



## CONTENTS

	Page
Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Togoland under French administration: (a) annual report of the Administering Authority (T/1136, T/1150, T/1156, T/1160); (b) petitions circulated under rule 85, paragraph 2, of the rules of procedure of the Trusteeship Council (T/PET.7/L.6, T/PET.7/L.8 and 9) (continued)	
General debate (concluded) .....	125
Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration: (a) annual report of the Administering Authority (T/1139, T/1148, T/1150, T/1153); (b) petitions circulated under rule 85, paragraph 2, of the rules of procedure of the Trusteeship Council (T/PET.6/L.52 to 55) (continued)	
Questions concerning the Trust Territory and replies of the special representative (continued) .....	128

**President:** Mr. Miguel Rafael URQUIA (El Salvador).

**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.

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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Bargues (France), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Togoland under French administration: (a) annual report of the Administering Authority (T/1136, T/1150, T/1156, T/1160); (b) petitions circulated under rule 85, paragraph 2, of the rules of procedure of the Trusteeship Council (T/PET.7/L.6, T/PET.7/L.8 and 9) (continued)**

[Agenda items 3 (f) and 4]

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Georges Apedo-Amah, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of Togoland under French administration, took a place at the Council table.*

GENERAL DEBATE (concluded)

1. Mr. DE CAMARET (France), after stating that the same broad principles of French policy were followed in the Cameroons and in Togoland, protested against the statements of the representatives of the USSR and India to the effect that the present position of Togoland within the French Union was not compatible with the objectives laid down in the United Nations Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement. Under the Trusteeship Agreement, France was to administer

Togoland in accordance with French law as an integral part of French territory. Under the Constitution of 1946, Togoland, as an Associated Territory, was not part of the French Republic but part of the French Union. Certainly the general principles governing the administration of Trust Territories differed little from those governing the administration of the Overseas Territories, which were part of the Republic. That analogy could be explained both by the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement and by the similarity of the objectives which the United Nations and the French Republic had set themselves. The French Parliament had solemnly affirmed in the preamble to the Constitution that, faithful to its traditional mission, France proposed to guide the peoples for whom it had assumed responsibility towards freedom to govern themselves and democratically to manage their own affairs. Furthermore, the fact that Togoland was attached to the French Union and administered in the same way as an Overseas Territory, far from retarding the development of the Territory, would accelerate it.

2. France had been accused of practising a policy of assimilation which was liable to result in the loss of the individual character and spirit of the Territory and its people. The French had often been inclined to believe that the great principles of liberty and democracy to which they themselves had always been so strongly attached were valid for all the peoples of the world. That did not mean that the French Government intended to crystallize the political status of the Territories under its administration in immutable formulae. Article 75 of the Constitution expressly provided that the "respective status of the members . . . of the French Union shall be subject to modifications"; institutions in Togoland could accordingly be modified within the framework of the Constitution.

3. There had been one fundamental change in 1946, when a deliberative assembly had been set up and elected representatives of the Territory had been sent to the three assemblies in the metropolitan country. Subsequently the electoral college had been considerably enlarged. A single electoral college had been introduced for all elections.

4. A new stage would soon be reached: the powers of the Territorial Assembly were to be increased and *communes de plein exercice*, under elected mayors, were to be instituted. The attention which the Council gave to those reforms would be the most valuable encouragement to the French Parliament. As the French delegation had already pointed out, parliamentary procedure often made for slow action. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the wishes expressed by the representative of Haiti, it would not fail to make representations to the French Government in order to hasten the passage of the draft legislation under examination.

5. While the powers of the Territorial Assembly were to be extended, he would point out that they were already very wide. The fact that under French constitutional law only acts voted by Parliament were given the name of laws might have caused some confusion.

Although the Togoland Assembly could not pass laws, it nevertheless had deliberative powers of undeniable importance. It was competent, for instance, to debate and vote on the budget, and voting on the budget was still the fundamental prerogative of Parliaments.

6. The Council had always been aware that the hasty introduction of democratic institutions among backward peoples was liable to disrupt ancient social structures to which the inhabitants, particularly the rural inhabitants, were strongly attached. France had accordingly sought to maintain those structures, while at the same time renewing and strengthening them. It was surprising to hear a delegation accuse France of maintaining the tribal organization and at the same time accuse it of creating an élite cut off from its traditions by the absorption of Western cultural patterns. The only problem of which France had been aware in that respect had been that of combining traditional authority with the democratic principles so little in keeping with the practices hitherto followed by the population.

7. The reason education was given in French was that the many local dialects did not constitute an adequate means of conveying modern ideas; the syllabus, however, was always adapted to both local conditions and local traditions.

8. There was one field where there could be no compromise; that of the fundamental freedoms of the human person. The legislation governing freedom of assembly, association, religion, the Press and trade unions was the same in Togoland as in France.

9. Finally, the Parliament had recognized the principle of universal suffrage. There were, however, substantial difficulties in the way of its full introduction, one of them being the absence of civil registers.

