



TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

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President: Mr. Mason SEARS
(United States of America).

Present:

The representatives of the following States: Australia, Belgium, Burma, China, France, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Italy, New Zealand, Syria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The representatives of the following specialized agencies: International Labour Organisation; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; World Health Organization.

In the absence of the President, Mr. Dorsinville, (Haiti), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under British administration (*continued*):

- (i) Annual report of the Administering Authority for 1954 (T/1208, T/1222, T/1223);
- (ii) Petitions circulated under rule 85, paragraph 2, of the rules of procedure of the Trusteeship Council (T/PET.4/L.1 and Add.1, T/PET.4/L.2 and 3);
- (iii) Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of the Cameroons under British Administration and the Cameroons under French Administration, 1955 (T/1226, T/1234)

[Agenda items 3 (c), 4 and 6 (a)]

At the invitation of the President, Brigadier Gibbons, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under British administration, took a place at the Council table.

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. U THAN HLA (Burma) observed that the political developments that had taken place in the Territory had been, on the whole, quite noteworthy. The new constitutional arrangements represented a significant political advance. The Southern Cameroons had acquired a quasi-federal status, with its own legislative

and executive organs and with increased African representation and powers, while the Northern Cameroons could boast of increased representation in the Federal House of Representatives. There had been the establishment of the portfolio for Northern Cameroons Affairs and of the Consultative Committee as a means of preserving the separate identity of the North, and it was satisfactory to note that, so far, all the recommendations of the Committee had been accepted by the Executive Council of the Northern Region of Nigeria.

2. The Administering Authority should continue its efforts to extend the right to vote to women in implementation of the Council's recommendation at its fifteenth session (A/2933, p. 146). As the special representatives had pointed out, there were now a large number of educated women in the North, while in all divisions of the South, except Bamenda, conditions were favourable for women's suffrage.

3. Similarly, the time appeared to be ripe for a change in the election system in the Southern Cameroons. It was hoped that, as a result of the recommendations of the committee formed under the chairmanship of the Legal Secretary, the existing method of indirect election would be replaced by a modern electoral system.

4. The Administration was to be commended on increasing the salaries of civil servants and improving some of the conditions of service in order to attract qualified candidates. The "Cameroonization" of the senior Civil Service posts should be a primary goal. Since the Administering Authority was vested with the powers of posting and transfer, it should do its best to ensure that Cameroonians, particularly those who had had Southern Cameroons scholarships, entered the Civil Service of the Territory. In the Northern Cameroons, the position was less satisfactory and, in view of the slow development of secondary education in the Trust Territory, the prospects of having a Cameroonian civil service in the near future were not bright.

5. The forthcoming Constitutional Conference to be held in London would be of vital importance to the political future of the Trust Territory. He had noted the statements of the special representatives that, while the Northern Cameroons wanted continued association with the Northern Region of Nigeria, the Southern Cameroons wanted a unified administration of the two parts of the Territory and that the peoples of the two areas had a deep-seated mistrust of each other. It should be borne in mind that the cleavage between them might well be the result of lack of contact because of poor communications between the North and South, as also the fact that existing administrative arrangements, whatever their merits, could not be said to be conducive to the development of the Trust Territory as a composite whole. Moreover, the divergent aspirations expressed represented the views of a relatively small number of enlightened people in both areas. The mass of the people, according to the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the

Trust Territories of the Cameroons under British Administration and the Cameroons under French Administration, 1955 (T/1226), was apathetic and unaware of the political implications of the question. In the circumstances, he agreed with the Visiting Mission that no precipitate action or decision should be taken on the Territory's political future. The people should be educated and contacts between them encouraged so that they might ultimately decide their political future in full knowledge of the facts.

6. While the economic pattern was one of expanding agricultural production, in which the Cameroons Development Corporation played an important part, the natural resources of the Northern Cameroons had yet to be exploited. It was hoped that the new Regional Production Development Board, aided by improved road communications, would be able to deal with the matter effectively. In view of the fact that the majority of the indigenous inhabitants were mainly concerned with the production of subsistence food crops by primitive methods, it was hoped that the Administration would succeed in introducing better farming methods and that the course planned for indigenous farmers at the Institute of Agriculture would be of assistance. It was also hoped that the Cameroons Development Corporation would find ways of obtaining the funds required to expand its capital expenditure and would turn over more of its profits for the welfare of the people, as recommended by the mission organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.¹

7. The Administering Authority's efforts to improve pasturage and cattle breeding and to preserve and exploit resources were to be commended. It was similarly encouraging to note the progress of the co-operative societies in the Southern Cameroons, and it was hoped that, with the appointment of an assistant registrar for the Northern Cameroons, the Administering Authority would make every effort to promote the co-operative movement in that part of the Territory.

