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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THIRTIETH MEETING

(Transcription from sound recording)

Lake Success, New York

Wednesday, 2 March 1949, at 2.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Liu CHIH China

The PRESIDENT: I declare open the thirtieth meeting of the fourth session of the Trusteeship Council.

The agenda for this afternoon provides for the continuation of the debate on the Annual Reports on the Cameroons under British Administration and also on Togoland under British Administration.

At the invitation of the President, Dr. Calderone, special representative of the World Health Organization, took his seat at the Council table.

Dr. CALDERONE (World Health Organization): I should like to have an opportunity of making a few remarks in regard to the resolution that was passed yesterday, when you feel that it is time or that I can make these remarks, which you advised me at one time that I could.

The PRESIDENT: As far as the resolution is concerned, I think that has been adopted by the Council -- it is not usual to reopen the question of a resolution that has been adopted.

I do consider the fact that you were not present yesterday, and if you would like to make some brief observations I think the best thing would be for you to do so before we enter into the debate on the Annual Reports.

Will you make your statement now?

Dr. CALDERONE (World Health Organization): I do not particularly wish to comment on the resolution -- the resolution is all right. The resolution as it is drawn up more or less amplifies and backs the original agreements that the World Health Organization has with the United Nations and with the Trusteeship Council as a whole in regard to co-operation.

I wish at the outset to apologize for not being here yesterday. I was advised that the matter would not come up and I wish to apologize to the President personally as well as to the members here, and I would like to make a few comments purely in clarification of the resolution.

Based on the discussions that we had before, I think too much importance was given to this question of terminology as a whole, and too much importance was attached to the fact that maybe the World Health Organization should put out a dictionary of terminology to be used. I think we all are aware that the same representatives are here, their countries are represented on the World Health Organization, and all are interested in colonial and trusteeship affairs, and the same terminology is available in the various

documents that we have submitted to all of the countries of the WHO.

It seems to me that to try to bring out a volume or something discussing the question of terminology would be to my mind a little bit of a surplus effort on our part because already the documents are in the possession of the various governments interested in the Trusteeship areas.

I believe from that point of view, where we have been asked to develop something specifically, I do not think we have to do that because already you have it in your hands, in the hands of the various governments who are interested in the trust areas throughout the world to-day.

Now if you all remember, all I was trying to explain to you was not a fear that we were not being asked to co-operate, but really to tell you that we were interested in the problems of the Trusteeship areas, and that we were willing to co-operate as much as we could if we were asked to do so, but we were not being hurt over the fact that maybe we were not being as active as we might be, but to give you a feeling that should you want some help we were there to help you.

If you remember I used that expression of an exponential curve at one time and it was all a question of the time factor. If that can be done within the Trusteeship areas by themselves, it is perfectly all right. But if we should count as a catalytic agent in the process of a chemical reaction going one way, and should by our efforts or through your own effort be able to speed up the reactions or the final product that you want, we are very willing and able to help you in this whole problem

And that is all I was trying to bring to your attention during the previous remarks that I made to the Trusteeship Council.

Now the question of reading annual reports and reporting to you is the question again of the gradual revision of the questionnaire. The questionnaire will be gradually revised from time to time as we go along in the light of the type of information you are giving to yourselves, and we can help on the revision of the questionnaire which will start to bring the kind of reports that you must have and that will make your work a little bit easier in regard to its proper evaluation.

So therefore as time goes on, we are perfectly willing and able to help not only you but your Secretariat in the revision of the questionnaire to bring this matter of reports into a sort of standardized form for all areas. But again I wish to submit to you all, that it is faster, if you so wish,

/to be able

to be able to have the representatives of these various Trusteeship areas meet with us so that we might tell them, not on a printed word, whether it is French or English, but in conversation as to how these reports might be standardized.

I appreciate this resolution, because it shows the interest that you have in this whole problem. I told you about our interest in the problem. This resolution maybe cements the actual co-ordination a little bit better, but it is still in accordance to the various resolutions and contractual relationships which the WHO as a specialized agency has with the United Nations and Trusteeship Council.

I thank you for this but I wish to express these opinions.

Now I have with me a certain document -- it is not an official document but certain papers which might give you an inkling as to along what lines the WHO might be able to help should you so wish. I will have that given to the President, and if he wishes to distribute this document I should be very happy. It is merely a note, and not a real document.

