems of polygamy and bride-price and institutions of that character. My country recognizes that it is not easy to remedy by legislation social evils of social customs that have become out-dated. Who are we to say that these are evils? They probably were not evils at the time, but, at any rate they are social customs that are out of date and they retard progress. No piece of legislation is going to eradicate these evils. That has been the experience of those of us who are in a hurry to make reforms. Legislation is necessary in order to make the work of the social reformer possible, but the achievement is largely dependent upon economic and educational improvement. We hope that the worst features of this, which are of a character to be condemned, will be brought under the penal provisions of the law wherever it is possible. The rest has to depend on social advance as such.

Now we come to the economic affairs of this Territory. I hope that Sir Alan Burns will not mind if, as usual, I pick on him. This country has a surplus budget. I think it always gladdens every Anglo-Saxon heart to see a surplus in the budget, but in a modern country one asks, "Why a surplus budget, why is there any money left over?" There should not be any. It means that the money is not spent and my country, largely because I suppose we work on a deficit budget, always turns around and asks, "Why this accumulation of money? That means

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that it is not going -- unless there is some other explanation -- into the place where it should be going." Nobody can argue that in a country or a Territory of a low economic level of subsistence requiring a great deal of development in the social, economic, industrial and other fields that there is no need for it. There appears, therefore, the prima facie inference -- which may be wrong -- that the Administration has not caught up with the desire for reconstruction. This happens also in advanced countries. Large allocations are made and are not used at the end of the year, and this money goes back into the revenue account. However in a dependent Territory of this character, with such small over-all resources available, if there is an unused amount of money such as 148 million francs -- and it is small in the sense that it has wiped out the deficits of some other previous years -- it does not appear to us in our background position to be very desirable. It has been pointed out, and I think it is right, that the Administering Authority should take credit and should point out that this Territory receives considerable subsidies from the Metropolitan country. That is so in regard to all colonial territories at certain stages of their development. But what is not stated but which is obvious to us is that while the subsidy from the Metropolitan country to the colonial territory is always visible and discountable in coin, the economic gains are invisible. The taking up of economic relations between the colonial territory, and that is what these are economically, and the Metropolitan country sometimes causes the claiming, on the part of the population of these areas, of even greater subsidies because they are economic gain and they are economically necessary. Their products, their economy and everything are complementary to the industrial life of France. It is one of the territories from which industrial Metropolitan France draws very largely for its raw materials. Therefore, while it is a matter of congratulation and tribute to the Metropolitan country that money has been available for these purposes, it should not be forgotten that in the economic analyses it is part of a mutual relationship.

I made reference to the fact of a colonial economy, and this is quite true, as we shall see when we go on to discuss the political aspects of this Territory in relation to France. It is called by different names. However, what does this

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Territory produce? It produces what in our country used to be called in the old context "cash crops". By this is meant agricultural products for sale abroad, and therefore it has a favourable balance of trade. A favourable balance of trade in a colonial country is not an abnormal occurrence because in a sense it is a producer country supplying goods for highly advanced countries and living on a lower level. Of course, it must also be taken into account that trade in colonial areas is very largely in the hands of the populations of the Metropolitan area. Thus, when you speak simply in terms of favourable trade all these factors have to be taken into account. Whose trade, first of all? Secondly, trade under what conditions? It is well known that in the sterling area, for example, it is the favourable balance of trade in some of the less-developed countries that enables some of us to bridge the various gaps we have at various times. Therefore, there is nothing there, which is an index of prosperity so far as the populations are concerned per se. There could be other factors, but it is our business, when these figures are given, to look into their context, and the context in our opinion is that a favourable balance of trade is a good thing in so far as the trading people are concerned.

But what one really would want to know are the conditions of labour in which the raw material is produced and what percentage of the consumer price in the country to which it is exported really returns to the producers. These are the indices of prosperity so far as the other people are concerned. If the value of the exports have increased, that, to a certain extent, even to a very small extent, would bring some return to the cultivators.

As the representative of Guatemala stated a while ago, this Territory will be for a long time to come, and perhaps permanently, largely an agricultural area. Most countries, in fact, are largely agricultural, even those that pride themselves on being very advanced industrially. We are very happy, therefore, to see that the Administering Authority is taking measures for the conservation of the soil and for reforestation. We feel this way particularly because some of the so-called civilized countries, like our own, for example, that have been cutting down trees for the past 4,000 or 5,000 years, with the result that what formerly was fertile land is today desert, are starting reforestation.

In Africa, with all its thick woods and forests and primeval vegetation, if the time should come when the civilized hand of man with the latest methods of cultivation should damage the land, it would be a bad thing indeed. We are therefore happy to read about the measures that are being taken for increasing food, for the conservation of the soil, for reforestation and for the breeding of fish. It has been our experience over the last seven or eight years that even in countries where the soil has become exhausted after centuries of cultivation and where the populations do not have sufficient reserves to attempt various new measures, it is possible to increase the food yield. In our own country during the past six or seven years we went from a very bad food deficiency to the point where we now have a food surplus. This came about to the extent of perhaps 30 per cent or 40 per cent by improved methods of cultivation.

We have also noted that the Administering Authority has now taken steps to survey the mineral resources and that there are indications of deposits of phosphates, iron, bauxite and other minerals. All we can do is to express the hope that the development of these resources will take place in a manner that will ensure that their returns will go to a very considerable extent to the populations

of the areas. Otherwise, in the years to come, we shall have industrial slums, and the conflict will not be between two classes in the same country but a proletariat in one country fighting a battle against another country.

Therefore, we hope that the experience of the past, and particularly of the industrial revolution, in which the Administering Authority's country played a laudable part, will be learned and remembered.

It is also to be noted that the economic disadvantage to this Territory in not having an outlet to the sea, is receiving attention. But the main deficiency appears to be in power, and we hope that we shall hear something more on this subject in the next annual report of the Administering Authority.

The pattern of the economy of this Territory -- and we say this not in order to use a word which is not popular on the other side -- is still colonial. It exports cash crops -- coffee, cocoa and palm-oil -- in return for manufactured goods, for the most part, cotton prints. We have had experience in this matter; we feel the reality of the situation. The direction of trade is always toward the metropolitan country. This places upon the metropolitan country a great responsibility that this trade will have to be conducted not merely on the normal pattern of the pressures of supply and demand, but having regard to the equities in the situation and to the responsibilities of raising the standard of living of the population.

If our experience is of any value, in the development of industry the taking of industry to the people rather than the taking of people to the industry could considerably advance the level of subsistence of the population. This might particularly apply to the processing of local crops and even to meeting the clothing necessities of the population.