10. The special representative would provide detailed information on the economic situation. He himself, however, would speak about the industrialization of the Territory and the stabilization funds, two matters upon which several delegations had evinced particular interest during the examination of the annual report.<sup>1</sup>

11. The USSR representative had accused the Administering Authority of keeping Togoland in a backward state of economic development, because the Territory's exports consisted almost exclusively of raw materials and manufactured commodities had to be imported. That view seemed somewhat biased. There were some highly developed nations, possessing modern equipment, which exported primary commodities in the raw state, particularly such important commodities as wheat, cotton and wool. The industrialization of the Territory was undoubtedly to be wished for, but the choice of factory sites presented complex problems of production, costs, disposal of products etc. An effort, to which some delegations had paid tribute, had been made. To say that it would have been better to build a factory to manufacture ploughs or other agricultural implements rather than a palm-oil plant and a perfume factory was to disregard the fact that the two last-named could be automatically supplied from local resources, while the manufacture of ploughs would call for local supplies of coal and iron which were unfortunately not to be found.

12. The truth was that the economy of Togoland was still in the rudimentary stage, as was that of all the

territories in tropical Africa, whatever their political status, and not only the so-called colonial territories. The fact that the economy was closely linked with that of the metropolitan country was due to the fact that Togoland, with its area of 55,000 square kilometres and its million inhabitants, did not constitute a balanced whole which could exist without external support. The main thing was that the action of the Administering Authority was leading to appreciable advancement and that the majority of Council members were prepared to admit the fact.

13. The main purpose of the stabilization fund for local products (Fonds de soutien et d'équipement de la production locale) had in the past been to increase and improve production. The French Government had recently decided to establish price stabilization funds. In that connexion, the French delegation had borne in mind the Belgian representative's suggestion and would propose to the Government that the stabilization fund for local products might be financed by a proportionate tax on the sale price of such products.

14. Most delegations had stressed the progress achieved in the social and educational sphere. The Administering Authority was well aware that there was still a great deal to be done. It had no intention of relaxing its efforts.

15. The number of medical practitioners would have to be increased. The small number at present in practice should not, however, give the wrong impression. The Territory was still at a stage where the action of the health services was directed much less towards individual treatment than towards collective campaigns against the major endemic and epidemic diseases. In that connexion, success was assured.

16. Education was based on the great democratic principles which had stood the test of time in France: it was free and open to all.

17. In conclusion, the French delegation agreed with the United States representative that the Territory's political, economic, social and cultural progress constituted a solid basis for further advancement towards the objectives of the United Nations Charter. His delegation thanked representatives on the Council for their contribution to the study of the problems of administering the Territory and also for their comments and suggestions, which would be of invaluable assistance to the Administering Authority in its future work.

18. Mr. APEDO-AMAH (Special representative for Togoland under French administration) said that, the Administration intended to make a fresh study of the dues freely paid by the people to their chiefs, as suggested by the Belgian representative, who had held that those dues were in themselves justified, since the chief gave his time and work to the community and the remuneration he received from the Administration was insufficient for him to maintain his customary rank.

19. The USSR representative thought that the chiefs were fearsome feudal lords who obstructed progress and exploited the people. The true situation was not so spectacular: the chiefs progressed as fast as other members of the population, or even faster. They were often among the most progressive elements, and asked for schools and dispensaries. While candidates for the post of chief were chosen from certain families, they had in all cases to obtain the consent of the people whom they were to administer, and whom they administered in a democratic manner. The Council could not, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> *Rapport annuel du Gouvernement français à l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies sur l'administration du Togo placé sous la tutelle de la France, année 1953*, Paris, Imprimerie Chaix, 1954.

join the USSR representative in wishing to disrupt the structure of African society and to abolish the chiefs, who did very useful work.

20. The Indian delegation, on the contrary, had accused the Administering Authority of wiping out the past and failing to take into account the traditions and natural inclinations of the local people. Between those two extremes, he preferred the wise solution of the Administering Authority, which was to eliminate little by little traditions that were contrary to international moral standards and to introduce democratic institutions at an ever increasing rate. That was the meaning of the statement referred to by the Haitian representative, according to which the political advancement of the people had to be harmonized with their degree of development.

21. The USSR representative held that there was no separation of the executive and the judiciary in the Territory because the judges were officials, chiefs and notables. It was hard to see why the chiefs and notables, who were the country's élite, should be excluded from the administration of justice. The use of French in the courts did not prevent the litigants from defending themselves; those who did not know French were assisted, free of charge, by sworn interpreters. The need for a court of appeal in Togoland did not seem conspicuous, in view of the great expense it would entail. Lastly, it was not true that only French citizens could be judges.

22. The Africanization of the civil service had long been a major concern of the Administering Authority and appropriate steps had been taken to that end. As the New Zealand representative had pointed out, the growing number of pupils emerging from secondary schools and colleges would make it possible to recruit qualified officials. Employment in the civil service offered a number of advantages. French and African officials in the same grades received the same salaries.