I hope I have made my points. I am sorry I was not here yesterday. I think the resolution is all right -- it is in accordance with all of our opinions in regard to mutual co-operation between agencies.

The PRESIDENT: I am sure the Council is aware of the great amount of interest that the WHO and other specialized agencies have taken in the work of the Trusteeship Council, and the resolution adopted by the Council yesterday is calculated to promote collaboration towards that end.

I do not think the Council has sought to place on the WHO the burden of compiling a dictionary of terminology because it must have been noted that the report embraces a number of views, apart from the view of public health. Also it would have to be compiled by the local customs authorities in the various Trust Territories. I do not think any single specialized agency can be expected to compile some terminology which could be readily adopted by all the Trust Territories.

/I think also

I also think it would not be quite practical to have the special representatives meet the representatives of WHO in regard to the form of their report, because the special representatives are not stationed in New York. They all have to be back in their respective posts in the Trust Territories and I think if there is any observation or suggestion which any specialized agency wishes to send to the Council, it would be done best in writing.

EXAMINATION OF ANNUAL REPORTS: CAMEROONS AND TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION, 1947 -- GENERAL DEBATE

The PRESIDENT: We will proceed with the examination of annual reports and continue the general debate and discussion on the Annual Reports of the British-administered Territories of the Cameroons and Togoland.

Mr. BAKR (Iraq): Our earlier statement covered many of the points common to the two Cameroons and the two Togoland reports insofar as the questions raised were common to all of them.

We also dealt with some individual situations which were common to two or more of the reports. We thought of making brief remarks with reference to the rest of the reports as they come up before the Council and I take leave to make the following brief remarks.

Some of the members of the Council have referred to the question of having the two Trust Territories under consideration administered from the adjacent territories. We believe this to be a somewhat cumbersome arrangement.

We do not doubt the high aims of the colonial administration nor do we rate a colony below a Trust Territory, but it is certain that there are some fundamental differences in kind if not in degree that distinguish a Trust Territory from a colony, and the merger of administration that is practised in both the Cameroons and Togoland under British Administration with Nigeria and the Gold Coast respectively seems to lead to some confusion and limitation insofar as this Council is concerned.

A Trust Territory is entrusted to an Administering Authority to be developed and trained in the art of self-government; and to have the centre of administration outside the Trust Territory seems to deprive the Trust Territory of its nerve centre, which is placed outside, to say nothing of the fact that this Council has no jurisdiction to pry into the

/affairs

affairs of the adjacent colonies from which the two Trust Territories are administered, thereby depriving the Council of the opportunity of formulating a more or less accurate appraisal of the progress that the two Trust Territories are undoubtedly making.

It seems to us that health conditions and education have room for energetic improvement in the North of the Cameroons and the Report indicates that this has not escaped the eye of the administration and we are confident that by the next report conditions in that area will have considerably improved.

The Administering Authority in the Cameroons is making use of the tribal chiefs in its administration and using them as the medium through which it approaches the native population.

Undoubtedly this method must have its usefulness and expediency but it does not make for the abolition of a system that has proved to be outdated and incompatible with modern administrative methods, particularly in a Territory where a good example must be set and a first lesson in democracy must be taught.

Communications in the Cameroons are in a condition that does not help facilitate trade and commerce; and an effort in that direction seems to be urgently needed.

There does not seem to be sufficient indication that the Administering Authority is taking effective steps to ensure that the Cameroons Development Corporation is working to the benefit of the indigenous populations, nor does it appear that this will be the case in the foreseeable future.

The report refers to the fact that all the profits made by that Corporation are to be applied to the benefit of the inhabitants in such a manner as the Governor may determine. We hope that future reports will clearly and sufficiently indicate that effective steps to that end have been taken by the Administration.

Education in Togoland seems to be in an extremely undeveloped stage. There seems to be no secondary, higher or vocational education in the Territory where education is admittedly the highway for salvation of the native population.

Health conditions are not much better in Togoland under British Administration, where a crying need of personnel-- local or European alike -- to be able adequately to cope with an acute health situation and to guide the peoples under Trust in modern hygiene, is extremely urgent.