Therefore, in all these territories where there are people who at heart are villagers and who largely live by agriculture and agriculture only, which calls for seasonal employment, it becomes necessary to provide subsidiary industries without taking the people away from their homes. When this was first applied in our country, it was generally regarded as a kind of hobby or a kind of fanatical "one-pointedness", but it has now developed into a situation where we have discovered that it is not possible to take hundreds of thousands of people to factories. They cannot be uprooted from their families and everything else.

Furthermore, you cannot maintain your agriculture if you convert the whole of the rural population into an urban population. Equally, you have no right to keep the agricultural populations at a lower level because you want them to be kept at agricultural work. The special knowledge and facilities of the United Nations technical assistance organs in this matter should be taken into account and given consideration by the Administering Authority.

May I say, without any offence, that we would have liked to see a representative of the Food and Agriculture Organization at the Council meetings. The people of the Trust Territories, who are all dependent upon agriculture, whose methods of cultivation are primeval and whose labour brings proportionately poor returns, have many problems on which the Food and Agriculture Organization could give assistance and advice.

With the permission of the President, I should like the Trusteeship Council, and more particularly the Administering Authority, to bear with me while I recall to their minds resolution 47 (IV) of the Trusteeship Council, in which it made a general request to all the specialized agencies for assistance. The last time this question was raised, the representative of one of the specialized agencies stated that they could go only if they were asked. We have been conducting some research into this subject. These matters become rather old. You can press for a resolution tooth and nail and, when it is adopted two or three years later, it may be forgotten and then it may be discovered. Resolution 47 (IV) refers to this collaboration and states:

"Recommends that the specialized agencies study the annual reports on the administration of trust territories with a view to making such observations and suggestions as they may consider proper in order to facilitate the work of the Trusteeship Council."

I hope that I am in order not only in calling attention to this but also in requesting the representatives of the Secretary-General to take note of this observation and to pass it on to the Food and Agriculture Organization. I think that it would be a courtesy to the Trusteeship Council for a representative of that organization to be present here during these discussions.

I have just one more point before passing to the consideration of the political question, and that point relates to the civil service. In going to the papers related to this question, the first thing on which I wanted to obtain figures was this very point. I do not think that there can be real self-government for any people unless they have administrators of their own nationality. This is not a racial question. It is not a question of denying aid to or of refusing to accept aid from anyone else. But so long as politics is administration, self-government is administration by one's own people in the day-to-day needs and necessities of the community.

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There are very few Africans in higher positions in this Territory, far less than in other areas, and although I think it would be wrong for me to draw invidious distinctions, there are neighbouring territories where Africans are employed in much larger numbers in very high posts. It is not sufficient merely to go by numbers, although even the numbers are bad enough in this matter, and I shall not go into a statistical analysis, but the numbers and the proportion are very small in spite of very slight increases both in education and in the general civil service. There are four Chief Sub-divisional Officers in the whole of the Territory, three police commissioners and three doctors. It may be that more are not available, but there have been ten years of Trusteeship and thirty-five years of the previous administration, all under the tutelage of the present Administering Authority. If, as is inevitable, this Territory must very soon pass from this state of tutelage to something else, it would be in the interest of the present Administering Authority as well as in the interest of the population to increase the numbers. It would be a breach of trust to lead the Territory to independence without having carried out the kind of education that has to be undertaken. We are very happy that in the British Territory of Togoland this will not be the position and we hope that special attention will be paid to the recruitment of Togoland nationals to the highest services. It is our experience that the usual objections to this, to the effect that an Administrator is born and not made and that sort of thing, have very little real value. They are fallacies that are often repeated, and the fact is that if you give people responsibilities they will rise to them. There is only one way of learning, and that is to learn. You cannot just find people who will make no mistakes. The present situation in which there are less than a dozen senior officers in the whole of this Territory cannot be contemplated with equanimity when we think that the Territory will be acquiring independence in a very short time.

There is one other matter on which I should like to comment before I turn to the political issue. I have read in the reports that greater efforts are now being made to reverse the general African conception of the collective ownership of land, and to turn it towards greater individualization. In some of our countries we are trying a reverse process. At the beginning of empire our village communities passed into individual hands for reasons connected at that

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time with administration, and that created a landless class and a peasant proprietor class with the result that fragmentation was created leading to the exploitation of the landless labourer with all the social evils that are its consequence. Modern conditions of agriculture create very great problems of administration and lead to very high levels of compensation or alternatively of expropriation and it is therefore something of a shock to read that here the process is being reversed so as to create a landless proletariat who will probably work two, three or four months in the year and just eke out an existence in the remaining time. Speaking for the Indian delegation, we should like to see the collective system retained, because it would be more helpful to the populations and would prevent the rise of an indigenous exploiting class -- which I suppose might be called an "élite". Collective ownership of land is one of the aspects of tribal economy that is worth retaining. This is not one of the spheres where individualism is the glory of mankind. There is very little land and the amount available calls for less fragmentation than would be possible in these circumstances. This imposition of a comparatively new aspect of western economy in regard to African land is not likely to prove a blessing. Of course, the Administering Authority and the peoples themselves are entitled to their own views on the matter and to profit from their own experience, but we speak from our experience and the process of retransforming this fragmented individualist system to some kind of an economic system based on a piece of land large enough to be cultivated will be a very painful one, especially if there is not enough land for a larger population. And anyone who states that these territories will remain sparsely populated as they are today is being unrealistic, as can be seen if we look at examples of other prosperous countries, now highly industrialized nations, which now have populations four or five times as large as they were a hundred years ago.

Turning to the political aspects of this question, first of all I want to remind the Council that we have before us a resolution which has been referred to us by the General Assembly, and my delegation cannot take the view that because the Administering Authority has not been able to propose or submit a scheme or even suggestions we must leave the matter as it is. It would not be practicable, nor would it be in conformity with the resolution, to proceed with

the item without the Administering Authority, but I do not think the Administering Authority should have to produce a scheme beforehand. What the Council should expect is a kind of document like A/2660 which was submitted by the United Kingdom Government in regard to the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration, which does not make proposals but which sets out and analyses the conditions and which says in effect that the Territory is fit, or nearly fit, for the termination of the trusteeship and that it is now for the General Assembly to try and do what it can. Such a document, setting out the case, is a kind of brief on which we can work, and it is my opinion that before this session of the Council ends we have to take some initial step to implement the resolution of the General Assembly.

I heard the representative of Syria implying this in his observation yesterday. Even in the case of British Togoland we have still not examined anything more than this, but the General Assembly went on to set up machinery for a Visiting Mission, a plebiscite and so forth. The basic facts must be in the hands of the Administering Authority; they are not conditioned by events in British Togoland or by anything else.

