



## TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

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**President:** Mr. Leslie Knox MUNRO (New Zealand).

*Present:*

The representatives of the following States members of the Trusteeship Council: Australia, Belgium, China, El Salvador, France, Haiti, India, New Zealand, Syria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Urquía (El Salvador), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration: (a) annual report (T/1082 and Add.1); (b) petitions circulated under rule 85, paragraph 2, of the rules of procedure; (c) report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952 (T/1043, T/1069); (d) General Assembly resolutions 655 (VII) and 758 (VIII) on the hearing of petitioners from the Trust Territory (*continued*)**

[Agenda items 3 (d), 4, 5 and 10]

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Becquey, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration, took a place at the Council table.*

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that, from the point of view of the indigenous inhabitants, there had been few changes for the better in the Cameroons under French administration in recent years, and many for the worse.

2. The annual report for 1952,<sup>1</sup> the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952, (T/1043) and the petitions received from the indigenous population all showed that the Administering Authority was doing nothing to foster the Territory's advancement towards self-government and independence. On the contrary, it was hampering that advancement by integrating the Trust Territory into the French Union, thereby depriving it of its special international status and reducing it to the level of all the other colonial territories in the Union. Some sections of the indigenous population, the Union des Populations du Cameroun, for example, were fully aware of all the adverse implications of integration in the French Union and vehemently opposed it, as the Visiting Mission noted in paragraph 74 of its report. Integration in the French Union would have a decisive influence on all aspects of the development of the Cameroons and as such it should have been a matter of particular interest to the Visiting Mission, which had, however, practically chosen to ignore the whole issue. Several members of the Council had already pointed out that that integration violated the Charter. Were the Council to adopt a responsible approach to the question, it would be bound to condemn the Administering Authority's policy as an attempt to extend the French colonial régime to the Trust Territory, to the detriment of the indigenous inhabitants.

3. The population of the Cameroons was inadequately represented in French legislative organs, having only three out of 627 deputies in the National Assembly, two out of 320 members of the Council of the Republic, and three representatives in the Assembly of the French Union. Obviously, those few representatives could not ensure that Cameroonian interests were safeguarded. An unsatisfactory situation was further aggravated by the fact that the representative institutions in the Trust Territory had no real powers and were incapable of protecting the interests of the indigenous population. The Territorial Assembly was deprived of the right of deciding political questions. It was true that it was constitutionally entitled to approve the draft budget for the Territory, but should it fail to do so, the budget would be approved by the Minister for Overseas Territories regardless of the views of the Territorial Assembly. The indigenous population was in fact deprived of the right to manage its own affairs. All legislative, executive and judicial powers were in the hands of the French Administration.

4. One of the most striking examples of political discrimination against the indigenous inhabitants was the electoral system. Despite the Council's repeated requests and the insistent demands of the indigenous population, the Administering Authority continued to retain the dual electoral college system which placed the indigenous population in a position inferior to that of the

<sup>1</sup> See *Rapport annuel du Gouvernement français à l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies sur l'administration du Cameroun placé sous la tutelle de la France, année 1952*, Paris, Imprimerie Chaix, 1953.

Europeans and ensured the continued European domination. In the Territorial Assembly, for example, there was one deputy for approximately each 600 French voters but only one deputy for each 100,000 indigenous inhabitants. The indigenous population was not prepared to suffer in silence. Its demands for increased powers for the Territorial Assembly and the abolition of the dual electoral college system were becoming increasingly vociferous. In that connexion, paragraphs 64 to 66 of the Visiting Mission's report should be noted. Under the pressure of such demands the Administering Authority had repeatedly promised to replace the dual electoral college system by equal representation for all elements of the population and to extend the powers of the Territorial Assembly; it had done nothing so far to carry out those promises.