/We congratulate

We congratulate the British Administration on the way its reports have been prepared, with some interesting photographs, to which we understand a screen addendum will be supplied in future reports. We welcome this forward step and hope that other Administering Authorities besides New Zealand, which leads in this field, and the United Kingdom, will take similar steps.

The patience of the United Kingdom delegation and the special representatives in the Council during the consideration of the reports have not fallen short of the traditional British reputation.

We are certain that all the Administering Authorities are faced in the Territories under their trust with difficult problems which they are as anxious as we here are to solve; our effort to help in this direction, I am sure, is not in any manner misunderstood.

Mr. SOLDATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Interpretation from Russian): Article 76 of the Charter of the United Nations, which sets forth the basic principles and purposes of the International Trusteeship System, states that one of the basic purposes of the system shall be

"to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory. . ."

The way in which Trust Territories shall develop has already been set forth by the Trusteeship Council. It has given its opinion on that point when it discussed the question of administrative union.

The Trusteeship Council feels that an administrative union must remain just that -- it must remain administrative in character and extent. Its existence must not bring about conditions that will hamper the independent development of the Trust Territory as a separate entity in the field of political, economic, social and educational advancement.

This view of the Trusteeship Council was set forth formally and it was confirmed by the General Assembly Resolution of 18 November last.

/The information

The information submitted by the Administering Authority on the Cameroons and Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship shows that the Administering Authority is violating the basic clauses of the Charter of the United Nations relating to the purposes and aims of the trusteeship system.

The British Administering Authority is taking no measures with a view to implementing the above-mentioned clause of the Charter of the United Nations, Article 76(b). The information given by the special representative shows that no measures are being taken towards the implementation of the General Assembly Resolution of 18 November 1948, which said that the administering authorities of Trust Territories must promote the independent development of such Territories as separate entities in the field of political, economic, social and educational advancement.

The British authorities some time ago effected an actual annexation of the Cameroons and Togoland under their Trusteeship to neighbouring British colonies. The Cameroons Trust Territory has been more or less amalgamated with the British colony of Nigeria. The Governor of Nigeria is also the Governor of the Cameroons. You can look up page 15 about that. The Cameroons has no administrative or legal autonomy. The inhabitants of the Territory and the Territory itself has no special or separate status. The report states that the Trust Territory of the Cameroons is being governed as an integral part of Nigeria.

As far as Togoland is concerned the southern part of the territory is being governed and administered as an integral part of the Gold Coast colony, while the northern part is deemed to be an integral part of the Northern Territories. There is no law determining any special status for this Trust Territory.

Thus, the Administering Authority, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, has effected an utter unification of these Trust Territories with neighbouring colonies, and the Administering Authority is governing those Trust Territories as if they were colonies and nothing else.

Furthermore, having included these territories into neighbouring British colonies, the United Kingdom administrators are taking no measures towards promoting the political, economic and social advancement of the inhabitants of these territories.

Even within the framework of the colonies, the Trust Territories are in the role of step-children, they are being neglected politically, socially and economically. A characteristic feature is the utter absence
/of any political

of any political rights for the population, to say nothing of the fact that the mass of the population has a miserable existence and is the object of pitiless exploitation by British monopolies.

The delegation of the Soviet Union considers that the unification of Togoland and the Cameroons respectively with the respective neighbouring British colonies is incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, which provides specifically for the promotion of the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories and their progressive development towards self-government or independence.

Legislative organs ought to be established in the Trust Territories, and such organs ought not to be subject to organs that might have been created on the basis of the unification of such Trust Territories with neighbouring colonies. To that end, it is the view of the Soviet Union delegation that it behooves the Trusteeship Council to recommend to the Administering Authority to carry out legislative or other measures which might ensure the participation of the indigenous population in legislative, executive and judicial organs of government in each and every one of the Trust Territories.

The political situation in these territories, the Cameroons and Togoland, is featured, as I have already noted, by an utter political lack of rights on the part of the people of the Territory. The Territories lack organs of self-government where the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory could participate. The Territories are run by British officials appointed by the British Governor-General. They are ensconced there, mostly for the purpose of running the Territory and of levying taxes, and to that end they utilize local chieftains.

The tribal chieftains are thus resorted to by the British officials, and these are what the Administering Authority euphemistically calls Native Authorities. This may create the incorrect impression that organs of local authority or of native authority do exist in those Territories. This is an incorrect impression. These so-called Native Authorities are simply appointed by the respective Governors of neighbouring British colonies. They are officials of the British Administering Authority and of nothing else.