I now propose, therefore, to turn to fundamentals. The observations I have to make do not so much concern the French Government in regard to the status of this Territory; my delegation regards Togoland under French administration as a Trust Territory where sovereignty lies with the people of Togoland. It may be latent, it may not be as potent as it should be, but sovereignty belongs to the people of Togoland. That is an essential and basic condition for trusteeship. The relations at present existing arise from the Mandate which was taken over on 28 June 1919 and the present Trusteeship Agreement is based upon the Mandate. Therefore the instruments on which the title of the present parties is based are not founded on conquest. If they were based on conquest, and if the General Assembly accepted the generally accepted nineteenth century conditions of conquest, sovereignty would lie in the hands of the conqueror, because he would give the orders, but that is not so for the instruments on which it rests are the French Mandate of 28 June 1919, the Charter of the United Nations and the various clauses of the Trusteeship Agreement into which the French Government entered. The Constitution of France is only relevant to this matter insofar as it is linked with those other

instruments. In 1952 the representative of France stated his position in this matter and said that the Territories of Togoland and the Cameroons, which were placed under Trusteeship and the administration of which was entrusted to France, were by that very fact associated with the new organization of the French Union, and the Constitution of 27 October assigned them a special place in that Union. The last two lines do not concern us very much as they are very largely a matter for France, but I think the correct statement of the position is the earlier one to the effect that the administrations which were entrusted to France were by that very fact associated with the new organization of the French Union.

With the greatest respect to the Under-Secretary, I submit that the United Nations Secretariat has no right to paraphrase that in this manner:

"Togoland under French administration forms part of the French Union as an 'Associated Territory', a special category provided for in the French Constitution of 1946." (T/L.630, para. 7)

I think that that is an inaccurate statement and one which should be withdrawn, because it really vitiates the whole position. Togoland under French administration is not an Associated Territory of the French Union. It is a Trust Territory. And what does the Mandate say? Article 9 of the Mandate says:

"The Mandatory shall have full powers of administration and legislation in the areas subject to the Mandate. The area shall be administered in accordance with the laws of the Mandatory as an integral part of his territory and subject to the above provisions."

It says nowhere that the Mandatory has ownership. It says nowhere that the Mandatory has sovereignty. What is more, the language is very clear. It establishes the Mandatory as one party to the contract and the Mandated as the other party. If there were sovereignty they would be one. There would be unity of personality. There is no unity, but the French Union has a unified personality, however complex or federated its unity may be.

Article 9 of the Mandate makes it clear that this is indenture and a contract -- and it is a contract agreed to by the League of Nations, on the one hand, and the French Government on the other. The French Government is the Mandatory on the one side, the Mandated Territory is the subject, and the League of Nations is on the other side. Therefore, under the provisions of the Mandate the Territory never became part of the French Union. It is not part of the French Union. The Togolandese are Togolandese, and not Frenchmen. They can become Frenchmen hereafter, when they are free to do so.

It is very important that this matter should be raised, especially because there is a very large volume of opinion in France which regards every Territory under French administration as part of French soil -- a supposition which we, as a delegation, as a country and as a government, cannot accept.

Therefore I submit that paragraph 7 of the working paper (T/L.630) -- and I do not know how official this document is -- is inaccurate. It is inaccurate in terms of the Mandate; it is inaccurate in terms of the Charter; it is inaccurate in terms of the Trusteeship Agreement; and it is inaccurate in terms of the statement of the French Government. All the French Government said was that it was associated. "Associated" does not mean that it becomes an Associated Territory. "Associated Territory" has a special connotation under article 60 of the French Constitution.

As I say, this is not an Associated Territory. And, what is more, under articles 27 to 29 of the French Constitution it is specially laid down that, when there are agreements of this character which are of the nature of diplomatic treaties, no legislation or anything that is done by the French Parliament or by the French Government can supersede the international instrument. Of course, it is not necessary for the French Constitution to say that since it is ordinary international law. But the French, with their logical minds, have set it out in the Constitution. That is to say, when there is a diplomatic relationship of this character nothing which is in the French Constitution unilaterally stated can bind these peoples.

Thus this Territory, politically, is not part of the French Union. It may become part of the French Union, but these words -- words which were argued in the case of Togoland under British administration -- say "shall be administered". They do not even say "governed", but "administered as an integral part of" -- meaning as though the Territory were an integral part. That is to say, the relationship applies only to the methods by which the wardship has to be exercised. The same laws can be used; the same systems of administration can be used, and so on. But it does not become part of the French Union as such.

We are not splitting hairs on this, because in view of what is likely to happen in the next few years -- we hope within less than a few years -- the error in this conception has to be rectified, since otherwise we begin from an erroneous starting point which may lead us into all kinds of difficulties.

This position did not arise with regard to Togoland under British administration, because the situation there has always been recognized as a stewardship which has to be brought to an end. And of course, the conceptions of the United Kingdom system, even of colonial rule, are rather different.

Therefore, we start from this political position that my delegation wishes to ask that this paragraph be removed from the working paper (T/L.630) or that justification be produced to the satisfaction of the Trusteeship Council. And if there is any doubt about it, we shall, at some time, ask the Council to go to the International Court of Justice to find out. There is nothing to support this anywhere, whether in the Charter or in the Trusteeship Agreement. And again I would like representatives to look at the Trusteeship Agreement. The Trusteeship Agreement, an article 4 of which the French delegation rightly relies, states:

"For the above-mentioned purposes and in order to fulfil its obligations under the Charter and the present Agreement, the Administering Authority:

1. Shall have full powers" --

"powers" -- power is a function: this is a status --

"of legislation, administration and jurisdiction in the Territory and shall administer it in accordance with French law as an integral part of French territory, subject to the provisions of the Charter and of this Agreement;"

There is nothing here about being part of the French Union. There is nothing which vitiates the sovereignty of this land at all. All that the French Union can do is to administer and legislate. It must administer, it must legislate for, and the Territory is generally under its jurisdiction. Jurisdiction is not sovereignty. When one sends a child to school it comes under the jurisdiction of the school-teacher, but that does not take it away from the family.

We are very happy to note that there has been the exercise of an initiative on the part of the Administering Authority in April of the year under review in the way of the introduction of reform, but we do not share the enthusiasm or even the assessment of its quality in the same way as our

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colleague from the United Kingdom. It should be borne in mind, first of all, that it has taken nine years before this reform has come into being. That is to say, 1946 was the date of the first decree, and 1956 is the date of the next one taking it a little further.

Before I go on to examine the nature of the political establishment, perhaps the President would like the Council to take a brief recess since I shall be continuing for some time.