23. In the economic sphere, the USSR and Indian representatives had been critical both of the trend of the country's economy and of its pattern of trade. It had been said that the production of flour, sugar and tobacco should be encouraged so as to free the economy from the burden of importing them. Instead of developing productions which would be extremely costly and probably unprofitable, the Administration had preferred to develop the Territory's natural products.

24. The criticism of the pattern of trade had been that most of the Territory's trading was with the metropolitan country. There were, however, no exclusive rights, especially in the way of customs, and, in accordance with the Trusteeship Agreement, trade was entirely free.

25. To describe the Territory's economy as a colonial economy was to overlook the fact that the entire production of export crops was in the hands of indigenous farmers and that the metropolitan country made a large contribution, in the form of grants to FIDES (*Fonds d'investissement pour le développement économique et social des territoires d'outre-mer*), to the Territory's economic and social development; it was also to ignore the purposes of the development plan: increase of agricultural production, improvement of the quality of products through better agricultural methods and the use of organic fertilizers, soil conservation, and the development of processing industries, all of which would make for an improvement of the living conditions of the Togoland people.

26. The USSR representative had expressed surprise that the mineral resources were not yet being exploited. It should be remembered that those resources had only recently been discovered and that in most cases there was as yet only an indication of deposits, but teams of geologists were already on the spot.

27. The USSR representative had spoken of a household tax; he was entirely mistaken. Farmers were taxed at such a low rate that it was little more than a token tax. There was a graduated surtax, but the great majority of the farmers were not liable to it and paid only the minimum amount.

28. The Syrian representative thought that registration should be made compulsory throughout the Territory. Certainly, the *commandants de cercle* could continue their propaganda in favour of registration, but to disrupt custom and to exercise coercion in the matter was out of the question.

29. The Syrian representative had been surprised that the permit system did not apply to trade with France; the reason was that Togoland, as was logical and indeed necessary, was in the franc zone.

30. Various delegations had paid a deserved tribute to the Administering Authority for its action in the field of public health. The New Zealand representative had regretted that the nurses' school had been closed because there were now enough nurses and had made the interesting suggestion that the school could continue to train nurses even if they had to return to their villages afterwards. It would, however, be difficult to explain to them that they could not count on employment in the public service. Nevertheless, the question could be re-examined. Another idea which would be taken into account was that of sending students to the medical school at Dakar.

31. The USSR representative maintained that not even what was possible—to say nothing of what was needed—had been done in the matter of hygiene and that malaria and the social diseases were rife. Those diseases, however, were to be found in every country of the world; in Togoland, as elsewhere, they were being vigorously, and successfully, fought. Sleeping sickness, which had been a scourge, had been completely eradicated. It was incorrect to say that there were only fifteen doctors in the Territory, for that figure did not include doctors working in private clinics and the fifteen qualified doctors who had graduated from the Dakar medical school. Moreover, a relatively large number of Togoland medical students were at present studying in French universities.

32. A similar effort was being made in other branches of higher learning, showing that higher education was receiving precisely that special attention of which the Haitian representative had spoken.

33. For a long time to come, candidates for higher education would have to pursue their studies in France or at Dakar. The Territory's resources were not such as to permit of the establishment of a university in the near future, as the Syrian representative had suggested.

34. Where secondary education was concerned, the eight existing establishments were quite adequate for present needs and could be expanded gradually as those needs increased. The USSR representative had asserted that the Administration was neglecting the education of the people. Yet the Territory, with its 37.4 per cent of school attendance, was in the vanguard of progress in Africa, and progress was still being made. The per-

centage would continue to rise until total school attendance had been achieved. Only then would it be possible to make primary education compulsory, as the Syrian representative suggested; until then, it would be dishonest to make it compulsory in principle.

35. With regard to scholarships, he did not think it would be possible to allow applicants the right of appeal. Consideration was being given, however, to the idea of appointing a student to the Scholarship Committee, which would provide every safeguard for the interests of students. The Indian representative was mistaken in thinking that the people were not sufficiently interested in education; it was quite the contrary. It was admittedly dangerous to create a large body of educated people for whom there was no employment. To guard against that danger, the Administration had done everything in its power by organizing a students' orientation and guidance service.

36. On behalf of the local Administration, he wished to welcome the 1955 visiting mission to the Territory and to assure it of complete and zealous co-operation.

*Mr. Georges Apedo-Amah, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of Togoland under French administration, withdrew.*

**Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration: (a) annual report of the Administering Authority (T/1139, T/1148, T/1150, T/1153); (b) petitions circulated under rule 85, paragraph 2, of the rules of procedure of the Trusteeship Council (T/PET.6/L.52 to 55) (continued)**

[Agenda items 3 (e) and 4]

*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 place at the Council table.*

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

*Political advancement (continued)*

37. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) explained, in reply to a question asked by the Indian representative at the previous meeting, that the fourteen constituencies which included parts of Togoland had a population of 529,128 and that there were 197,000 registered voters: 124,076 votes had been cast there during the general elections. The comparable figures for the rest of the Territory were 3,582,542, 1,128,603 and 582,644 respectively. The lower percentage of votes cast in the rest of the Territory was explained by the fact that in three constituencies candidates had been returned unopposed, so that no voting had taken place. The proportion of Togoland representatives in the Assembly was 8.7 per cent while the proportion of Togoland to the total population of the Gold Coast and Togoland was 9.3 per cent.