The basic job of these local indigenous officials is to collect the taxes. The population of the Trust Territory does not participate in the selection of these so-called local authorities which are nothing but

/officials

officials on the pay-roll of the United Kingdom.

The reports show that there is no electoral system in the Territories. The population of the Trust Territories has no representative even in those advisory organs which have been set up to assist the Governor of the neighbouring British colonies.

In that connexion, the special representative for Togoland declared that not a single inhabitant of Togoland is a member of the so-called Executive Council which assists the Governor (document T/254 page 4).

The southern part of Togoland, he said, is sometimes represented in the so-called Legislative Council. As regards the northern section of Togoland, it utterly lacks representation in that Council, because, the special representative said, this Territory has not advanced in its political development sufficiently to warrant participation in the work of that Council (page 5 of the same document, T/254).

Even the population of the backward British colony, which is utterly without rights, is, according to the information of the special representative, in a better situation, is favoured over the population of a Trust Territory, because the population of the Trust Territory is being maintained by the British authorities in a half-savage condition and their development is utterly neglected in direct contradiction with the stipulations of the Charter.

The Administering Authority has not introduced any electoral organs of government among the indigenous inhabitants. More than that, as the special representative explained, he does not even know when such local self-government will be introduced or whether it will be introduced at all.

As regards the Cameroons, the situation in that Territory cannot be distinguished in any way from the situation in Togoland. In the Cameroons, as in Togoland, the indigenous population is deprived of all political rights. The report states that no democratic organs of local self-government with the participation of the indigenous population, exist in the Cameroons. There are no electoral franchise laws.

As in Togoland, British officialdom enjoys complete and absolute rights. They govern the Trust Territory with the help of tribal chiefs through what is called indirect government or indirect administration as page 22 of the report says.

In carrying out this policy the Administering Authority does not promote the establishment of local organs of self-government. The Administering Authority is thus hampering the political development of the Territory. It is thus violating the requirements and the purposes of the Trusteeship System as set forth in the Charter.

The tribal system which now prevails in the Trust Territories and which is encouraged by the Administering Authority is incompatible with the progressive political development of the population of the Trust Territories toward self-government and eventual independence.

The delegation of the USSR considers that it is incumbent on the Trusteeship Council to recommend to the Administering Authority to take measures ensuring the transition from the tribal system to a system of self-government built upon democratic bases.

The Trust Territories of Togoland and the Cameroons are characterized by a system of poll tax and similar taxation. The burden of taxation is thus borne by the poorest part of the population which constitutes the overwhelming majority of the population of the Territory. This most unjust system of taxation ought to be replaced by a progressive income taxation system or at least by some kind of a percentage income taxation system which would take some account of ability to pay.

The utter lack of rights of the indigenous population of the Cameroons and Togoland under British Administration is betokened by facts relating to the economic life of these Territories. These Territories lack any independent budget. The Administering Authority does

/not have

not have any separate statistics for these Trust Territories and it is therefore unable to supply any information regarding the collection of taxes which are levied from the population of these Territories -- to say nothing of the fact that the Administering Authority does not account for the incomes of the British companies which exploit the natural wealth and resources of the Trust Territories.

In the economic life of the Cameroons, the Cocoa Marketing Board, a private organization, plays a principal part and so does the Cameroons Development Corporation which is a Government company. Under the pretext that the Cocoa Marketing Board operates not only in the Cameroons but also all over Nigeria, the British authorities do not account for the profits that that company rakes in in the Cameroons. All the taxes paid by that company are paid into the Treasury of Nigeria.

Furthermore, even the Cameroons Development Corporation, which operates only on the territory of the Cameroons and the income of which is well known to the British authorities, nevertheless pays its taxation into the Nigerian Treasury alone. This is natural because there is no special budgeting system at all for the Trust Territory.

The reports note that import and export duties are collected by the British customs system and that the income therefrom is not used for the development of the Trust Territory.

The indigenous population of the Trust Territory takes no part in the export or import trade of the Territory. Such trade is fully in the hands of British companies and of nobody else. As regards the British companies, in their quest for profits they doom the population of the Territory to a life of misery. They pay starvation wages to hired workers. The Togoland report indicates that in view of the backward economic development, in view of the lack of manufacturing industries, in view of the low level of agricultural technique, the cost of food is high. It is noted that because of high prices for meat, fish and fats, these essential products are accessible with great difficulty to the poor people of the Territory.