8. With regard to social advancement, it was hoped that more funds would be forthcoming for the expansion of medical services and that the Administering Authority would soon manage to persuade the Native Authorities to introduce registration of births and deaths.

9. The educational programme for the Trust Territory should be accelerated and school enrolment increased. The education of women was of great importance, for only when women were educated could the practices of polygamy and the bride-price be expected to disappear.

10. Mr. CUTTS (Australia) congratulated the Visiting Mission on an objective and thoroughly helpful examination of current conditions in the Territory. He agreed with the Visiting Mission and the Administering Authority that it was in the fields of economic and social, rather than of political, advancement that progress was required most at that juncture. There had been remarkable developments in the political field, at least at the territorial level, in the last two years and the time had come to build up the economic and social foundations on which the Territory's political institutions must rest. If political progress was unaccompanied by equal progress in the economic and social fields, disillusionment and frustration might face the people of a newly independent Territory. On the

whole, the Administering Authority and the people of the Territory were to be congratulated on the general progress during the period under review towards attainment of the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System. The foundations laid during the last ten years were sound and there was every evidence that the rate of development would gain momentum in the years immediately ahead. In all Trust Territories, and not least in the Cameroons under British administration, the pace of development in all fields, and particularly in the political field, had been increasingly accelerated in recent years and the Council could normally look forward to development proceeding at a continually accelerating rate, with the concomitant of a bright future for the people of the Territories.

11. In examining the conditions in any Trust Territory some priority should be given to educational problems, which did not always receive the consideration which they deserved from those who attempted to assess, in a summary fashion and from the outside, the Territories' progress towards the ultimate objectives of self-government and independence. In that connexion, he drew attention to the strange fact that General Assembly resolution 752 (VIII) omitted any mention of educational development, which was the seed from which political development must grow. The difficulties encountered by Administering Authorities in making educational progress would inevitably be reflected in the political field.

12. Educational development in the Cameroons under British administration had been overshadowed in the past by developments in other fields. Progress had been made but it had been relatively slow and the Administering Authority faced a number of serious difficulties in improving the level of education and disseminating it throughout the Territory. The first was the problem of building up a sufficiently large and competent corps of teachers to handle the expansion of education which the Administering Authority had in mind, while the second, and possibly the more fundamental, was the problem of persuading the indigenous inhabitants, particularly in the North, that it was in their interests to make the economic sacrifices entailed in sending their children to school. Significant progress in overcoming both difficulties had been made during the past twelve months. His delegation welcomed the news that the number of teachers had substantially increased between 1953 and 1954 and that there had been an even greater increase in the number of student-teachers in training. That was a very important factor for future expansion. In its observations (T/1223), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) had remarked (chap. IV, para. 19) that the teacher-training part of the educational system was developing well and could take the strain of an accelerated growth of primary schooling. As far as teachers were concerned, the Administration was now in a position to undertake the accelerated development of primary schooling which had been its policy for some time. The difficulty of stimulating demand for education was harder to overcome. Nevertheless, the further decentralization of the control of education in Nigeria, which gave increased autonomy to the Southern Cameroons, and the sharp rise in interest in education evinced by the Native Authorities were hopeful signs. In the light of those developments, and given the increased expenditure incurred by the Native Authorities on their own responsibility and the Administering Authority's recognition that public expenditure for education must

¹ See, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *The Economic Development of Nigeria*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955.

be further increased, he was confident that progress towards the Administering Authority's ultimate goal of free and universal education would be more rapid in the future than it had been in the past.

13. Some representatives had suggested that the Administering Authority might be well advised to abandon its present system of financing education, in part by local votes, in part by fees and in part from public revenue, in favour of a system of entirely free education to be financed completely from increased taxation. His delegation had been pleased to hear that the Administering Authority was satisfied with the present system, which was the system best designed to stimulate local interest in education, in that it encouraged the local people to assume a proper measure of responsibility for the development of educational facilities.

14. With regard to social advancement, he had noted with particular interest that in the Southern Cameroons women were playing an increasingly active part in public life, particularly in the political field. There were women not only in the Native Authority councils but also in the House of Assembly. That was a remarkable achievement, for which the Administering Authority was to be commended. It was to be hoped that special efforts would be made to achieve similar results in the Northern part of the Territory, where very special difficulties were involved.

15. In recent years very solid progress had been made towards improving the general situation with regard to health conditions in the Territory, although much remained to be done. He was happy to note that the number of qualified medical personnel had increased and that additional hospital and related services had been and were being established. The Africanization of the medical service was a long-term matter. The Council should welcome the progress that was being made and recognize that further progress would depend very largely on developments in the field of education.