5. A further example of political discrimination was the fact that special seats were reserved for Europeans on the municipal councils solely on the ground that they had an economic stake in the Trust Territory: in other words, a Frenchman obtained a seat on a municipal council not by being elected on the basis of fair representation but because he owned a large farm, factory or other enterprise. That state of affairs was patently undemocratic.

6. It was clear from the Visiting Mission's report that the Administering Authority was artificially retaining and strengthening the tribal structure in the Trust Territory. The status of the tribal chiefs had been defined by law in 1933 and that law had never been amended. There was obviously no intention, at any rate in the near future, of doing anything to abolish the outmoded tribal structure, although it hampered the progressive development of the people of the Trust Territory towards democracy, economic progress and self-government or independence. The Administering Authority had prepared a bill to bring the tribal chiefs under the control of the administrative authorities. The net result of the bill would be to convert the tribal chiefs into government clerks and agents of the Administration. It would not result in a democratic reform of the structure of society, but would merely make the tribal chiefs better instruments for perpetuating the domination of the Administering Authority and further enslaving the indigenous population. The petitions submitted to the Council clearly showed that the retention and bureaucratization of the tribal chiefs helped the Administration to govern the indigenous population in an arbitrary manner. Petitions T/PET.5/140, T/PET.5/158 and T/PET.5/174 should be noted in that connexion. It was clear from the last petition that in the subdivision of Fombot the imposition of a certain chief by the French Administration had caused such an uproar among the indigenous population that the Administration had been forced to remove a large section of the inhabitants from his authority. Even the Visiting Mission had been forced to admit frankly that the chiefs were not elected on a democratic basis.

7. An outstanding feature of the administrative system in the Cameroons under French administration was the fact that there was no separation of judicial and executive powers. Such a state of affairs led to utter arbitrariness and lawlessness. A petition from the Union des Populations du Cameroun, M'Balmayo branch (T/PET.5/R.5), for example, stated that in the court at M'Balmayo, the chief subdivisional officer acted simultaneously as prosecutor, judge and clerk of the court. Obviously, therefore, an indigenous inhabitant would

have no legal redress against an injustice committed by the chief subdivisional officer in his administrative capacity. A number of petitioners complained that the courts in the Trust Territory were dependent upon the Administration and that justice was entirely in the hands of French officials.

8. In addition there was no court of cassation in the Trust Territory composed of representatives of the indigenous inhabitants. When necessary, the local population had to appeal to the French Court of Cassation in Paris. Since the population of the Trust Territory was almost entirely illiterate and by its very nature the Court of Cassation in Paris was bound to protect the interests of the metropolitan Power, there was no real procedure for protecting the interests of the indigenous inhabitants, and the local courts run by the French Administration had unlimited and arbitrary powers over the local population.

9. It was obvious that those indigenous inhabitants and political organizations such as the Union des Populations du Cameroun, which demanded the unification of the two Cameroons, extended rights and powers for the indigenous population and speedier progress towards self-government and independence, were persecuted.

10. In the economic field, the most important phenomenon was the continued alienation of land from the indigenous inhabitants to European settlers or French companies, who were draining the Territory of its natural wealth. As a general rule, no compensation was paid for land alienated and valuable trees and crops planted by the indigenous inhabitants were frequently destroyed. Numerous petitions had been received on that subject; those contained in documents T/PET.5/172 and T/PET.5/173 were excellent examples. Another petitioner contended (T/PET.5/159) that every European who came to the Mungo region settled on the land without asking permission from the customary owners; such settlement was condoned by the local administrative officials, in return for surreptitious payments; French companies were particularly active in seizing land from the indigenous population. Protests against such seizures by the company Les Bois du Cameroun were contained in documents T/PET.5/L.8 and Add.1 and a number of other petitions contained complaints about the confiscation of indigenous lands without compensation by the Compagnie Pastorale. In many cases the local chiefs, with the support of the Administering Authority, seized land from the indigenous inhabitants and then sold it to European settlers. A complaint of that nature was contained in document T/PET.5/152. Yet another form of land alienation was carried out by the Administering Authority under the guise of the so-called classification of forest land or of State lands and vacant and ownerless lands. Other common pretexts were that the land was needed for the construction of railways, water supplies and other similar facilities. As the Visiting Mission noted, the indigenous inhabitants and the Territorial Assembly were opposed to the present land tenure system and to the classification of forests (T/1043, para. 171 and 186). Their opposition was undoubtedly due to the arbitrary way in which the confiscation and classification were being carried out.