38. In reply to a question by Mr. GRUBYAKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that the boundaries of the constituencies had been established by an all-African commission of inquiry under the chairmanship of a judge of the Supreme Court. The commission had tried to combine in one constituency the local government units

which were accustomed to working together in order to avoid breaking up the existing units; in that way the candidates would be known throughout the constituency. Some of the fourteen constituencies listed on page 122 of the annual report<sup>2</sup> lay partly in Togoland and partly in the Gold Coast. Among the candidates elected in those constituencies there had been nine Togoland. As long as the present Constitution remained in force, the persons elected to the central Legislative Assembly would represent the people of their constituencies, irrespective of whether the constituencies were situated in Togoland or extended into the Gold Coast.

39. Mr. GRUBYAKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) noted that the fourteen members of the Assembly concerned were not all, strictly speaking, representatives of Togoland. Furthermore it seemed from the definition of the words "Gold Coast" given in the 1954 Constitution that Togoland was already an integral part of the Gold Coast.

40. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that the purpose of the definition had been to avoid having to repeat the words "and Togoland" after "Gold Coast" each time it was used. In the articles which related specifically to Togoland the necessary distinction was drawn; but in any case the wording used did not in any way affect the Territory's separate status under international law.

41. In reply to another question by Mr. GRUBYAKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) confirmed that the Administering Authority had consulted the population at the time the present Constitution was being drafted. The population would again be asked to give its opinion regarding the next stage of constitutional development in such a manner as the United Nations thought fit. Those remarks applied both to the Northern and to the Southern Section of Togoland, the population of which would continue to be consulted on all matters affecting their future.

42. Mr. GRUBYAKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) recalled that article 5 of the Trusteeship Agreement authorized the Administering Authority to constitute Togoland into a customs, fiscal or administrative federation with the Gold Coast. On the other hand, it in no way authorized the dismemberment of the Territory by detaching some regions and uniting them with the Gold Coast. The Administering Authority did not have the right to apply different administrative systems in different parts of the Territory, because under those conditions Togoland could not retain its unity. Yet that was precisely what had happened and, moreover, the partition of the Territory had been confirmed by legislation. The partition was contrary to the Trusteeship Agreement, and he requested the Administering Authority's opinion on the matter.

43. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) pointed out that the United Kingdom Government had stated that it had never availed itself of the provisions of article 5 (b) of the Trusteeship Agreement. The relationship between Togoland and the Gold Coast was governed by the

<sup>2</sup> 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 Administration of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship for the Year 1953, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954, Colonial No. 308.

provisions of article 5 (a). There was no provision in the Trusteeship Agreement to prevent the Administering Authority from dividing the Territory into separate administrative districts and from administering some of those districts together with districts in an adjacent territory. Article 5 (a) provided that the Administering Authority should administer Togoland "in accordance with its own laws as an integral part of its territory with such modification as may be required by local conditions...". The existing legislation was fully in accordance with those provisions.

44. Mr. GRUBYAKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) pointed out that the method of administration provided for under article 5 was applicable "subject to the provisions of the United Nations Charter", as stipulated in article 5 (a). Article 76 of the Charter stated that the objective of the Trusteeship System was to ensure the development of the people concerned towards self-government or independence.

45. In reply to another question by Mr. GRUBYAKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that the laws relating to chiefdoms, state councils and land in the Northern Territories and Northern Section differend from those in the Gold Coast Colony and the Southern Section of Togoland. Apart from a few exceptions of that kind, the laws in force in the two areas were identical and the minor differences between them were simply to ensure that legislation would be adapted to the region in which it was implemented.

46. Mr. EL-FARRA (Syria) asked whether the Administering Authority was legally entitled to incorporate parts of the Gold Coast into Togoland constituencies, thus giving the inhabitants of the Gold Coast certain political rights in the Trust Territory.

47. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) emphasized that the present Constitution would remain in force only until the Territory achieved independence. At the present time, elections were held in common for a joint Legislative Assembly. A voter who came from the Gold Coast but lived in Togoland voted in the elections in the same way as a Togolander living in the Gold Coast. There were more Togolandrs living in the Gold Coast than people from the Gold Coast living in Togoland. It would be contrary to the spirit of democracy to deprive those two groups of their electoral rights because they were not living in the territory of their birth.

48. Mr. QUIROS (El Salvador) pointed out that the General Assembly had wished to provide the people with the opportunity of making known their views on the future of the Territory, and in particular on a possible union with the Gold Coast. There had been some idea of holding a plebiscite for that purpose. He asked what steps the Administering Authority proposed to take to ensure that only Togolandrs would participate in the plebiscite. The question was particularly important because there were more people in the Gold Coast than Togolandrs in Togoland.

49. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that if it were decided to hold a plebiscite, the Administering Authority would have to enact legislative provisions to ensure that only persons entitled to do so took part in the plebiscite. At the present time he could not say what the requirements for voting in such a plebiscite

would be. There were very delicate problems to be considered in that connexion. The term "inhabitant of the Territory" would have to be defined, and it would have to be decided whether, to qualify as such, a person for example should have been born in the Territory or should have resided there for a specific period.

50. Mr. EL-FARRA (Syria) thought that if the inhabitants of the Trust Territory were to be independent, they should have a separate citizenship. He wondered whether that was the case in Togoland.

51. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) did not agree with the Syrian representative. The Administering Authority was trying to train the people of the Territory in the tasks which would face them when they achieved independence. Togolandrs voted in democratic elections and participated in modern and democratic forms of government. That was the most valuable form of training that could be given to any people about to achieve independence. It mattered little whether, in that training period, the Togolandrs administered their own affairs alone or together with the people of an adjacent territory. In fact, the larger the unit achieved, the more likely it was to thrive on attaining independence. As long as the Trusteeship Agreement remained in force, the inhabitants of Togoland would be British protected persons.

#### *Economic advancement*

52. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) compared paragraph 158 of the report with the information given on page 132, and asked how much export duty was paid on cocoa. It was evident that the financial prosperity and stability of the Gold Coast depended to a large extent on that product. An exact figure of the amount accruing to the economy of the Territory could be obtained on the basis of the price paid to the producer, the price charged by the Cocoa Marketing Board and the amount collected in export duties. He hoped that the special representative could give relevant figures.

53. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) admitted that the portion of the Ordinance laying down the duties was extremely intricate. He referred the Belgian representative to the first column of the schedule on page 132, where it was stated that the value for duty should be the value which the Comptroller was satisfied was the value f.o.b. excluding any duty payable. He was prepared to give the Council an example with figures, but that would involve an algebraic equation. In any event, the Ordinance in question was no longer in force, and it would be better to refer to the present law. He gave the average figures for the cocoa crop for the year ended 30 September 1954. The price paid to the producers had been £134 8s. 0d. per ton of cocoa. Export duty had averaged £163 9s. 2d. per ton. If the other costs constituting the f.o.b. charges were added to those two figures, an f.o.b. value of £315 0s. 10d. per ton was obtained. The average price received by the Board over the whole season had been £360 per ton, so that it had made a trading surplus of £45 per ton. He emphasized that the Board had undertaken considerable expenditure from its resources in other fields; thus, it had made development grants, awarded scholarships, endowed a chair of agriculture at the University College and made grants for the rehabilitation of plantations. That expenditure had taken up almost the whole difference of £45 per ton, so that the increase in the cash

reserves of the Board during the year had been comparatively small.

54. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) asked whether the word "expatriate" in paragraph 232 meant Europeans. He also wondered whether the passage in paragraph 390 stating that in practice new retail stores operated by non-Africans could not normally be established indicated the existence of a sort of racial discrimination.

55. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that the word "expatriate" was not equivalent to "European"; it included Asians and North Americans. The provision concerning retail trade should strictly be interpreted as protecting the indigenous inhabitants, not only against non-Africans but also against competitors from other African countries: but it was often so difficult to distinguish the latter from indigenous inhabitants, that the provisions were in fact applied only to non-Africans, which amounted to continental rather than racial discrimination.

56. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) asked what progress had been made with the building of a bridge over the Volta, which was to have begun in January 1954 and which was mentioned in paragraph 328.

57. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that the bridge would be the third largest in Africa. The contract had been awarded at the end of 1954 at a cost of well over £500,000. During the present dry season the work on the approaches to the bridge was being carried on and materials were being accumulated.

58. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) asked whether the local communities, which according to paragraph 332 were maintaining over one hundred miles of feeder roads, received any assistance for that purpose from the Administration.

59. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that there was no general rule, but in most cases the Administration helped in the construction and maintenance of such items as culverts, whereas the actual road surface was most often maintained by the communities. Very frequently the major difficulty was to get the communities to limit road-building to what they could maintain. Thus, when there had been a threat of cocoa smuggling, a number of new roads in the direction of the frontier had been opened at an alarming rate, so that lorries could cross into foreign territory without passing through frontier posts. The Administration intended to arrange for the district councils to take over as many as possible of the roads which had lasting value. Whenever possible, and wherever it would be in the interests of the Territory, the Administration would help with the construction or repair of culverts, bridges and other road work.

60. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) wished to ask a question, in connexion with appendix VI on public finance, which might be somewhat embarrassing, as it did not refer exclusively to Togoland but involved the Gold Coast, the finances of which were closely linked with those of the Territory. He wished to know whether any arrangements had been made against a drop in production, a bad crop or a fall in the world price of cocoa, and whether any part of the considerable sums levied on the sale of cocoa was put aside.

61. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) stated that large sums

were being put aside, not so much for manufacturing revenue in the event of crop failure but for development. The danger to the cocoa industry, the main prop of the Territory's economy, was the very high price that cocoa at present commanded, which was an incentive for scientists to try to find a substitute product. The Administration was using every means at its disposal to increase the production of cocoa, because it realized that the present artificially high price could not last. Unless extremely active measures were taken to increase production until it met the demand and to bring down the price of cocoa to a reasonable level, it was to be feared that synthetic products would shortly be found to replace cocoa.

*The meeting was suspended at 4 p.m. and resumed at 4.35 p.m.*

62. Mr. LOOMES (Australia) observed from page 35 of the report that in the year 1952-1953 the new local council system had replaced that of the old Native Authorities and that the yield of the rate had doubled. He asked whether that great increase had resulted from a higher rate, greater prosperity or more efficient methods of collection.

63. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that all three factors had contributed to some extent. In addition, the people had paid the tax willingly because of their confidence in the local authorities collecting it. The new local authorities were elected bodies and it was necessary to pay the rate in order to be entitled to vote; moreover, that also entitled the ratepayer to vote in the central Government elections.

64. Mr. LOOMES (Australia) was pleased to note that new development.

65. With reference to the economic development plan, he asked what part of the £82 million to be spent before 31 March 1956 would be spent on the Territory.

66. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) stated that considerable adjustments had had to be made in the relationship among the various parts of the plan and their methods of application. He would therefore prefer to wait until the end of the period before giving a detailed account of the expenditure. However, it was not simply a question of how much was spent in the Gold Coast and how much in the Territory, but of how much was spent on central services which were common to the Gold Coast and the Territory and how much was spent on local services of benefit to one of the areas.

67. Mr. LOOMES (Australia) observed that reference had been made in the report to the danger of inflation and asked if there had been any evidence of inflation in recent years.

68. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that the answer depended on the meaning given to the words "in recent years". In the previous two or three years, when the export duty on cocoa had increased steadily, the cost of living in the Territory had remained remarkably stable. During the years before that, however, i.e., right after the war, when the price of cocoa had been rising and the export duty had not been high, there had been a strong inflationary trend. Graphs plotting the cost of living against the price of cocoa showed beyond doubt that an increase in the price at which the planter sold his crop greatly increased the danger of inflation. Since the price had been stabilized, the infla-

tionary tendency had been greatly reduced. The result was that at present the main inflationary factor was the rate of development expenditure.

69. Mr. LOOMES (Australia) asked whether the anti-inflationary taxes, such as the cocoa export duty, had been introduced to reduce the amount of money in circulation or to direct capital investment into other sectors of development.

70. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that the duty was intended to serve both purposes. The Cocoa Marketing Board accumulated reserves, which greatly reduced inflationary pressure. However, when the reserves had appeared to be large enough, the Administration had not considered it proper for the Board to accumulate funds for purposes other than its own, i.e., for general economic purposes. It was at that point that it had decided to take steps against inflation. The Administration would probably have been able to obtain funds from other sources, but those fortuitous circumstances had enabled it to finance very large development programmes entirely from its own resources.

71. Mr. LOOMES (Australia) asked whether the concentration on development work had increased labour costs and whether there was any shortage of labour in the Territory.

72. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that for a very short period at the end of 1953 and the beginning of 1954 there had been a marked shortage of labour and an increase in labour costs in the whole area. However, the capacity of labour in West Africa to move from one area to another to meet demand was such that those had only been temporary features.

73. Mr. LOOMES (Australia) observed that the duty on petrol had increased in February 1953 and asked whether that increase had been in order to increase revenue or whether it had been ear-marked for some specific purpose.

74. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) explained that the Administration had established a road fund into which the additional yield of the petrol duty was now being paid and which was specifically intended to improve the country's road system.

75. Mr. LOOMES (Australia) referred to paragraph 197 of the report, which mentioned a report on *Industrialisation and the Gold Coast* by Professor A. Lewis. He asked what conclusions the Administering Authority had drawn from that report.

76. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) summarized the conclusions of the report in question. According to Professor Lewis, measures to increase the manufacture of commodities for the home market deserved support but were not of number-one priority. Steps should first be taken by every possible means to increase the production of foodstuffs in the Gold Coast so that productivity would rise steadily and spontaneously, a process which would provide markets, the capital and the labour for industrialization. Thereafter public services should be improved, with the consequence that the cost of manufacturing in the Gold Coast would be reduced and new industries automatically attracted without the Government's having to offer special favours. Very many years would elapse before it became economical for the Government to transfer any large part of its resources to-

wards industrialization. Meanwhile it should support such industrialization as could be accomplished on terms favourable to the country.

77. The Government department dealing with industrialization was being reorganized, though the main emphasis was on the improvement of agriculture and public services. Industrialization in the Territory probably depended to a large extent on the implementation of the Volta River project.

78. Mr. REID (New Zealand) referred to page 124 covering estimates of revenue and expenditure which had been derived from the main Gold Coast figures but applied to Togoland, and to the particulars of development expenditure on page 125. He noted that the items of development expenditure did not correspond exactly to those in the immediately preceding expenditure schedule. He inquired first whether the development expenditure figures were entirely included in the sum of £1.9 million given for Togoland under British administration.

79. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) agreed that there was a lack of clarity. The sum of £585,264 given at the bottom of page 125 was included in the expenditure mentioned in table A (ii) and corresponded to item 15 — "Transfer from Development Funds" — in the revenue column. Those funds had, of course, all been accumulated as a result of the extra duty on cocoa.

80. Mr. REID (New Zealand) noted that the schedule of Togoland revenue mentioned the item of £42,000 for colonial development and welfare grants, which obviously came from outside the Territory; he asked whether the same was true of other items of revenue.

81. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that item 12, covering colonial development and welfare grants, was the only item of any importance derived from outside the Territory.

82. Mr. REID (New Zealand) said that it was very satisfactory that thanks to the revenue from cocoa the Territory was able to meet its current expenditure. He asked if it would be possible to increase the revenue from other sources in the event of a reduction in the revenue from cocoa.

83. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) thought that the main increase in revenue would have to come from direct taxation, particularly direct taxation on a graduated basis. Since taxation was collected by the local authorities, it was their financial position and not that of the central Government which should be strengthened. That would result in a lightening of the load on the central Government arising from the need to subsidize local authorities.

84. Mr. REID (New Zealand) asked for particulars concerning the alienation of land referred to in paragraph 259.

85. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that although he was not very familiar with that particular part of the country, which was out of the way, he could say that in Alcan areas chiefs owned the land on behalf of the people and that there was no ownerless land. The Northern Ntrubus were a small tribe living in an isolated but very large area, and the alienation of land to other Africans coming either from the southern part of Togoland or from the Gold Coast, or even from Togo-

land under French administration, had not in itself produced a pressure on the land. It had brought into the area a number of farmers who were more energetic than the Ntrubus and prepared to engage in cash-crop farming.

86. Mr. REID (New Zealand) asked if it would be correct to infer that the transfer or alienation of land to people coming from outside had been entirely voluntary.

87. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that, with the exception of the permission recently given by the Administration for the transfer of land to non-natives of the Territory, no third party had in any way been involved.

88. Mr. REID (New Zealand), quoting paragraph 309, which stated that there were no timber concessions in the Territory, presumed that the Forestry Department was itself doing what cutting was necessary for provision of timber and for maintenance of the forests. He asked whether that was a considerable business, and also to what extent African settlers in the area had cutting rights.

89. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that the Territory was not well endowed with forests and that the Forestry Department controlled only certain limited areas of plantation and forest reserves. In some cases, particularly where there had been land disputes over the ownership of the reserve, the Forestry Department had engaged in a certain amount of cutting and had paid the proceeds into deposit pending the result of the land dispute. In general, however, permits to cut such little valuable timber as there was in the reserves were issued to the people in the area as and when the conservation plans permitted.

90. With reference to the African inhabitants right to cut, he mentioned the petition in document T/PET.6/L.39, and cited certain provisions of the Order constituting the reserve in question. The first schedule defined the area of the reserve and certain individual rights. The second schedule listed in particular the people who had already started cocoa farming and the areas which they could continue to cultivate. The third schedule safeguarded certain communal rights.

91. Mr. REID (New Zealand) recalled that in other Territories the Administration had encouraged the local authorities to make plantations and asked whether that was so in the case of Togoland under British administration.

92. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that the Forestry Department had informed the local authorities that it would assist them with the timber plantations. So far, the only important cases in which the local authorities had availed themselves of that offer had occurred outside the Territory, where wood had become so scarce that it was almost unobtainable as fuel. There was only one small local authority plantation in the Territory. As a general rule, it was difficult to make the indigenous inhabitants understand the need for reforestation until the shortage of fuel wood became grave, and that had not yet occurred in the Territory.

93. Mr. REID (New Zealand) asked what were the present functions of the Industrial Development Corporation which, according to paragraph 318 of their report,

assisted in the marketing of local handicraft products and awarded scholarships.

94. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that the corporation's function had originally been to help industrial development of any kind, but it had not accomplished a great deal in aiding small industries. It had therefore been decided that it would help large-scale industrial development, which meant that it did not do anything in the Territory at the moment because the potentialities of such development did not yet exist. It was hoped that the situation would change when electricity became abundant and cheap as a result of the Volta River project.

95. Mr. SINGH (India) referred to the importance of cocoa in the Territory's economy and was surprised to note that cocoa was grown on only about 6 per cent of the land area in the Southern Section. He asked whether that percentage applied only to the Southern Section or to the whole Territory and also how much of the Territory's total area was cultivable and under cultivation.

96. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that the figure was 6 per cent of the whole Territory. Cocoa had to be grown in forest country and nearly all the forest country in the Territory was already planted. Production could perhaps be intensified in the planted area, but that area could not itself be increased.

97. Apart from certain mountainous districts and exceptionally arid areas, almost all the Territory was cultivable. In fact, uncultivated and fallow land accounted for more than 60 per cent of the total area; the farmers usually farmed an area for about two years and then moved on.