The PRESIDENT: How much longer does the representative of India require?

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): It cannot be measured by the clock, but probably another half hour.

The PRESIDENT: In that case, if the representative of India agrees, we shall take a fifteen minute recess.

The meeting was suspended at 4.30 p.m. and resumed at 4.50 p.m.

Mr. KRISHNA MENON (India): We were referring to the fact that, in April of the year under review, reforms were promulgated, and presumably they will soon be in full operation. We yield to no one in expressing our appreciation of them, but we are now discussing the constitutional political administrative structure of this Territory in relation to the realization of the objectives of the Trusteeship Agreement and, therefore, while it represents an advance in existing conditions, it is essential to evaluate where power lies and how power is distributed and what experience is likely to be gained by those exercising it, and all those other factors which are essential in the estimation of the proximity of independence.

Like all colonial overseas territories of France -- the right expression would be "overseas territories" presumably, because they are under the Ministry of Overseas Territories and not under the Colonial Office -- the authority that is responsible in the Territory is the Commissioner or the Governor -- in this case the Commissioner -- and he is not responsible to the people; he is not responsible to any authority in Togoland. His responsibility is to the Minister in Paris; that is to say, unlike in a democracy, where obligations are to those under and power springs from below, in this particular case the power is poured over him by the metropolitan Territory. That is the political basis of the authority that is vested in him. And to the French Government is reserved some of those aspects of legislation and executive government which are vital to the life of a community. For example, the whole of penal legislation is reserved to France. Civil liberties, political administrative organization, a large number of denoted powers -- we are not now dealing with external affairs, but with the internal government in the day-to-day life of the community -- which, in the exercise of the rights of an individual, are so pertinent, are exclusively in the hands of the French authority in Paris. And what is more, these denoted functions which I have now mentioned, though they do not exhaust the authority of the French Government, it is possible to extend, to whatever degree it is liked, by decree. Therefore, while, with all the panoply of councils, and so on, in the last analysis power rests in the

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Administering Authority. It is the archetypal colonial rule. The present attempt is to try to dilute it with popular consultation which, of course, is a step forward and, I suppose, a hundred years ago would have been considered a considerable advance -- or even fifty years ago probably.

Before I go into the present structure, it may be pointed out that the Government in the case of this Territory, as in others -- and quite rightly from its point of view -- argues that although this power is vested in France, on the one hand there is consultation locally and, secondly, that this Territory is represented in the legislative machinery of France. And this is one of the items on which we, at all times, have tried to present our analysis as forcefully as we could.

I think that it is misleading to regard the representation of overseas territories -- in this case I am only concerned with French Togoland -- as having any reality whatsoever. There is one representative, elected by direct suffrage, who sits in the National Assembly. There are two representatives elected by indirect suffrage, no doubt by the élite, to the Senate, and one representative indirectly elected to the Advisory Assembly of the French Union. Can the members of this Council, who are representatives of Governments, who have some knowledge of the exercise of power and of its responsibility, be told that one man going from Togoland, sitting in the French Parliament, would have a great deal of effect upon French policy, even in regard to Togoland? I would submit that, for one thing, it is a violation of the principles of the Charter and of the Trusteeship Agreement. These people are not French nationals. It may be right according to the French Constitution, and this idea of absorption of a Trust Territory into the legislative machinery may appear on the outside as a recognition of equality. But what they want is more than equality; what they want is national individuality. They do not want to be absorbed, even if they are Trust Territories, into the machinery of France.

Apart from this theoretical and philosophic objection; it is unreal to present this as being an apparatus which enables the peoples of Togoland to make any impact upon French policy. It is conceivable that if, as in the case of the British Parliament before Ireland was separated, there was a considerable body of members who could sit between two rivals and throw their weight one way

or the other, they might be effective, but even then they were not effective. So the suggestion of one person, not necessarily of African descent, going to France and getting involved in the politics of the metropolitan country, which certainly has other preoccupations, has no real meaning, and I am sure that those of us who are round this table, while recognizing the reasons for it, while understanding the way the French Constitution works and the approach to it, and so on, cannot regard that as a substitute in any way for the idea that these nationals have any power in anything at all.

In the Territory itself there is an Executive Government. We are told that the Executive Government is half appointed and half elected. First of all, that is not strictly accurate. The Executive Government consists of ten persons but of eleven votes, and when, out of the eleven votes, six are appointed votes and five are the other way, we cannot just pass on and say it is half and half. It is half and half, but one half is bigger than the other half. Therefore, in any crisis -- and this is quite right -- the French reserve this power in cases where they do not pass on responsibility. At the present moment they carry the responsibility, and therefore they hold the power. Our argument is that the responsibility must shift. It is not reasonable to ask the French Government to abdicate power if, at the same time, they do not abdicate responsibility.

So there is this Executive Council; I think that it is called the Government Council, which is an institution that we are all familiar with. It does not execute anything. It is a Council, that is true, and it has got ten members. Five of them are nominated by the Commissioner and five are elected indirectly, and out of the five, two must be Frenchmen. Without introducing any racial feature, the fact remains that six or seven or eight of these will be what will be called the ruling strata, the administrative strata of the country.

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Then the Commissioner has a casting vote, with the result that instead of ten votes, there are eleven. Of these eleven votes, six are held by the Commissioner, and nowhere is it said that these people, as happens in Tanganyika at the present time, are free to vote in whatever way they like. That does not happen.

Even apart from that, what do they do? They are called members of the Government Council, but what do they govern? They do not. That is laid down in the decree or instrument which set up the Council. Each of the members has a responsibility, although I do not think they call it a responsibility. They have some access to a sector of administration; in other words, their functions in this matter are tantamount to an interpolation, to influence. They do not hold any portfolios. They are not heads of departments. They exercise no initiative except by suggestion. They are not ministers in any way. This might be called the embryo of a cabinet in the sense there is a body of advisers who would become familiar with the business of the civil servants, that is, the appointed half and the servants under them are enlightened and are willing to share it with them.

But the members cannot exercise any rights in this matter. Therefore, the rule is still that of a bureaucracy under the direction of the Commissioner, assisted by his five appointed members and, no doubt, by the two who cannot be Africans. This apparatus is an improvement on the previous one in the sense that there is access to information. A degree of status and ceremony goes with the member of the Government Council. It certainly is a social asset, in certain conditions, to be a member, but it would not be a social asset to the more democratic elements in the African community. It brings to the civil service and to the bureaucracy a fresh wind from the people, even if it is regarded as an adverse one. In all that, it has some value, but to suggest that it is an executive authority, that it has changed the incidence of power, that it is a French version of cabinet government, or that it is a representative body of Africans, that is, Togolanders, would not be in accordance with the facts.