16. The Administering Authority, in its annual report,² as well as the reports of the mission organized by the Bank and of the Visiting Mission and a number of previous speakers had laid great stress on the need for an expansion of the road network. The Administering Authority faced real difficulties in developing roads in an area characterized by difficult terrain and climatic conditions. The possibility of road construction was limited to four months in every twelve and there was always the danger that the preliminary efforts of each four months would be washed out in the course of the succeeding eight months. Nevertheless, major progress had been made and extraordinary budget allocations, supplemented by substantial grants-in-aid from the Governments of Nigeria and the United Kingdom, bore witness to the Administering Authority's determination to press on with this task. The Council could have every confidence that the Administering Authority's efforts would meet with success and would contribute greatly to the country's economic growth.

17. He noted with satisfaction the excellent work done by co-operative societies, particularly in the

Southern Cameroons, and also the Administering Authority's efforts to diversify cash crops, exploit and preserve forestry resources, raise the total output of foodstuffs and improve cattle-breeding and pasturage.

18. The financial policies of the Cameroons Development Corporation had been the subject of considerable discussion. Although the adoption of different financial policies might make it possible for the Corporation to increase its contribution to the revenue of the Territory, it did not follow that the Territory's total revenue would necessarily be increased thereby. The financial arrangement between the Territory and the Federation of Nigeria was such that an increased contribution to the Territory's revenue might well produce a decrease in the supply of funds from the Federation or from the United Kingdom Government. In any case, he was confident that the Administering Authority and the Corporation itself knew the facts of the matter and that any action they might take would be dictated solely by the Territory's best interests.

19. The revenue of any territory or state in the course of rapid economic, social and political development always appeared inadequate and the revenue of the Cameroons under British administration was no exception. Financial support was received from both the Federation of Nigeria and the United Kingdom. It was encouraging to note, however, that the revenue which the two parts of the Territory and the Native Authorities derived from their own resources showed a considerable increase in 1954 and 1955. The future political status of the Cameroons vis-à-vis the Federal Government in Nigeria might well be considerably influenced by the Territory's financial situation and the importance of developing adequate public revenue could not be overestimated. There was every indication that strenuous efforts were being made to expand internal revenue, particularly in the Southern part of the Territory. Among other things, the Administering Authority's sustained efforts to expand and diversify production were already meeting with some success.

20. His delegation welcomed the reports that the recent constitutional changes had met with the people's general approval. That was a tribute to the Administering Authority's sincere and effective efforts in preceding years to elucidate the desires of the people through consultations with them.

21. While political development at the territorial level had been remarkable, similarly significant developments in local government should not be overlooked; highly satisfactory progress had been achieved in the South and the North alike. Continued progress in the development of stable and effective local government institutions of an increasingly representative nature would have an important bearing on the future development of democratic political institutions at a higher level.

22. A number of speakers had referred to the Territory's political future. The Council had been told in detail of the Administering Authority's plans for a conference in London in September 1956, at which the elected representatives of the people of the three regions of Nigeria and of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory would be given the opportunity to discuss their political future and to indicate their wishes. Pending that discussion, the less said about the Territory's political future the better, for any remarks in the Council might be taken as prejudging the people's decision. He hoped that his statement would be considered in the light of that observation.

² Report by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Cameroons under United Kingdom Administration for the year 1954, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955, Colonial No. 318. (Transmitted to members of the Trusteeship Council by the Secretary-General under cover of document T/1208.)

23. There was little doubt that the apparent desire of the people of the North to remain in intimate association with the people of the Northern Region of Nigeria was not merely a passing whim but something which must be taken into the most serious account in assessing the Territory's political future. The situation in the Southern Cameroons was not so clear. It was perhaps too early to say whether the interest recently shown in the unification of the two parts of the Cameroons under British administration was of a deep and abiding nature or whether it was merely designed to improve the Southern Cameroons' negotiating position at the London conference. In any event, whatever the decision of the people with regard to their political future, as expressed through their elected representatives, that decision should be respected. If the people of the Northern Cameroons decided in favour of association with the people of the Northern Region of Nigeria rather than with their fellows in the Southern Cameroons, their decision should be respected; similarly the wish of the people of the Southern Cameroons, whether for joining the Federation of Nigeria as a separate unit, for becoming a separate national state or for union with their neighbours in the Cameroons under French administration, should be respected and it should not be prejudiced by any preconceived idea that the only possible future for the inhabitants of Trust Territories lay in unity. When the inhabitants of the Trust Territory had decided on their political future, the function of the Council and the General Assembly would be to help them to attain the objectives on which they had decided. In view of the wisdom and integrity which had characterized the Administering Authority's policy in promoting rapid but sure constitutional progress in this and other regions, the Council could have every confidence that the wishes of the people would be fairly and justly determined by the Administering Authority.