The Cameroons report also notes that food costs are exceedingly high. Thus, we see again lack of due care for the interests of the population of the Territory. Furthermore, there are the facts of forced expropriation of lands from the indigenous population.

In this connexion we ought to dwell upon the petition of the Bakweri Land Committee which is before the Trusteeship Council. That petition contains the demand of the Bakweri tribe for the return of the

/tribe's lands

tribe's lands which were taken away from that tribe by force by German colonizers in the late nineties of the last century.

The petition also tells the Council that the Victoria Division area is about 580 square miles and ought to belong to the Bakweri tribe, and we note that between 1897 and 1905, the petition says, more than 400 square miles, or 258,000 acres, of this land which belongs to the tribe in Victoria and Kumba Divisions were sold to European persons and corporations. The petition goes on to tell that the fraction of the land which was left to the Bakweri tribe is unsuitable for agriculture. The deprivation of the tribe of its lands is leading to the dying out of the whole tribe.

On the other hand, the land taken away from the indigenous population has served as a source of tremendous profit for the new European owners. Subsequently, these lands were declared to be the property of the Cameroons Development Corporation which, beginning in 1946, proceeded to the exploitation of the above-mentioned land.

/The special representative

The special representative told us that almost 16,000 indigenous agricultural workers are working on the plantations of that company. According again to the information given by the special representative, these workers are receiving starvation wages.

As a result of the terrible situation of these workers, strikes sometimes occur. These strikes are due to the indignation of the workers due to their miserable situation and their exploitation.

The petition of the Bakweri tribe ought to be considered carefully by the Trusteeship Council. The facts already at the disposal of the Trusteeship Council give a clear picture to the effect that the Administering Authority is blatantly violating the rights of the indigenous population of the Trust Territories in general, and of the Cameroons in particular.

It is incumbent upon the Administering Authority to return to the indigenous population the lands which were taken away from it. The Administering Authority ought to put an end to the further expropriation of native-owned land.

As a result of the absence of any care for the social development of the population on the part of the Administering Authority, the indigenous population is living in conditions of backwardness, near-savagery and illiteracy.

The Togoland Report states that there are no cases of slavery, but along side of that, it is indicated that in the northern part of Togoland it is possible that children are taken away for payment of debts, as is indicated on page 52. What does that show?

In our opinion, this shows only one thing, that is, that the masses of the local population were utterly lacking in rights; their lack of rights, their misery, is such that the taking away of children for payment of debts is considered to be a customary and generally accepted event.

There are such horrible things as child marriages in the Territories and they are not even prohibited by law, as is stated on page 19 of document T/254. Furthermore, women are in a state of virtual slavery.

The Togoland Report says that, politically speaking, the women of both sections of the Territory enjoy a lower status than the men. The same applies to the Cameroons.

The Administering Authority is taking no measures toward the appropriate development of education in the Trust Territories. The Togoland Report says on page 55 that so far the population of the Territory is

/generally

generally illiterate. No legislative measures have been adopted for improving educational standards. (page 76.)

In the northern part of the Togoland Territory there are 210,000 people, and there are only 732 pupils in elementary schools from among those 210,000 people.

In the Cameroons, out of the total population, there are only a little over 26,000 pupils in elementary schools. Illiteracy among the indigenous population is above 90 percent. This is on page 105 of the official Report of the Administering Authority itself.

The utter illiteracy and lack of rights of the population of the Trust Territories is proved by the following fact, which was communicated to us by the special representative for the Cameroons. He was asked what the cost is of drafting a complaint in English for an inhabitant of the Cameroons. The special representative said that this might cost approximately 25 shillings. Other complaints, however, might cost less.

He went on to say that the average daily wage of an agricultural worker is approximately 1/6d. In other words, in order to pay for the writing of a complaint document, of a petition, the average agricultural worker must work 16 to 17 days. That is what it would cost to have that document written. But the worker has a family and it is considered usual to maintain that family and to eat. Therefore, to collect the money necessary for writing a trifling complaint or petition, the man will have to work for months, just to have the thing put down in written form in the English language.