Then, round about it, is the Territorial Assembly. The Territorial Assembly is elected by direct suffrage from a limited electorate. We have not been able to understand why this electorate should be limited and by what qualifications. No doubt, it is the élite, and that is the danger. That is to say, there is being created a class with vested interests or loyalties which tend to things as they are, and thereby the foundations are being laid of distrust and distress

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in the country; The Visiting Mission has pointed out that there is no reason at all why there should not be universal suffrage in Togoland. The Mission went on to state:

"In view of the stated policy of the Administering Authority on the the matter of suffrage, the degree of its extension thus far and the unanimous wish of the population to achieve the desired goal, the Mission believes that the time has now arrived when suffrage should be further extended and made universal... The Mission expresses the hope that the Administering Authority will be able to take the necessary measures to apply the system of universal and direct suffrage to all the elections in the Territory in the very near future, in particular with regard to the approaching elections to the National Assembly and to the district councils."

(T/1211, page 37)

The view of my delegation is that universal suffrage is more of a practical proposition in African communities with tribal conditions and that there is far less, apart from the allegiance to the chiefs, of the impedimenta of differentiation and discrimination than in what are called more advanced and civilized communities. That is probably one of the reasons which prompted the Visiting Mission to state that the desire was unanimous and, what is more, to express the view that suffrage should be further extended.

The powers of the Territorial Assembly are very limited. These powers are largely in the way of carrying out the policy of the French Government. The Assembly can make rules and regulations, very much like a company which can make by-laws. Unlike a parliament, it cannot pass statutes. It is a ways and means committee in that way. I do not mean in the financial sense. It is a body which suggests ways of implementing decisions reached somewhere else. That is its function, and I do not discount the value of that. After all, great decisions must be implemented and one must know how to implement them. It is a good thing to have a good drafting committee in this Council, but a drafting committee cannot take the place of this Council.

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Therefore, there is a deficiency in the sense there is a limited electorate but, we are glad to note, it is direct suffrage, it is not through an electoral college. There are 16 categories of voters. This, again, is an experience with which we are familiar in our history. All colonial countries who have had, by the impact of public opinion or by the advance of liberal thought in their own countries, to concede reforms have sought to divide the electorate. In the Constitution that was given to our country in 1935, the British Government of the day produced 17 different types of electorates, which reduced the impact of the masses upon the centre of power. This is a normal device of slow progress. It is not maliciously intended, it is all intended for the protection of the people from themselves.

In Togoland, there are 16 different categories of voters, which takes away from the great value of the impact of democratic processes and of populations as a whole. The strength that is derived from a sense of common purpose is taken away, and I am certain, from experience of incidents of this character, these categories are so graded as not to promote the unity of the electorate in its purposes.

In French Togoland now, thanks to the initiative taken by the French Government, there is a façade of executive and legislative bodies. If the French Government were willing, they could pour power into this. That is to say, there is already a vessel, a structure, there is scaffolding and it is possible to build upon it. If it were possible to enrich the powers of the governmental body and so constitute it that, at least for the time being, even if they were appointed by the Government they would function as ministers function, then it would be easy to pass from there to independence. That is probably the counsel of gradual evolution. It is not for us to suggest what should be done, but it appears there is an executive council, although it is not really executive. There is also the Territorial Assembly, which has the power only of making by-laws and making recommendations. But the body of people is there.

(Mr. Krishna Menon, India)

If there is the desire for advance which the General Assembly has embodied in its resolution, against which, as I have said, the French delegation did not record its vote, it is possible, even without further reference to the French Parliament or to major legislation, to change the character of this machinery by giving it more power, by, in practice, eliminating the difference between the appointed members and the elected members and, what is more, by the Commissioner not using his casting vote and by the Administration, that is, the civil servants, treating all the members of the Executive Council as though they were responsible. That is one possibility, and whether or not it works in the French system, it is highly logical. That has been the practice in other parliamentary systems of government.

Similarly, in the case of the legislation, my delegation entirely endorses the view of the Visiting Mission that there is no reason whatsoever for withholding universal suffrage from these people. After all, the French Government itself concedes that these people are fit enough to be represented in the French Parliament. If they are fit enough to be represented in the French Parliament, then they should be fit enough to belong to their own parliament. How can it be that a Togolander is good enough to be a representative in the French Parliament and participate in the affairs of a great nation, and yet he cannot be in a real parliament in his own country. Somehow or other, that does not seem to be logical. It is very indefensible; I do not know what the answer is.

Referring to the Territorial Assembly, the Visiting Mission makes this observation on page 9 of document T/L.630:

(Mr. Krishna Menon, India)

"... the powers of the Territorial Assembly were limited to the making of rules and regulations and that the French Parliament remained sovereign in all matters. No provision of the French Constitution, however, stood in the way of granting to that elected assembly full legislative powers, since Article 72 of that Constitution, which provided that laws falling within certain categories must be voted expressly by the French Parliament, applied only to the Overseas Territories. In view of the fact that the existing assimilation between Overseas Territories and the associated territories was not exclusively laid down by a provision of the Constitution, the Mission considered that it would be appropriate if the inhabitants of the Territory could begin to participate in the law-making process."

(T/L.630, paragraph 17)

I do not think that it requires a great deal of argument. Anyone who reads the French Constitution will see that there are no constitutional objections whatsoever to conferring full franchise upon these people. As far as is necessary, I have dealt with the details of the present situation.

Now we come to the future. In regard to the future, I would like to state two or three facts that are uppermost in my mind. First of all, in dealing with this Territory of Togoland under French administration, no one of us here -- and with great respect, the French Government -- can ignore the fact of evolution in Africa. The Gold Coast will become an independent Territory with or without Togoland -- independent in the sense that my country is independent -- probably within a few months, and certainly in the course of the next twelve months. That is our expectation. In Nigeria vast progress is being made in this way.

But the country that is most apposite in this consideration is the Sudan. The north of it is Sudanese and in the south of it there are other African peoples. In Togoland as in the Sudan, the same problems exist in the north and south.

Now the Sudan, which was a British-Egyptian condominium, thanks to the decisive initiative of the Egyptian and British Governments, has, in less than the time that was stipulated, become a solid independent nation recommended for membership in the United Nations by the Security Council.

If Sudan can be independent and if Sudan can do without the condominium, and if Sudan was handed its national flag by the Egyptian and British authorities and they took away their own, and if in the Sudan there can be a cabinet government and electoral apparatus -- and we are happy to say that we were able to assist in its formation -- that equally applies to these Territories. They are ethnically, in background and in capacity, about the same.