24. His delegation had been most impressed by Mr. Endeley and Abba Habib, and by the fact that, while tives from the Territory, and by the fact that, while the parties which they represented in the Southern and Northern parts respectively of the Cameroons apparently desired to work out their respective futures separately, this attitude did not arise from any animosity or lack of trust but simply from a feeling that the real interests of the peoples of the two parts lay in different directions. They desired to go their separate ways, but to be as friendly in their future relations as they possibly could. That was a healthy and constructive attitude and, if it were typical of the attitude to be found among the elected representatives of the inhabitants, and the inhabitants themselves, his delegation had little fear regarding future political developments in the Territory.

Mr. Sears (United States of America) took the Chair.

25. Mr. BENDRYSHEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the first and most important prerequisite for the attainment of full self-government and economic independence by a dependent people was political freedom; only when the power in a country belonged to its people and they had escaped from foreign domination would the people of a former colony or semi-colony really be able to use the country's resources in materials and manpower for its economic and social development and the development of their national culture.

26. The main objective of the International Trusteeship System was that, at the end of the period of trusteeship the Trust Territories should become self-governing and independent countries in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of their peoples. It was most important, therefore, that the Administering Authorities should set a definite date for the termination of the period of trusteeship when the peoples of the Territory would be granted political freedom and thus would be able to decide the future destiny of their country in accordance with their freely expressed wishes. Despite the recommendations of the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly to that effect, the Administering Authority had, as yet, submitted no information on when it thought that the aims of the trusteeship would be achieved and the people of the Cameroons under British administration would be given political freedom.

27. The Territory still had no separate political and administrative existence. The Constitution of Nigeria of 1 October 1954 perpetuated the partition of the Trust Territory and its incorporation into the colony of Nigeria. The Northern part of the Cameroons was still part of the Northern Region of Nigeria and had no separate institutions, being governed by the colonial administration of Nigeria. The establishment of the Consultative Committee had brought about no real change, for the only function of that body was to supply information to the authorities of Nigeria.

28. The status of the Southern Cameroons had been slightly modified by the new Constitution, which had provided for the establishment of a separate House of Assembly and a separate Executive Council for that area, but those bodies had no real independence, full legislative and executive power remaining in the hands of the Governor-General of Nigeria, who could make laws on any matters jointly affecting Nigeria and both parts of the Cameroons under British administration. Even laws affecting only the Southern Cameroons could be enacted by the Governor-General, even without consultation with the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly, on the basic questions enumerated in the Exclusive Legislative List: i.e., on questions covering virtually every aspect of the Territory's life. The appropriate bodies in the Southern Cameroons had even fewer rights than corresponding regional bodies in Nigeria. The Executive Council, for instance, was composed half of Administration officials and half of persons appointed by the Governor-General and, naturally, could not play an independent role.

29. The Administering Authority contended that the partition of the Territory and its piecemeal incorporation into Nigeria, which ran counter to the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement, was in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the population. It was obviously impossible, however, to speak of freely expressed wishes as long as the population had no elected and truly representative bodies and no political freedom. In fact, the Administering Authority was acting without the peoples' consent, although its actions were gravely prejudicial to their future. The two-stage election of six representatives to the Federal House of Representatives in 1954 clearly showed the real extent to which the indigenous population participated in the Territory's political life. Out of 154,880 persons entitled to vote for the electors, only 43,217 persons had, in fact, been given the opportunity to exercise their right to vote; the remaining 111,663 had been deprived of that right by the fact

that only one candidate had stood in their electoral unit. Hence, the majority of the electors had not, in fact, been elected.

30. Little had been done to make the organs of local government more democratic. In most instances, the Administering Authority continued to rely on the traditional chiefs, who combined administrative and judicial functions.

31. In short, it was difficult to see what political advance had been made towards the objectives of self-government and independence. He would be grateful if the special representative would indicate what steps had been taken to that end during the period under review and to what extent the peoples of the Territory had, in the ten-year period of trusteeship, approached the date when they could obtain political freedom. It was regrettable that there was no section in the Visiting Mission's report devoted to an analysis of the progress made towards self-government or independence, the more so since the Visiting Mission's terms of reference had specifically instructed it to investigate and report as fully as possible on the steps taken towards the realization of the objective set forth in Article 76 b of the Charter.

32. The partition of the Territory and its integration into the neighbouring colony of Nigeria was a serious obstacle to its development. The Council should recommend to the Administering Authority to restore the Territory's unity and to set up separate legislative, executive and judicial organs of representatives of the indigenous inhabitants for the Trust Territory. That would represent a real step forward on the road to self-government and independence. The Administering Authority should also be urged to comply with the terms of General Assembly resolution 558 (VI), calling on it to take the measures necessary for the development of the Territory towards self-government or independence and to set a date for the attainment of independence.