11. There was discrimination against the indigenous inhabitants in matters of wages, social security, housing and labour conditions. In that connexion, he drew attention to a petition from the representatives of the Syndicat unique des cheminots (T/PET.5/147). The

petitioners contended that preference was given to the European staff in matters of pay, promotion and housing and that indigenous workers were in constant terror of being dismissed and replaced by European workers. The system for examining workers' complaints meant that the complaints were, in fact, disregarded. The disciplinary councils for railway workers were used solely to persecute indigenous workers: most of the councils were composed of Europeans or their representatives and were closely linked to the Administering Authority. Apparently, too, there was a total lack of public safety measures in the railway system and hence a high number of accidents among the African workers.

12. Trade union rights were constantly being violated. On 6 May 1953, for example, the French authorities had prohibited the circulation of a number of important trade union publications. The Administering Authority alleged (T/OBS.5/18, section 4) that that move had been necessary because the trade union publications in question were liable to disturb the peace in a country where the mass of the population had not yet developed the necessary critical sense or acquaintance with political discussions. Undoubtedly, however, the case in point was a typical example of the persecution of trade unions and also of the policy of racial discrimination practised in the Trust Territory.

13. A number of petitions, such as T/PET.5/196 and T/PET.5/212, referred to corporal punishment, and it was clear that the Administering Authority had as yet taken no steps to abolish the use of corporal punishment in prisons and police stations in the Trust Territory.

14. Education in the Trust Territory was virtually confined to a very limited amount of elementary education. Only 16 per cent of the children of school age were attending school and the special representative had been unable to give the Council any exact figures of the total number of children of school age in the Trust Territory. Only a very small number of schools were financed out of the local budget. The majority of children attended private schools and generally had to pay fairly large fees. It was apparent that the Administering Authority was trying to transfer responsibility for educational matters to the religious missions or other private undertakings, which were not in a position to discharge that responsibility in a satisfactory manner. Education should not be regarded as philanthropy; it should be in the hands of the competent authorities. The indigenous inhabitants had the right to receive an ever growing measure of education and the Administering Authority the duty to provide it. The situation with regard to secondary education was particularly bad. As UNESCO noted in its observations (T/1091), secondary education was reaching only a very small proportion of children. As for higher education, it was virtually inaccessible to the indigenous inhabitants. In 1952, for example, only thirty-nine students out of a total population of 3 million had been admitted to higher educational establishments.

15. The level of training of teachers was very low and the output of teachers was declining: whereas the number of teachers had increased by 100 in 1949, it had increased by only three in 1951. UNESCO concluded that the number of teachers leaving the teacher-training establishments was insufficient to fill even the regular vacancies which occurred and certainly did not provide for any new schools.

16. The greatest and most fundamental defect in the educational system lay in the fact that the Administering Authority was doing nothing to train the local population to assume responsibility for the country's administration, economic policy, education and health. As UNESCO noted, higher educational and scholarship facilities were quite inadequate to meet the country's needs and the question of specialized education had hardly been considered. The standard of courses in technical subjects was even lower than the general standard of secondary education, and only 796 students had attended such courses in 1952.

17. The situation with regard to health services was equally deplorable. It was clear from the annual report and the special representative's replies that the number of hospitals and clinics was far below the minimum requirements of the Territory and that many of the existing establishments were run by persons with quite inadequate medical qualifications.