There is also the fact that all Africa is in ferment. I do not want to go outside the demarcation set by the subject of this debate and I do not want to refer to particular Territories, but the representative of France would be as conscious as anyone else that all Africa is in ferment; and here at least is one area where that ferment can be canalized in the establishment of independence.

There is another factor in considering the future that has to be taken into account. In reading through the statements made by the representative of France, in this session of the Council and the previous one -- I cannot say I regret, which is natural -- the emphasis is on the relations with France. My country would not regret, would not object -- we have no right to object anyway -- and would not regard it as a calamity if an independent Togoland associated itself with France. We are associated with Britain, or, if Sir Alan Burns would not mind my saying so, Britain is associated with us equally. That is the nature of our relationship.

Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom): I am very glad to agree with what my friend, Mr. Krishna Menon, has said. I am particularly glad to find that he cannot talk for very long without bringing me in.

Mr. KRISHNA MENON (India): So that we have no objection to the association. But the purpose and the objectives of the Trusteeship System are the independence of the countries. It is not association with somebody else;

the association is a sequel. That is one point. Secondly, such association can be genuine, can be bona fide and acceptable to the United Nations only if it is reached in conditions of freedom; that is to say, there must be independence before there is self-determination in regard to this relationship. Otherwise, it would be an unreal relationship, especially since we have heard of these class distinctions, and especially since the Visiting Mission has given a long report on the complaints about minority opinion not being heard, and so on.

Therefore, we have no objection whatsoever, and we should not be regarded as desiring the elimination of French influence or French relationship. Our concern is more than with self-government and independence. The rest is for the independent people to decide. There is, however, one point of which we cannot lose sight, and that is that the termination of trusteeship in British Togoland was thrown into relief and was brought to the point of finality because the neighbouring territory was becoming independent. We have no right to ask questions in this Council as to the neighbouring territory. It is more possible that those relations would come about if the rest of French Africa were evolving toward independence. If there was in Dahomey and other territories the establishment of independence, and if the French Administration were to come and tell us that it is not possible to administer this territory separately, as the British delegation said, because this country is becoming independent, then of course the position is very different.

I want to make the position of my delegation very clear. We have from the very beginning, in regard to British Togoland, said that the emergence of the Gold Coast independence is a determining factor. It is not possible for this Territory to stand alone, as is stated in the British report, and we think that it will be very difficult for French Togoland to stand alone, with a population of 1,000,000 over some 13,000 square miles of territory, with very little egress out into the sea, and so on. Therefore, in considering the future, first of all, we have to take into account the general changes in Africa, the decision of the United Nations, the commitments under the Charter, and, what is more, that if reform is not speeded up, with the changes that have taken place in the neighbouring territory, there is bound to be a considerable amount of discontent.

(Mr. Krishna Menon, India)

In that connexion, it is both a matter for satisfaction, and also a matter for some concern, that there has been a large volume of interest taken by the people in this Territory--in these Territories, I should say, but certainly in this Territory--in regard to the United Nations; in regard to the feeling that they are under protection. Some 200,000 petitions got to the Visiting Mission. It does not matter what is written on them; some people may discard them and say that they are all copies of the same thing, but so are ballot papers. Ballot papers are not identical in our country; there may be two or three different kinds but they tend to be similar. However, the fact is that 200,000 people took the trouble to establish their access to the Visiting Mission.

That is a proclamation of political awakening. Some of them are analysed in the report of the Visiting Mission. They show -- not necessarily ideas that either France or any one of us may accept; some of us may and some of us may not -- the fact that they are politically awake and have knowledge about their rights and powers and the capacity to invoke the United Nations. That is also a rather wide spread in this Territory. From the number of petitions that we have and the behaviour of witnesses under cross-examination, they are not just people who do not know what it is all about.

Therefore, there is an enormous amount of political awakening. In those circumstances, in making my final observations on the political situation, we hope that the Trusteeship Council will take the initiative at this session, that it will take some step, the first step, towards implementing the resolution of the United Nations. My delegation will bring this matter up in the drafting committee, if we are on it. If we are not on the drafting committee, we will send it to them, and if they do not take it, the drafting committee's report will come back here and there will be more trouble. We think that we have an obligation to the General Assembly, that we have an obligation to ourselves, to take the initial step. We do not think that the French Administration is remiss in any way in not producing a scheme. They have not had the time and probably do not think it is necessary. I do not think that it is necessary to get a French scheme in order to have it started, because the United Nations has asked us, in consultation with the Administering Authority, to speed things up.

(Mr. Krishna Menon, India)

What we would like to obtain from the Government of France so far as my delegation is concerned is a document of the character of document A/2660. Therefore it is possible to begin a movement of insurrection. On the other hand, if the Government of France, in its wisdom, is able to produce something better, something more approximating to independence, then we should be only too delighted. But I want to make the final observation that any question of the free assessment of the opinion of the people can be only through machinery which is satisfactory to the United Nations; and the consultation of any territorial body that is set up on a limited franchise, especially with this conception of the élite and so on, would not be a democratic expression of opinion.

Mr. COHEN (Under-Secretary, Department of Trusteeship): I should just like to furnish some information in regard to a point raised by the representative of India: the question of the attendance of the specialized agencies at the meetings of the Council. Every time the Council is to meet, a notification of the day and the place is sent to each one of the specialized agencies with an invitation to be represented at the meetings of the Council. Where some of the specialized agencies have in the past stated that they have no direct concern, we even sent them all the documents of the Council once the session was finished. Therefore, all the specialized agencies are advised as to the date of the meetings and are requested to be represented at them. In addition a special report is sent to them about the decisions taken by the Council in the field in which they are interested.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): My observation in this connexion was in no way a suggestion that the Secretariat did not send out an invitation. If he looks at the verbatim record, the Under-Secretary will find that what I suggested was that he kindly draw the attention of the Secretary-General to this matter and take remedial action.

Mr. BARGUES (France)(interpretation from the French): In my final statement tomorrow, I reserve the right to answer the various observations made by several delegations on the situation in French Togoland. However, as a result of a point made by the representative of India, I should like to submit to the Council and more especially to the Secretariat one observation.