33. There had been little change in the economic situation during the year under review, as could be seen from the annual report of the Administering Authority, as well as from the report of the Visiting Mission. He would therefore confine his statement of the economic situation in the Territory to some brief remarks, especially as members of his delegation had spoken on the subject at length at the fifteenth session. Economically, too, the Territory was not a single unit. There were no unitary bodies, no common budget and no plans for the economic development of the Territory as a whole. The Northern Cameroons were part of Nigeria and were artificially separated from the Southern Cameroons in the economic field as well. The absence of information on the value and volume of exports from the Territory as a whole, on the profits accruing to companies exploiting the Territory's resources in material and manpower or on the true state of the balance of payments naturally made it harder to assess the economic situation.

34. The Territory's economy, both in the North and in the South, was essentially agricultural; industry in the full sense of the word was entirely lacking, although there was some handicraft activity and some processing of raw materials for export on the plantations. The Administering Authority itself had been forced to admit that indigenous agricultural methods were primitive. The land was worked with hand tools and the animal-drawn plough was still such a novelty that it was used mainly for demonstration purposes. Ani-

mal husbandry was equally primitive. The principal economic role in the Territory was played not by the indigenous inhabitants' primitive economy but by the large European plantations operated by such companies as the Cameroons Development Corporation, Elders and Fyffes Ltd., the United Africa Company, etc. They monopolized the production of all the basic exports, such as bananas, rubber, cocoa, and palm products. Thus the profits derived from export crops went to foreign companies rather than to the indigenous inhabitants, whose labour had produced the crops; neither did they benefit the development of the Territory. In that connexion, it was noteworthy that even the taxes paid by the foreign companies and the export duties levied accrued to the Treasury of Nigeria rather than to the Trust Territory. Furthermore, the company taxes were decreasing: in 1952/1953 they had amounted to £660,000; in 1953/1954 they had already fallen to £350,000, and a further decline was expected in 1954/1955, as had been pointed out by the special representative.

35. Since October 1954, the Southern Cameroons had officially had a separate budget. In fact, however, the main revenue derived from company taxes, customs duties and a great part of the taxes levied on the population flowed into the Treasury of Nigeria, which paid the Southern Cameroons a subsidy out of funds left unexpended. It was not surprising that the appropriate organs in the Trust Territory lacked adequate development funds in this situation, in which the economy of the Territory was, in fact, in the hands of foreign companies and the Territory had no control over the resources derived from the exploitation of its natural and human wealth.

36. The material condition of the indigenous inhabitants had not improved in the past year, and their level of living was still extremely low. The workers on the plantations often earned too little even to feed their families. The indigenous inhabitants were in dire need; they could not get the minimum amount of food required to support a healthy human body. The Administering Authority had admitted that the employment of 23,000 indigenous inhabitants on the plantations in the Victoria and Kumba areas had led to a shortage of food crops.

37. The Council should recommend to the Administering Authority to take the necessary steps to diversify and develop the Territory's economy in the interests of the indigenous inhabitants and to establish separate financial organs for the Trust Territory with control over all revenue and expenditure in the Territory.

38. He condemned the continued existence in the Territory of corporal punishment, the marriage of very young girls, the bride-price system and legislation permitting parents to coerce their daughters into marriage. The annual report of the Administering Authority showed that there were no official bodies or volunteer organizations concerned with social welfare.

39. The situation in the field of health was as unsatisfactory as ever. The number of doctors was not rising and a total of twenty-three doctors for a population of 1.5 million was manifestly inadequate. While the number of nurses had increased slightly, the number of beds in Administration hospitals had declined. There were far too few hospitals and clinics, with the result that many of the indigenous population could not obtain medical care and had to resort to

quacks and witch-doctors. That being so, it was difficult to see why the budget allocation for health services should have declined from £145,000 in 1953 to £122,000 in 1954. It should be recommended to the Administering Authority to increase the allocations for health services and the number of doctors and hospitals, and to take measures to train qualified indigenous medical personnel.

40. The educational situation was also unchanged. The Administering Authority endeavoured to justify the unsatisfactory economic and social situation by citing the lack of skilled indigenous technicians and, at the same time, by the argument that it took time to train skilled personnel. Unfortunately, the Administering Authority appeared to be doing little to educate the indigenous population or to give them specialized training. In the Northern Cameroons, 96 per cent of the population were illiterate; the figure for the Southern Cameroons was 90 per cent. Despite that appalling situation, the number of Administration schools had risen by only one between 1952 and 1953; it had remained constant since. The Administering Authority's policy was to leave the establishment of schools to voluntary organizations. It was difficult to justify such a policy in view of the fact that in 1954 only 15 per cent of the children of school age had been enrolled in school and that there were only two secondary schools, run by religious missions, in the whole Territory. In that connexion, it was interesting to note the observation of UNESCO that, at the rate of expansion shown by enrolments from 1950 to 1954, it would require over a century before all the children of school age were at school (T/1223, chap. IV, para. 10). In other words, since the observation of UNESCO referred to primary education and a century would elapse before the inhabitants of the Trust Territory learned to read and write, one might ask how much time would be required for the Administering Authority to make it possible for the indigenous inhabitants to receive any higher education. Neither the indigenous inhabitants nor the Council could agree to that rate of development, and the Council should urge the Administering Authority to take immediate steps to expand the educational system and to introduce universal free primary education in the near future, and to develop secondary and technical education in the Trust Territory as soon as possible.