Small wonder that the miserable existence of the mass of the indigenous population of the Trust Territories leads to the broad threat of endemic diseases and a high morbidity and mortality, particularly among children.

We must take into account the fact that the medical servicing of the indigenous population of the Trust Territories is ~~marked by its absence~~. Page 64 of the Togoland Report indicates that, in the northern part of Togoland, there is no governmental medical personnel. The Administering Authority apparently is utterly indifferent to the status of the local population, except to keep it down.

There are no statistical records being kept of births and deaths. There are also no morbidity, in other words, sickness statistics.

In discussing the Annual Reports of the Administering Authority for Togoland and the Cameroons, we have established indubitable and undisputed facts which show that the Administering Authority is not complying /with the requirements

with the requirements of the Charter of the United Nations regarding the promotion of the development of the inhabitants of the Cameroons and Togoland Trust Territories toward independence and self-government.

In this connexion, the USSR delegation feels that it is incumbent upon the Council to adopt such recommendations as might ensure compliance with the purposes of the Trusteeship System as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. GERIG (United States of America): In his remarks to the Council yesterday, the representative of the United Kingdom told us that the people of British Togoland and the British Cameroons are less advanced than their neighbours in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, with which the two Trust Territories are administratively associated.

My delegation believes that the Council should note that the policy of the Administering Authority is to bring the people of the two Trust Territories up to the level of their neighbours as quickly as possible and should recommend that the Administering Authority increase its efforts in this direction.

With regard to the Annual Report, it seems clear that this Council cannot adequately examine political, economic, social and educational conditions in the Trust Territory unless it is provided with separate financial, statistical and other records in future reports on British Togoland.

For this reason we welcome the assurance of the special representative that such separate and detailed statistical information for the Trust Territory will be included in future annual reports.

The special representative has informed us that while there is not direct representation of British Togoland on the Executive Council or on the Legislative Council, the interests of the Territory are none the less looked after by the Chief Commissioners of the Northern Territories and the Colony, who are members of both Councils.

We are pleased to note, however, that it is the intention of the Administering Authority to give the Southern Section of British Togoland specific representation on the Legislative Council, and we believe that the Trusteeship Council should take note of the special representative's statement to this effect.

In view of the importance of cocoa exports in the economic life of the Territory, my delegation followed with interest the plans of the Administering Authority for stabilizing the price paid to cocoa farmers in order to prevent the drastic price fluctuations which have often caused a hardship to cocoa farming communities. This seems to us a clear and worthwhile objective. The Council will naturally want to know the full details of cocoa operations each year, and my delegation suggests that the Council should take note of the organization and objectives of the Gold Coast and Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Boards and should ask the Administering Authority to include full details of each year's cocoa production and marketing in the annual reports.

The Administering Authority has pointed out several times the shortage of medical personnel in the Trust Territory. The representative of the United Kingdom told us that there is no objection in principle to recruiting doctors of non-British nationality. My delegation believes that the Trusteeship Council might recommend that the Administering Authority consider recruitment of needed doctors from among, say, the displaced persons in Europe as well as from other sources.

In view of the complete lack of secondary schools and government primary schools in the Territory, my delegation welcomes the Administering Authority's plan to establish a grant-aided secondary school for boys at Ho, and believes that the Council should urge the Administering Authority to further extend facilities for education in the Trust Territory.

/Mr. LIN

Mr. LIN (China): The two Trust Territories under consideration are small and poor countries. The populations there are small and resources are limited. The administrative tasks have been extremely difficult and there has been some advancement as was pointed out by the representative of the United Kingdom yesterday. These are the background conditions. I should like to make a few brief observations on some specific points in the administration.

Some members of the Council have noted that no native inhabitants of the Cameroons or Togoland are members of executive councils or legislative councils of Nigeria and the Gold Coast, with which the Trust Territories are administratively united respectively.

The special representatives have indicated that this question of representation is under consideration by the Administering Authority. I believe that the Council should urge, as the United States delegation suggested yesterday, that the Cameroons and Togoland should be represented in the executive councils and legislative councils of Nigeria and the Gold Coast, and in this connexion the Council should also urge that in the election of such representatives some system of suffrage should be instituted.