18. A decisive improvement in all fields of development in the Trust Territory was necessary if the Administering Authority was to fulfil the functions conferred on it by the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement. The Trusteeship Council should urge the Administering Authority to give the Trust Territory an administration independent of the French Union and in keeping with its special status. The Administering Authority must take the necessary steps to ensure the transition from the tribal system to a democratic system of self-government and it must abandon its policy of retaining the tribal chiefs as paid government officials. He must also abandon its anti-democratic policy of racial discrimination and cease to violate the interests of the indigenous inhabitants. The electoral system must be reorganized to eliminate the dual-college concept and to give the indigenous inhabitants equal representation with the French. Steps must be taken to ensure that land alienated from the indigenous population was returned and that no more land was alienated to European settlers and companies. The poll tax must be abolished and a sliding scale of income tax introduced. The budgetary credits for education and health services must be greatly increased. It was shameful that the credits for education were lower than those for the *gendarmerie*, particularly since appropriations for the *gendarmerie* were also included in the metropolitan budget, whereas appropriations for education and health outside the metropolitan territory were not. Lastly, the process of training an indigenous *élite* must be improved and secondary and higher education must be made available to an ever increasing number of individuals.

19. Mr. MATHIESON (United Kingdom) pointed out that the Council was empowered, though not ordered, under Article 87 b of the Charter to accept petitions. Once accepted, they should be examined, and the point of view of the Administering Authority heard. By that method the Council would have access to the views of the Cameroonians and not merely to those of the Administering Authority.

20. According to the Syrian representative, the Council resolved itself into a group which favoured a slow progress to self-government and a group which believed that self-government should be learned at a community's own expense. Without wishing to imply a sharp distinction between the two groups, he felt that the former group consisted of those who regarded the Trusteeship System as useful, and the latter of those

who considered it unnecessary. He belonged to the former group. It was the Administering Authority's duty to preserve the peace and provide a framework for development on constitutional lines. He agreed with the Indian representative that traditional forms of social organization often contained valuable features which should be maintained as the society developed.

21. He hoped that the special representative would throw light on the points made in petition T/PET.5/L.9 by the Kumze, the Traditional Assembly of the Bamiléké People which, as a vigorous organization, should be given due consideration. Among the matters raised were the modernization of agriculture, road development, indigenous provident societies and the preservation of customary rights in land. In that connexion, and particularly in relation to petition T/PET.5/L.8, it would be of value for the Council to learn how the Administration dealt with applications for concessions or for the acquisition of land for public use, and how it safeguarded customary rights and provided for improvements in land taken over for other purposes.

22. He also looked forward to hearing the special representative on the subject of the bride-price, which also figured in document T/PET.5/L.9.

23. It was satisfactory that the Administering Authority was pursuing a policy of separation of judicial and administrative powers. In that connexion little heed need be paid to the allegation by the Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC) that the Administration engaged in wholesale slaughter of the population.

24. The Administering Authority would doubtless recognize the statement made in the same document (T/PET.5/L.9) on the development of the Cameroons peoples towards self-government as an expression of legitimate political aspirations, but would probably differ as to the practicable means and pace of progress. The most vocal groups were often minorities, and the interests of the less articulate majority must not be disregarded.

25. Particular petitions must be considered in relation to the report on the Territory. In the light of the statements made by the special representative for the Cameroons under British administration, during the Council's discussion on that Territory, it had become clear that the UPC representative had no substantial following in the Cameroons under British administration. That representative had claimed that the division of the Cameroons into the British-administered and French-administered areas was arbitrary and injurious; but it was no more so than the original boundaries of the former German-occupied territory. The petition from the Ngondo (T/PET.5/L.7) traced the haphazard development of the geographical expression "the Cameroons". There was no call for undue preoccupation with territorial integrity; the interests of the inhabitants were the object of the Council's activities. Other parties, such as the Evolution sociale camerounaise, as well as the 1949 and 1952 Visiting Missions, denied that there was any active mass desire for unification of the two Cameroons Territories.