41. Mr. TORNETTA (Italy) said that political advancement in the Territory was encouraging. Both the Northern and the Southern Cameroons enjoyed considerable internal autonomy within the framework of the Federal Constitution of Nigeria and it was clear from the competence with which their two political representatives had participated in the Council's discussions that the people would shortly be in a position to assume complete political responsibility. The Territory's constitutional future still presented certain problems and it was to be hoped that the conference to be held in London in September 1956 would help to provide a solution for them. One factor in the situation was the great difference between the North and the South in every respect, political, economic, social and educational, and those differences themselves stemmed from a fundamental difference of outlook and allegiance. It was open to question whether the two peoples could ever be persuaded to consider themselves as forming a single country with common institutions; something might perhaps be done by improving communications and increasing contact between the two parts of the Territory.

42. It was economic problems, however, that should be given most attention in the years to come. Much had already been achieved in that sphere but without complete economic viability political autonomy was meaningless. There had, for instance, been a constant budgetary deficit in recent years, which the Administering Authority had been obliged to make good. It appeared to his delegation—although the annual report did not contain complete data—that insufficient revenue was obtained from taxes. He welcomed the special representative's assurance that fuller information on the subject of finance would be given in the next report. Meanwhile he hoped that the Administering Authority would consider the possibility of introducing a single system of taxation for both African and non-African inhabitants, for that would be more in keeping with the requirements of a modern economic structure. Relics of the traditional structure were hampering progress not only in the economic sphere but also in the social and educational spheres, particularly in the North. In general, however, the Territory had made very real progress and the Administration was to be congratulated on it.

43. Mr. ARENALES CATALAN (Guatemala) commended the Visiting Mission upon its excellent report. He had been particularly impressed by the remark, in paragraph 60 of that report, that the energies of the Northern and Southern parts of the Territory should be devoted to the development of their economic, social and educational conditions. That observation, which had been endorsed by the Administering Authority, did not detract the fact that the Cameroonian people, guided by the Administering Authority, had made substantial progress, particularly in political development. That fact was all the more important since the basic problem in the Trust Territory was that of its political future. The new constitutional changes and the new political institutions should, accordingly, be subjected to the most careful study on the basis of the ample material before the Council, namely, the annual report of the Administering Authority and the Visiting Mission's report. The appreciation of the delegation of Guatemala of the efforts of the Administering Authority and of the Cameroonian people should not, however, be interpreted as indicating complete support of the existing political situation or as approval of that situation as a precedent for other Trust Territories.

44. While it was a matter of satisfaction to the delegation of Guatemala that the Administering Authority had been steadily sounding out the political leaders of the two parts of the Territory with regard to political and economic developments and that there had been orderly elections in the Territory, it considered that the opinion of the mass of the people had never been directly consulted. Such direct consultation, which was indispensable, should be accompanied by political and electoral safeguards and should take into account the general level of education of the inhabitants and the extent to which they were aware that they were deciding their political future.

45. Another vital consideration in determining the political future of the Territory was the extent to which the new constitutional arrangements were in conformity with the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement. In the view of the delegation of Guatemala, that aspect of the new arrangements which would in effect, on the one hand, create a political union with Nigeria and, on the other, a division of the Territory into two distinct parts, was contrary to the terms

of the Agreement. It would mean the disregard of the Territory's political entity and the disruption of its unity; it would be in contradiction to the express statements of the Administering Authority that administrative union would not lead the political federation. Guatemala had definite reservations with regard to the terms of article 5 of the Trusteeship Agreement and, while it did not presume to pass judgement on the sovereignty over the dependent territories of the United Kingdom, it reserved its position with regard to the administration of the Trust Territory as an integral part of United Kingdom territory. It was firmly of the opinion that an administrative union should not be converted into a political union without the prior and express authorization of the United Nations, after full and direct consultation of the population concerned.

46. Nevertheless, the care with which the Administering Authority had negotiated the new constitutional arrangements and its generous efforts to ensure the financial viability of the future component parts of the Territory warranted praise. It was encouraging to note that the United Kingdom was prepared to assist the Trust Territory with funds from the Colonial Development Fund even after the new political institutions came into force.