98. Mr. SINGH (India) expressed that view that the use of fertilizers should make it unnecessary to leave land to lie fallow. He asked what the Administering Authority had done to improve agricultural methods and to bring new land under cultivation.

99. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that the Administering Authority was trying to increase production both by improving methods of cultivation, and developing new areas. In Krachi in particular, and in the southernmost part of the Territory, it was building new roads and improving rural water supplies. Moreover, to increase the yield of land already under cultivation, the Administration was doing everything to encourage the farmers to engage in mixed farming. For that purpose, it employed agricultural staff, and organized educational film shows and demonstrations.

100. In reply to a number of questions by Mr. SINGH (India) concerning the Volta River project, Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that the Administration was making a detailed survey of the area — as yet largely uncultivated — which would have to be flooded, and was studying the question of the compensation to be paid to the inhabitants. The inhabitants of Kete Krachi, the only important centre that would have to be evacuated, had asked that their towns should be rebuilt above the level of the lake. They preferred that solution to cash compensation and there was some hope that it would be possible to meet their request.



101. The agricultural officers often left their agricultural stations and toured the villages, encouraging farmers to employ new methods.
102. In the Southern Section there was one general agricultural station and two smaller stations specializing in the cultivation of cocoa and coffee. In the north, the main stations lay just outside the Territory, but they were easily accessible to the people of Togoland. The farmers could attend demonstrations at all those stations, but the Administration did not organize any long training courses for them.
103. The large imports of fish might give a false impression. Most of the fish imported came from ports on the Gold Coast. Movements of fish between the large fishing centre of Keta and the town of Ho, in the adjoining district, had had to be regarded as imports for the purposes of the report. The efforts of the Fisheries Department had so far been mainly concentrated on the development of sea fishing. The population could move closer to the rivers when once the dangers of sleeping sickness and onchocerciasis had been eliminated. In any event, the dangers of infection near the future Volta reservoir would no doubt be slight.
104. Mr. SINGH (India) asked why savings bank deposits had declined.
105. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) attributed the decline to the development of banking facilities, and the transfer by local authorities of their reserves to the banks. The figures quoted in the report gave no indication of the amount of personal savings of individuals.
106. Mr. SINGH (India) asked why it was stated in the report that the Territory's climate made it unsuitable for developing the tourist industry. Had the intention merely been to discourage visiting missions, or was the climate unsuitable all the year round?
107. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) replied that few parts of the Territory were sufficiently attractive to warrant the outlay involved in the cost of a visit from North Americans in Europe.
108. In reply to Mr. EL-FARRA (Syria), Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) recalled that under a recommendation adopted by the Council the previous year (A/2680, p. 195 the Administering Authority was to examine the possibility of enabling the cocoa producers to derive greater benefit from favourable world market conditions. The Council had, however, agreed with the Administering Authority that an increase in the purchasing price of cocoa which would have an inflationary effect was undesirable. Though it had studied the matter carefully, the Administering Authority did not yet see how it could increase the producer's share in some non-inflationary manner without the benefit being enjoyed by speculators and the numerous middlemen, rather than the farmers. It was still trying to find a way of applying the Council's recommendation.
109. So far as loans to indebted farmers were concerned, the rate of interest could be explained by the fact that the loans were not fully secured. The farmer continued to manage his farm jointly with the representative of the Cocoa Purchasing Company. The Cocoa Marketing Board, acting in consultation with the Government, had intervened only to fix a maximum rate of interest. The Company had to have some discretion, since a number of planters could join together to help an indebted planter by providing security for his loan. In such cases, it was right that the rate of interest should be lower.
110. The number of products for which import licences were needed was very low. In most cases, no import licence was required if the goods came from the sterling area. Cocoa and coffee, the principal products, were exported exclusively through the Boards or their licensed agents. The other exports were consigned to the Gold Coast and did not need a licence, since trade between the Territories was not subject to control. If a new form of export was developed, the sole aim of any system of control would be to ensure that the foreign currency proceeds were made available to the Administration.
111. Mr. EL-FARRA (Syria) asked whether the Territory exported raw materials.
112. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that while there were handicrafts in the Territory, there was no industry, not even light industry.
113. In reply to further questions by Mr. EL-FARRA (Syria), Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that the Northern Territories Council was urging the Government to transfer the control of lands in that area to that Council itself. That could very easily have been done if the Trusteeship Agreement had not provided that any alienation of land was subject to the prior approval of the Administration. In that case, therefore, the Trusteeship Agreement might be an obstacle to a reform which the people desired. The Administration was trying to find a way out of the difficulty.
114. Mr. EL-FARRA (Syria) asked to whom compensation was paid in the case of expropriation of land.
115. Mr. ENSOR (Special representative for Togoland under British administration) said that in the north compensation was paid only if a person was working the land, whereas in the south it was available paid, sometimes to the family, sometimes to the local chief and sometimes to the occupant.
116. Mr. EL-FARRA (Syria) asked whether, in the special representative's opinion, a united Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration would be self-supporting.
117. Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom) said that was a hypothetical question which it was quite impossible to answer.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p. m.