26. While the UPC claimed unification as a prerequisite of independence, other parties regarded discussion of independence as premature. Political advance would make the people's real wishes more apparent in course of time, but at present it seemed that the matter was not of great concern to the people, and need not be to the Council.

27. With regard to the status of the Territory, the Trusteeship Agreement clearly stated that the Administering Authority should administer it as an integral part of French territory. The Standing Committee on Administrative Unions had concluded that in practice the administrative arrangements, and France's interpretation of the Territory's relationship to the French Union did not conflict with the Charter or the Agreement (T/1026, para. 329). The theories of constitutional law underlaying the French Constitution were another matter, but the Agreement had presumably been adopted in full knowledge of that Constitution.

*The meeting was suspended at 3.55 p.m. and was resumed at 4.25 p.m.*

28. Mr. TARAZI (Syria) explained that the two attitudes towards the method of development of a Trust Territory that he had mentioned could not be characterized, as the United Kingdom representative had suggested, by greater or lesser fidelity to the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement. He had advocated not progress by revolutionary means, but progress consonant more with the spirit than with the letter of the Charter.

29. General Assembly resolution 558 (VI) had invited the Administering Authorities to state the period of time in which it was expected that each Trust Territory would attain self-government or independence; and the Indian representative had asked questions on the subject but the Administering Authorities' replies had been evasive. Either trusteeship was a burden of which the Administering Authorities would be glad to be relieved, or it was a source of profit to them, in which case their method of reconciling their viewpoint with the Charter was beyond his comprehension.

30. Peoples learned self-government by practising it. In any civil code, there was a term set to the period of a person's minority; the Charter set no term, but provided that one should be set to the trusteeship agreement in respect of a Territory. Syria, while a Mandate of France, had been told that when it was independent it would be incapable of self-government. Nevertheless, since independence had been attained, great progress had been made, for example, in education, and cultural and commercial relations. Ties of friendship with France were stronger than before.

*Mr. Becquey, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration, withdrew.*

**Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration:**  
(a) annual report (T/1084 and Add.1); (b) petitions circulated under rule 85, paragraph 2, of the rules of procedure; (c) report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952 (T/1040, T/1070) (continued)

[Agenda items 3 (e), 4 and 5]

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ensor, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration, took a seat at the Council table.*

QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE TRUST TERRITORY AND  
REPLIES OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE (continued)

*Political advancement (concluded)*

31. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) stated, in answer to the question previously asked by the Salvadorian representative, that the Trans-Volta/Togoland Council had originally had, and substantially still had, eighteen members representing units of the Gold Coast Colony, seventeen representing units in the Trust Territory and one representing a part-Gold Coast, part-Togoland unit. The voting power of members was weighted by population, giving the Gold Coast representatives 63 votes, the Togoland representatives 41 votes and the other representative 1 vote. Most decisions, however, were taken without a vote. Two members of the Council were in New York as petitioners and the Council could discuss the matter with them.

32. Mr. ASHA (Syria) asked whether political thought and organization among the northern peoples were still at the stage described in paragraph 37 of the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952 (T/1040), and what measures the Administering Authority contemplated to remedy the situation.

33. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that tribal feelings were still very strong, but that the Dagombas were enthusiastically in favour of a self-governing Gold Coast. The Administration was vigorously promoting increased formal and mass education, but would not take any step to impair tribal affinities and loyalties.

34. Mr. ASHA (Syria) asked whether the Administering Authority intended to regard the forthcoming elections as a referendum on the question of the unification of the Gold Coast and Togoland, and whether the Convention People's Party would have any advantages over other political parties.

35. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that the Administering Authority could not, under the Charter, fail to take some account of the people's views as expressed in the elections, in which the unificationists were taking part for the first time. It was the Administration's duty to see that no political party had an unfair advantage over the others, but the Convention People's Party would have the advantage of previous successful election experience.