47. On the other hand, even assuming that the constitutional changes would be of enormous benefit to the inhabitants and in the best interests of the Territory's future, they should not be put into effect without direct and full consultation of the people. His delegation was not convinced that they had been based on the free expression of the wishes of the population. It was not convinced because the percentage of illiteracy was as high as eighty or ninety per cent, because there was very little interest in political parties in the Northern part of the Territory and because the indigenous inhabitants showed little interest in nation-wide political parties. All those facts seemed to point to the necessity of refraining from precipitate action in implementing the political changes; before instituting such drastic reforms, the Council should have full information and the authorization of the United Nations should be obtained. Moreover, the present stage of political development in the Cameroons should not be regarded as final. The new institutions merely provided a better and more direct framework for the political training required to bring the population to political, cultural and social maturity. Only when the United Nations considered that the Territory had reached an appropriate level of maturity should there be a definitive constitution based on the freely expressed views of the people regarding their political destiny and their international status. The Administering Authority should not only keep the Council informed of developments, but should request the approval of the United Nations for any such final step.

48. Among the many safeguards which must accompany the free expression of the wishes of the population were universal suffrage and vote by secret ballot. The delegation of Guatemala hoped that these would be established in the near future. His delegation had been encouraged by the information that the whispering method was being abandoned and that a method of indicating electoral preference by the use of symbols was being introduced for illiterate persons.

49. In addition to promoting the development of local government institutions, such as councils assisting the indigenous chiefs, the Administration should strive to

effect the gradual reorganization of those councils on a more democratic basis. Experience in that field in other parts of Africa might usefully be applied in the Cameroons as a provisional step towards final objectives.

50. His delegation also felt strongly about the separation, not only of executive and judicial powers, but of executive and legislative functions. A strict separation of the executive and legislative functions was especially vital in a Territory where political development was only beginning. While he would not presume to pass judgement on the matter, he felt that the implications for the future of the fact that the Minister for Northern Cameroons Affairs in the Government of the Northern Region of Nigeria, was, at the same time, Chairman of the Northern Cameroons Consultative Committee should be given careful thought.

51. With regard to human rights, the Administering Authority had stated that it was guided by the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In view of the fact that the complex mass of rights which came under the general heading of human rights were referred to in so many different texts that it was hard for the people to realize precisely what their basic human rights were, it would be advisable to formulate them in some simple legislative text. In order to make the inhabitants more conscious of their status in the community, the Administration should supplement human rights legislation with an education campaign.

52. The delegation of Guatemala would also suggest that, in view of the Territory's stage of development, the Administering Authority might consider the disadvantages of leaving it to the discretion of the police authorities to deal with the people during emergencies or to carry out the judgements handed down by the courts. It should also conduct an educational campaign with a view to stimulating interest in political parties, particularly in the North of the Territory.

53. The economy of the Cameroons was dependent on the economic interests of the Administering Authority. That did not, however, exclude the possibility that the Territory might complement United Kingdom economic interests or work in co-operation with them for mutual benefit. Seventy per cent of the Cameroons' production for export was handled through the Cameroons Development Corporation. The Corporation was actually a public enterprise, conducted as if it were a private export company, and the Territory derived from it only those economic advantages sanctioned by the administrators of the Corporation, taking into account the interests of the indigenous population and the mutual benefits to be drawn from the economic development of the Territory in general. The adoption of certain recommendations made by the International Bank mission would greatly enhance the economic prospects of the Southern Cameroons. It was to be hoped that the agency proposed by the Bank mission would shortly begin to enforce a policy of direct investment in agricultural and industrial production, of facilitating loans to agricultural and industrial enterprises and of stimulating the establishment of industry through technical assistance, and that the Bank mission's recommendation that £1 million in capital funds should be allocated to the agency would be carried out and that the Eastern Regional Development Board would be asked to contribute capital for its operations.

54. While there was some degree of diversification of the sources of financing economic development in the Territory, its finances depended basically on exports. The disadvantage of that situation lay in the fluctuation of market prices of exports. In order to offset it, export production should be expanded and, at the same time, production for internal consumption should be extended beyond food crops through the establishment of manufacturing industries. The trade training centres set up by the Administration could be expected to have beneficial effects in that respect.