In my preliminary statement, I indicated the reasons why the French Government was not in a position to submit to the Council at this session concrete and specific proposals on its intentions and programmes regarding the implementation of the resolution of the General Assembly. The representative of India was somewhat surprised by this course of action. In so doing, however, the Government of France thought that it was acting strictly in accord with the terms of the recommendations of the resolution of the tenth session of the General Assembly. As I look through the documents which I have requested the Secretariat to supply me with, I come to the following conclusion. The text voted by the General Assembly -- in its French version at least, and if you permit me, Mr. President, I will give you a copy of it tomorrow -- contains a third paragraph which reads: "Requests the Trusteeship Council, in its next sessions. . .". The word is in the plural. I note that in the subsequent editions of this text and in the reproduction in the printed document, the third paragraph uses the singular instead of the plural, which would justify the point of the representative of India. However, this point seems to arise from a misprint.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): This resolution is contained in document A/RES/366. I think I drafted this myself. In the paragraph 3, there cannot be any idea of singular and plural because it says, "at its forthcoming regular session". There are at least two words there which qualify the session. Maybe the French text is different, but I have only the English text, and, for this purpose, it must be regarded as official because the resolution was submitted in the English language. It says, "Requests the Trusteeship Council, at its forthcoming regular session. . .". In so far as Togoland is concerned, this is the forthcoming regular session. If we brought this up at the next session of the Trusteeship Council, you would rule us out of order because you would say that Togoland was not on the agenda. This is the forthcoming regular

(Mr. Krishna Menon, India)

session. The paragraph asks us to undertake a special study of this matter. That is all we have said. This was not in any way a reflection on the Government of France. All I said was that it is possible for us to take some initial steps in this matter and to obtain the co-operation of the Administering Authority.

Mr. BARGUES (France)(interpretation from the French): The only authentic text for the French delegation is the French text. I maintain, therefore, -- and I will give you physical evidence of it tomorrow -- that the text circulated at the tenth session of the General Assembly used the word "sessions", in the plural. If it had not, I would have raised objections, which did not come to my mind when I saw the text in the plural. In addition, the French Government has invoked other reasons. But throughout, the French Government felt it was acting in accordance with the text of the resolution of the General Assembly.

The PRESIDENT: We have now finished with the final observations on conditions in Togoland under French administration. Tomorrow afternoon, I hope that we shall be able to hear the final replies of the representative of France and the special representatives.

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN TANGANYIKA:

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY FOR 1954 (T/1205, 1221 and 1223)
[Agenda item 3a]
- (b) PETITIONS CIRCULATED UNDER RULE 85, PARAGRAPH 2, OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL (T/PET.2/L.4 and 6) [Agenda item 4] (continued)

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Grattan-Bellew, special representative for Tanganyika under United Kingdom administration, took a place at the Trusteeship Council table.

Political advancement (continued)

Mr. THORP (New Zealand): I should first like to ask the special representative a question which arises from his statement of yesterday. I wonder

(Mr. Thorp, New Zealand)

if he could tell me which are the Departments of Government in which the six unofficial members of the Executive Council currently are given a special interest; and whether, in fulfilling this function, they are understudying the official members or do they have separate responsibilities.

Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEV (Special Representative): I have to speak from recollection, but I think I can remember. One member is concerned with development. We have a separate branch of Government which deals with development generally. One member is concerned with education. One member is concerned with natural resource departments, agriculture and so on, and another one is concerned with labour.

I will submit the other two tomorrow. For the moment, my recollection has failed me.

(Mr. Grattan-Bellew,
Special representative)

It is correct to say that they actually understudy the official member of the Executive Council in charge of those departments, but they keep in very close contact with them; they see what is going on; they are told what he has in mind about future policy. They assist them in framing that policy. Of course, when they come to the executive Council, they are in a position to speak with much greater authority than they otherwise would be. Of course, the same applies in the Legislative Council.

Mr. THORP (New Zealand): I should be glad to know, when the information is available, what the other two subjects are.

My second question relates to the functions of the Public Service Commissioner. I should be grateful to the special representative if he could tell me what posts in the Administration fall within the Public Service Commissioner's powers of appointment. For instance, does he have any hand in appointments to the Education Department?

Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative): I think I can put it generally and briefly. The Public Service Commission deals with all appointments made locally or which can be made locally. When it comes to recruiting from outside the Territory, from outside of East Africa, he is not in a position to do it, and it has to be done through other agencies; it can be either the Secretary of State or the Crown agents, according to the type of post. This is one of the first duties he has to carry out, and he must review this from time to time in order to decide what posts can be filled locally, because no posts are filled from outside the Territory unless the Public Service Commissioner says that we cannot fill the posts by local recruitment.

Mr. THORP (New Zealand): Is the information as to which posts are to be filled locally available in the report, the posts that are within the competence of the Public Service Commission to fill, that is, at what level the Public Service Commission does begin to have authority to fill the posts? Is that available in the document?

Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEV Special representative): That is not in the report. Of course that will change from time to time, and we hope that as more recruits become available locally more posts will come directly under his control. The matter is really under the control of the Public Service Commissioner because he decides whether the post is capable of being filled locally. If it is, then the post is filled locally. It is only when he is satisfied that he cannot fill it locally that we have to recruit, naturally, from outside the Territory.

Mr. THORP (New Zealand): My third question flows from the reading of the Town Council Elections Regulations. First of all, we learned, I think at the seventeenth session, that a committee had been set up to consider an electoral system for town councils. I take it that these Elections Regulations arose from that Committee's work or were in some way related to it.

Before I ask the special representative to comment on that, there is one minor point. The township of Aiussha asked for elections to be held in 1956. I see from the statements of the special representative that it is not expected now that the first elections will be held under the Town Council Elections Regulations until 1957. Is there any particular reason for this delay in the case of Aiussha, for instance?

Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEV (Special representative): The only reason for delay is that before one holds one's first election, whether it is a Town Council or a Central Government election, a great deal of detailed administrative work has to be done, and I do not think it would be possible to do that work within twelve months. Later on, once we have done it, and when we get ready to do it the second time, it will be easier. However, I think it will take at least twelve months the first time in order to perfect the election machinery, if I may use that expression. We still hope that Aiussha will ask for elections and have the instrument for setting up the Council amended and that other Town Councils will follow.

Mr. THORP (New Zealand): The local government school at Mzumba is to have its size doubled immediately and will expand after that. It has clearly been a successful operation. I should be glad if the special representative could give me some idea of the scale of the operation of the school at present. What, for instance, is the number of the executive staff and its qualifications? Are they specialists in local government generally or in African conditions particularly? What is the length of the courses? I assume that there are courses suited to different levels of local government authority. Is it a residential school and, if I am not overloading the question too far, to what overseas establishments do the native authorities and their staffs go who have been assisted by the Administration in overseas study of local government?

Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative): The school at Mzumba has, if I may say so, proved very successful, and the benefits of it is now being felt in various fields of local government. It is next proposed -- I think it will be this year -- to increase the school to hold 300 persons at a time. The courses vary. It is a residential school. Courses are held for chiefs and their wives at the same time. The chiefs are taught about local government and its administration and also about the duties of local government bodies. The wives are given a course in social welfare and on other matters which are of particular interest to women. It also trains the staff for native authorities and local government bodies. The courses vary in length. I am afraid I am not in a position to say how they are going to work that out when it becomes a school for 300. It is managed by a retired senior administrative officer who had considerable experience in the local government branch of the secretariat. He also had experience out in the field as a district officer and as an acting Provincial Commissioner. There were under him three or four senior Africans who are experienced in native authority and local government work -- in the actual practical side of it.

Mr. THORP (New Zealand): There was a final section of the question relating to the native authorities whom the Administration has assisted overseas.

Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative): I apologize for leaving out the last question. There is now a regular scheme to send a certain number of native authorities and -- I think I am right in saying this -- some of the senior officials of the native authorities and their employees overseas each year for a short course in local government matters. We are grateful to the British Crown who greatly assist us; they have a representative in Tanganyika. They have helped us not only in preparing these men who have not been outside of Tanganyika to cope with a strange life in a strange territory, but also in conducting courses for them as well. They go to various places and various institutes in England, and of course they also have the opportunity of studying local English government bodies in actual practice and work.

Mr. THORP (New Zealand): I have no further questions. I should like to thank the special representative for his concise and effective replies.

Mr. ASHA (Syria): Before putting my questions, I should like to express my great pleasure in renewing my acquaintance with the special representative. I have had some friendly differences of opinion with him in the past and also some friendly points of agreement, but I hope that both of us will be able to continue along friendly lines.

I have listened with great attention and interest to the statement made by the special representative before the Council yesterday. First of all, I should like to revert to a problem which was discussed at some length last year, but which still leaves me with some uncertainties. It is really the basic problem of the Territory and it exists because the permanent population is made up not only of Africans but also of some communities of Asians and Europeans.

It has been said that the policy of the Administering Authority is to develop this rather mixed population as a multiracial society or a multiracial state. But we remember that the Visiting Mission mentioned that a neighbouring Territory, Uganda, which also has some immigrant communities, has as its objective a primary African state. The Mission also thought that this should be the objective for Tanganyika.

My question is this: What exactly would be the difference in the case of Tanganyika between a multiracial state and a primary African state?

Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative): May I thank the representative of Syria for his kind words on our meeting again here. I wish to say that last year my great regret was that he was not here to take part in the discussion on Tanganyika. I am sure that even though we may disagree, our friendly relations will nevertheless continue.

Last year a great deal was said about multiracial and interracial, and these are terms which, if I may put it this way, I have to come to New York to here. In Tanganyika we are getting on very well and the people are not thinking in terms of multiracial and interracial. They have a job to do and they want to get on and do it. So far I think it would really be better to describe Tanganyika not as multiracial perhaps but as non-racial, which might be a more apt description.

(Mr. Grattan-Bellew,
Special representative)

There is really very little profit in trying to compare Tanganyika with the neighbouring Territory of Uganda, because conditions in Uganda are completely different. They have a small immigrant population, but it is very small. They are far more advanced than Tanganyika and they are a far more wealthier Territory because they have a much larger cotton crop. They are fortunate while Tanganyika is unfortunate. Although we have three enormous lakes on our frontiers, the waters from those lakes run away from us. None of the waters from those lakes come through Tanganyika, whereas Uganda has Lake Victoria and Lake Albert, which are all enormous sources of wealth and power. Tanganyika is dependent on immigrant races for its development, and conditions must be favourable for those races if they are going to play their full part in developing the Territory, as they have done up to now. As I said in my opening statement, the Government is doing all it can to bring the African into this, to urge, encourage and teach him to take his part in this big development that is taking place. At the moment and up to this time it has depended solely on the immigrant races -- on the non-Africans who are in the Territory.

Those who have studied the question carefully feel that this non-racial form of government is the one that is in the best interests of the Territory at the present time. They have started it and will continue it so long as it answers the interests of the Territory.

Mr. ASHA (Syria): I am not so sure whether a complete answer has been given to my question. However, in order to save the time of the Council, I shall have a private conversation with the special representative and perhaps he will be able to clarify the doubt in my mind.

My second question is the following: Does the idea of a multiracial state in any way mean that there will permanently be a separate representation of the distinct races in the organs of the Government?

Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative): I am no prophet. The form of government that will ultimately come about in Tanganyika will, under the British system, undoubtedly depend on the wishes of the people. But as has been stated here before, the principle of parity of representation has been designed to last a considerable time and it will last as long as it suits the interests of the Territory. What form of government will eventually come must depend upon the wishes of the people.

Mr. ASHA (Syria): My third question is connected with and closely related to the one that I have just put. The special representative told us that he is no prophet. I am no prophet either, but what I meant to ask was the following: Is it the idea of the Administering Authority that this system should last for a long time; for example, longer than the life of the present council itself? I should like to have merely an approximate idea. I would not ask the special representative to prophesy because I know that it is beyond his human ability.

Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative): An expression that has always been used is that it is designed to last a considerable time. In expressing a personal opinion on this, I hope that it will last considerably longer than the present council, particularly as our first year's experience of this principle of parity has been a most happy and encouraging one. They have approached the problems objectively. Up to the time that I left Tanganyika, a vote had never taken place on a racial basis. The three representatives -- the African, the European and the Asian for each area -- undoubtedly considered what was in the interests of their areas and what was in the interests of the Territory. There is not one occasion that I can recollect on which a speech has ever been based on the interests of a race -- it has always been based on the interests of the Territory as a whole.

Mr. ASHA (Syria): In his statement to the Council, the special representative said:

"Before nominating any representative members, the Governor consulted many representative public and private bodies and was guided by their proposals in making his nominations." (T/PV.670, page 81)

I wonder if he could tell us, for example, which political parties and which interests were consulted by the Governor, and whether usually they were African or from other communities?

Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative): The Governor consulted a great many bodies, and I could not possibly list them in detail, but he certainly consulted all the African bodies through the District Commissioner, the African native authorities, District Councils and local councils. He also consulted, of course, the various large community associations, which are non-African bodies. As to which of the political associations he consulted I am not sure, but I think that he must have consulted some -- in the northern Province, probably. He communicated with the Tanganyika National Union on this question and its reply was that it did not wish to be consulted but preferred to use its influence through the native authorities, District Councils and local councils rather than do it direct.

Mr. ASHA (Syria): I should be very grateful if the special representative could obtain, at least for my delegation, information as to the political parties which were consulted by the Governor. If the information is not available immediately I am quite prepared to wait.

In view of the hour, I shall leave my other questions until tomorrow.

The PRESIDENT: The Council will meet again at 2 p.m. tomorrow.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.