36. In reply to a question from Mr. ASHA (Syria), Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that he regarded it as the true and unanimous wish of the chiefs and people of northern Togoland that the Northern Section should be integrated into the Gold Coast.

37. Mr. ASHA (Syria) asked whether the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, in committing himself to the integration of northern Togoland into the Gold Coast, had also committed the Administering Authority.

38. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that he had not, but that the commitment in question had been imposed on the Prime Minister by the northern Togoland's determination to participate in constitutional advance only on condition that their own future with the Gold Coast was assured.

39. In response to a request from Mr. ASHA (Syria) for his comments on the last sentence of paragraph 88 of the Visiting Mission's report, Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that the existing administration of Togoland

as part of the Gold Coast in no way committed the Administering Authority to eventual integration. The will of the people would decide the matter. In the Northern Section the will to integrate was plain, but any change would be taken into account. He would prefer, however, that the Council should learn the position from the northern Togoland representative then in New York, rather than from himself as a civil servant in duty bound to preserve an open mind.

40. Mr. LOOMES (Australia) asked whether the White Paper dealing with constitutional reforms,<sup>2</sup> to which the special representative had referred, contained any proposals concerning the reserved powers of the Governor.

41. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) read out two paragraphs from the White Paper, the first of which made it clear that the question was not a major subject of controversy and stated that the reserved powers had not been used under the present Constitution; the second explained that even if, in an extremity, the powers were used, there would be ample opportunity for the views of all parties to be made known and for the Secretary of State for the Colonies to take action accordingly. The White Paper went on to say that the circumstances to which the relevant provisions referred were largely hypothetical and that the Government considered that it should be a measure of the country's satisfaction at the extent of the advances set out in the White Paper that no request should be put forward for the removal of the reserved powers.

42. Mr. LOOMES (Australia) asked whether anything was being done to assimilate the local government and central government electoral rolls.

43. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that the Local Government Ordinance had been amended to make the requirements for electors in local government and central government elections identical except in one respect: only British subjects and British protected persons could take part in central government elections. There would therefore be one roll, but it would be kept in two parts. Furthermore, one of the qualifications was residence in or ownership of immovable property. A man who owned immovable property in more than one area was entitled to vote for the local authority in each area, but to vote in the central government elections in only one area, and he would have to indicate in which area he wished to employ the vote for central government electors.

44. Mr. LOOMES (Australia) asked what positions Togoland's at present held in the upper grades of the civil service.

45. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that Togoland's occupied the positions of inspector of Posts and Telegraphs, and certifying and examining officer in the Transport Department; there were two Togoland's who were masters at Achimota School, one who was a wireless officer, one a medical officer, one a senior executive officer, one a prison superintendent, one an assistant publications officer, one a paymaster and two

<sup>2</sup> See *Gold Coast: The Government's Proposals for Constitutional Reform*, Accra, Government Printing Department, 1953.

accountants. One Togolander had been made an administrative officer, but had unfortunately had to be retired on medical grounds.

46. Mr. MENON (India) understood that the Territory was inhabited by a large number of tribal groups, and wondered whether that was the general sociological configuration of that part of Africa.

47. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that there were about six major ethnic groups in the Territory, and many subdivisions within those groups. He replied in the affirmative to the Indian representative's second question and added that the strata of ethnical groupings ran in general from east to west.

48. In reply to a question by Mr. MENON (India), Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) confirmed that Togoland under British administration had no seaport and was virtually cut off from the rest of the world by the Gold Coast on one side and by Togoland under French administration on the other.

49. Mr. MENON (India) wondered whether the Territory had greater unity than other groupings of the tribal area and whether it would be economically and otherwise viable.

50. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that the size and strength of the Territory were very small and he doubted whether it would be able to stand on its own feet. The present price of cocoa gave it an artificially high revenue, which could not be expected to be permanent.

51. Mr. MENON (India) said he understood that the greater part of the Trust Territory was occupied by two tribal groups, the Ewes and the Dagombas.

52. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) confirmed that that was the case. There was, however, a considerable area between the Ewes in the south and the Dagombas in the north, Buem-Krachi, the people of which had affinities with the Ashantis. It was in fact larger than the Ewe area, but was less densely populated.

53. Mr. MENON (India) asked whether it was not in fact the case that the Dagombas and the Ewes, who were sociologically related, were separated from the Gold Coast only by the boundary laid down by the imperialist régime of the past.

54. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) agreed that that was so. In fact, a notice board put up in the north to mark the frontier had had to be removed, owing to the objections of the Dagombas.

55. Mr. MENON (India) wondered what was the origin of the new name of the Gold Coast-Ghana.

56. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that Ghana was the name of one of the mediaeval empires in West Africa. The people of the Gold Coast had chosen that name because they desired to link their present to the great past of West Africa.

57. Mr. MENON (India) asked whether, on the assumption that the Gold Coast would shortly become an independent sovereign State and that Togoland remained a Trust Territory, the latter would be administered directly by the United Kingdom Parliament and Government, as it were as a fief.

58. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) pointed out that under the Trusteeship Agreement there was no other system that could be used.

59. Mr. MENON (India) asked whether it was not true that the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast believed that the question of the expressed will of the people of the Trust Territory should be antecedent to the question of integration of the Territory in the Gold Coast.

60. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) read a passage from a speech by the Prime Minister, in which he had said that his Government wished to build a new democracy by ordinary democratic methods and thus insisted that the final choice in the matter of integration should be left to majority opinion in the Territory. The Prime Minister naturally hoped, however, that the people of Togoland would decide to join with the Gold Coast.

61. In reply to a further question by Mr. MENON (India), Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said he believed there were rather more Ewes in Togoland under British administration and the Gold Coast than in Togoland under French administration, but the difference was not great.

62. Mr. MENON (India) asked whether it was not a fact that students from the Gold Coast in the United Kingdom were extremely articulate on the matter of unification.

63. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) thought it likely that the majority of such students favoured the continued association of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast.

64. Mr. MENON (India) referred to a speech made by the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast during the 1952 session of the Legislative Assembly concerning the question of constitutional reform, in which he had proposed that copies of his statement should be circulated to all political parties and groups and that its publication should be regarded as an invitation to submit a full statement of their views on the questions he had raised or any other question relating to the constitution, that those statements should be collated and published and that, after considering them, the Government should formulate its views and embody them in a White Paper. He wondered whether that represented the general position of the Gold Coast Government.

65. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that that procedure had been followed. In practice such a large number of views had been submitted that it had not been practicable to include them all in full in the White Paper; the more important ones had been included and the others summarized.

66. Mr. MENON (India) observed that in all the Prime Minister's speeches on the subject of constitutional reform, each section ended with the words: "It is for the chiefs and people, bearing these implications in mind, to consider..." He wondered whether the reference was to the two Houses of the Gold Coast legislature.

67. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) explained that the Prime Minister was addressing the chiefs and people of the Gold Coast and the Territory in general; the Gold Coast legislature was unicameral.



68. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) asked whether, under the new Constitution, the functions of the administrative officers were the same as they had been under the previous organization and, if so, whether the system was working harmoniously.

69. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that, with the growth of democratic institutions in the Territory both on the local government and the central government plane, administrative officers were becoming advisers rather than rulers. If a government agent, as district commissioners were now called, disagreed fundamentally with the local government body, all he could do was to report the disagreement to the Minister of Local Government at Accra.

70. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) wondered what would happen if the people of Togoland refused integration with the Gold Coast, and whether the Administering Authority had an alternative plan to meet that eventuality.

71. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that, if the people of the Trust Territory rejected association with the Gold Coast, it would not be forced upon them. In that event it would be for the people themselves to evolve another solution. If they agreed by a large majority on some other solution, and if the Administering Authority and the United Nations considered it to be practicable, then no doubt that solution would be adopted.

72. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) observed that paragraph 25 of the White Paper stated that there was a growing movement in southern Togoland in favour of integration in the Gold Coast and he assumed that at the appropriate time the people would be able to make its choice. He wondered when the popular consultation would take place.

73. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) was unable to give a definite reply. The forthcoming general election would furnish some indication of the probable result of the consultation.

74. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) pointed out that, according to paragraph 29 of the Visiting Mission's report, Togoland was not represented as a separate entity in the Legislative Assembly, and asked for the special representative's comments on that situation in the light of Trusteeship Council resolution 293 (VII), paragraph 7.

75. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that any attempt by the Administering Authority to force a separate identity on the people would be bitterly resented.

76. Mr. S. S. LIU (China) asked whether, when the special representative had informed the Council that the whole framework of local government throughout the Territory had now been completed, he had meant that all the local councils, without exception, had been set up and were already functioning.

77. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that all the councils had indeed been set up and were working tolerably well, with one exception. In that case the people had asked recently to have two local councils for their area instead of one, and their wish would shortly be granted.

78. Mr. S. S. LIU (China) noted from paragraph 42 of the Visiting Mission's report that the Administering Authority intended to conduct an inquiry into the functioning of the councils after a six-month period. He wondered whether any such inquiries had been carried out and, if so, what the results had been.

79. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) had not been under the impression that a six-month period had been set. It was, however, undoubtedly the intention of the Minister of Local Government in the Gold Coast to enlarge the powers of the councils. The year 1953 had been chiefly devoted to the division of powers between district and local councils, and the problems that had arisen in that connexion had to some extent prevented an increase in the powers of any one council. Moreover, the hope that local and district councils would be able to take over a large number of powers had had to be deferred owing to an insufficient increase in their revenue. The Administration was therefore acutely aware of the need to strengthen the finances of the local authorities. That had been one of its reasons for making the payment of local rates a requirement for taking part in an election. At the present time the Minister of Local Government, who was most anxious to increase the powers of local councils, was having to resist demands by other Ministers that local councils should take over some of the functions now exercised by the central government, because of the financial strain which that would place on local authorities.

80. Mr. S. S. LIU (China) asked for information concerning the conflict between the Nawuris and the Gonjas referred to in the Visiting Mission's report (T/1040, paras. 51 *et seq.*).

81. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that the situation was at the moment quiescent and that there were some signs of the two peoples being able to work together in the local council for the benefit of the area as a whole.

82. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) asked whether the senior executive officers, whom he understood to be Africans, appointed to assist government agents were actually exercising the advisory function formerly carried out by the government agents in connexion with local authorities and councils.

83. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that they were doing so to a very great extent, because the number of local government units in each administrative district was now so great that no one administrative officer could adequately advise them all.

84. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) asked whether it was the Administration's policy to post African officials to the parts of the Territory from whence they came.

85. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said the Administration realized that African administrative officials would gradually become the majority and was trying to give them experience in all parts of the Gold Coast and the Territory.

86. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) asked the special representative whether, in an issue such as integration, the average voter would have a completely independent point of view or whether his opinion was likely to be influenced by the tribal group to which he belonged or the opinion of the heads of that group.

87. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that no generalization could be made for the whole Territory. In the south, there would be active political propaganda, including the use of modern techniques, by both parties. The Joint Togoland Congress party was trying to conduct a campaign in the north, but it was doubtful whether its resources would enable it to canvass the whole of the Northern Section. In the remote areas of the Northern Section the election was likely to be decided on the basis of local considerations rather than of the question of unification.

88. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) asked whether the

Government would provide the political parties with equipment for propaganda, such as vans and loud-speakers.

89. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that all the equipment was the property of the political parties, bought with their own funds. The only function of the government propaganda services was to explain the processes of the election to the people, without giving encouragement to either party.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.