55. Moreover, the economic development of the Territory should not be left solely in the hands of the Cameroons Development Corporation. While it had admittedly played a crucial role in the development of the Territory, it derived its income from the export-import trade and made no loans to agriculture or industry. Its chief importance lay in the large number of workers employed on its plantations, the large sums it spent on social services for those workers and the fact that it made it possible to simplify taxation. The large concentration of workers on its plantations might also accelerate the trade-union movement, now in its early stages. On the other hand, improvement in the salaries of the workers would inevitably be limited, because salary ceilings would depend on the prices of export products on the world market and on the amount of profits which the Corporation would allow itself to make. So long as the economy depended on interests outside the Territory, the prospects of improved standards of living for salaried workers were bound to be limited. In addition, therefore, to maintaining and developing the export industries, the Territory must expand its economic activities by the full utilization of all the raw materials available and the establishment of small industries. The activities of the Southern Cameroons Regional Development Board should be accelerated and the recommendations of the International Bank mission taken into account. Finally, more facilities should be given to workers' organizations and more encouragement to the trade-training centres.

56. Social progress was still retarded, particularly in the North, by the social divisions among the people, which only education and the emancipation of women could eradicate. The continued inferior status of women in the Territory was itself a result of their lack of education, and he hoped that the Administering Authority would increase its efforts in that respect. The indigenous inhabitants were to be congratulated on giving their labour voluntarily for the benefit of the community but the Administering Authority should be aware of the danger to wages inherent in such a system. His delegation hoped that the Administering Authority's efforts on behalf of labour in the Territory would lead to the development of a trade-union movement. It would be glad to know, however, why the International Labour Conventions mentioned in attachment F of the annual report had not been fully applied considering the terms of article 7 of the Trusteeship Agreement.

57. The Council should continue to press for the abolition of corporal punishment in the Territory.

58. In the sphere of education, two facts called for comment: education was not yet free, nor was primary education compulsory. The two were of course interdependent, for education could not be compulsory until it was free. Without universal compulsory free education progress would be long retarded, as was

made clear in the relevant observations of UNESCO. The Administering Authority should be urged to do more in that direction and, in particular, to try to overcome the people's evident apathy.

59. Mr. MENON (India) felt that the presence on the delegation of the United Kingdom of two of the Territory's elected representatives, members of the Executive Council of the Northern Region of Nigeria and of the Southern Cameroons Executive Council respectively, had been a clear indication of the people's confidence in the Administration and their satisfaction with the progress that was being made. Indeed, it appeared to his delegation that the ultimate objective had so nearly been reached in the Territory that there was little call for the Council to concern itself with the proximate objectives in the matter of administration, especially as the administration was already largely in the hands of the Africans themselves. He would, therefore, comment only on certain aspects of conditions in the Territory.

60. While there had been some advance in education, secondary education was still inadequate to provide the country with the trained personnel it would need to run its own services. The university set up at Ibadan in Nigeria, however, would prove invaluable in training students from the Trust Territory. Commendable progress had been made in the sphere of adult education. Social conditions, it appeared from the Visiting Mission's report, were satisfactory: his delegation was glad to note the growth of trade unionism, although it had some doubts about the training of trade-union leaders by Government officials. It was glad, too, to note an improvement in the status of women and hoped that, with the eventual extension of the franchise to women, the remaining barriers to progress in that direction would be removed. There was need for an extension of the medical services in the Territory. In the economic sphere, his main concern was with the operation of the Cameroons Development Corporation but his delegation had no final views on that subject: the setting aside of large sums of money for the depreciation account might not necessarily be a bad thing, for it might mean that when the Territory attained self-government, the Corporation would be able to hand over to it a valuable asset. Meanwhile, it appeared somewhat strange for a country's social services to depend on contributions from a corporation; moreover, the amount thus contributed was but a small proportion of the Corporation's total profits.

61. As to the Territory's future, the representative of Guatemala had expressed doubts about the degree of consultation of the people which had taken place: those doubts might or might not be justified, but he certainly could not agree that consultation of parliamentary leaders did not constitute consultation of the people. If that were so, the whole parliamentary system of government would be called in question. His delegation was, in fact, happy to see that parliamentary government was developing satisfactorily in the Territory, and that those performing the task of government were not isolated from the masses of the people represented in Parliament. Sure foundations were thus being laid for the country to govern itself democratically, whatever form its independence might take. That would necessarily depend on what happened to the neighbouring colony of Nigeria, with which the Trust Territory was intimately bound up. The Northern Cameroons, at least, was administered as an integral part of the Northern Region of Nigeria

and was represented in its regional organs. The position of the Southern Cameroons was somewhat different, in that it had regional organs of its own and a considerable degree of regional autonomy. In any case, the fact that Nigeria was so fast approaching independence could not fail to affect the Trust Territory and it was to be hoped that the latter would thereupon gain its independence almost automatically, as had happened in other territories once administered by the United Kingdom. He looked forward with parti-

cular interest to the next annual report, therefore, in the hope that it would suggest ways by which the period of trusteeship could be brought to an end, to the undoubted advantage of the Cameroonian people. The Territory had been fortunate in its administrators, for under their guidance its people had gained a thorough political education and institutions prepared for the smooth transition of responsibility.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.