Neither the Cameroons nor Togoland has a budgetary economy. Hence it is impossible to prepare an exact estimate of the revenue and expenditure of each Trust Territory. The annual report on the Cameroons does contain a table showing an estimate of the budget for 1946/1947, but the annual report of Togoland does not give much information.

The table showing the budget of the Cameroons does not seem to be complete. One realizes that as long as the Trust Territory has no budgetary economy, all figures of public finance are at best approximations.

A ten-year development plan for Nigeria has been started. The cost is estimated to be £55,000,000. The share for the Cameroons under this plan is £1,500,000.

The report contains figures showing various items of expenditure. A Development Committee for the Gold Coast has also been instituted.

The report on Togoland, however, contains little information showing development projects to be undertaken in Togoland. It is hoped that future annual reports will cover the development projects in greater detail.

/The Chinese delegation

The Chinese delegation appreciates the fact that the Cameroons Development Corporation has been established to manage and operate the ex-enemy plantations. The net profit of this enterprise is to be applied for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Cameroons.

The Chinese delegation also appreciates the intention of the Administering Authority eventually to transfer those Estates to the Cameroonians themselves. In this connexion the Council should consider the special circumstances in which the Bakweri people have found themselves. According to a report which Mr. Shute, the special representative, has kindly shown me, the Bakweri people have been dispossessed, disinherited and discouraged. And they are in danger of disappearing.

In this connexion may not the Trusteeship Council request the Administering Authority to give special attention to the Bakweri people and to take such measures as will enable them to participate not only in the cultivation but also in the management of the Estates?

I am glad that the special representative has indicated that this is the policy of the Administration, and it is hoped that future reports will contain more details of the application of this policy.

It is well known that the primary result of the exploitation of these Estates in the past was entirely to the profit of the European companies. The Territory itself has hitherto received very little profit. I think the Council should commend the intention of the Cameroons Development Corporation which was established recently, to repair the omissions of the past.

We are somewhat concerned at the thought that the details of the present purchase of the Estates are such that it will be 35 years before the purchase price of some £850,000 is paid off and before the inhabitants can enjoy the full fruits of the profits of the Corporation.

The special representative has explained to us that the purchase was in the nature of a reparation transaction, that the purchase price will be lost to the Territory, and that the available profits will be diminished for the next 35 years by the annual repayment charge.

We can understand, of course, that the Administering Authority is obliged to enter this large sum against its reparation share; we have wondered, in view of the special circumstances involved, whether the Administering Authority may not consider trying to find some way to reduce or remove altogether the considerable drain on the profits from the plantations for the next 35 years.

/ There are, I understand

There are, I understand from the special representatives, a number of common services, common economic and social agencies in the West African territories under British administration. Two of such services have been mentioned in one report -- the West African Currency Board and the West African Income Tax Department.

I presume there are other agencies, research and scientific services, of an inter-territorial nature. It is hoped the future annual reports will contain such information.

Several members of the Council have already noted the great discrepancy between the northern and southern areas of the Cameroons and the northern and southern sections of Togoland in educational development.

In the northern areas of the Cameroons, out of a population of almost half a million there are less than 1000 pupils in schools. In the northern section of Togoland, out of a population of 209,000, there are only 258 pupils.

I am afraid this percentage of literacy appears to be the lowest in any area in any Trust Territory which the Trusteeship Council has examined.

Our delegation notes with interest the ten-year educational plan for the Gold Coast, including Togoland, and the memorandum on educational policy in Nigeria, including the Cameroons. We feel that even if these plans are successfully carried out they will not go very far to promote education. It is earnestly hoped that the Administering Authority will find it possible further to expand educational facilities in these Territories.

One rather discouraging feature in this connexion is the fact that educational fees are too high. In Togoland it costs a pupil some £50 to study in a secondary school in the Gold Coast. Considering that a Native Authority school teacher gets some £40 a year and a Native Authority constable gets some £30 a year, I am afraid that the educational fees charged are so high that they are actually prohibitive.

The Cameroons report does not give exact figures of educational fees. In both Territories there are fees for primary education, too.

The General Assembly has recommended that primary education in the Trust Territories should be free and higher education should not depend upon means. It is hoped that the Administering Authority will find it possible to make primary education free and secondary education very much less expensive than at present.

/Now I come

Now I come to the most difficult question -- the question of administrative union.

The Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly have maintained a very keen interest in the status of the Trust Territories and their advancement as distinctive entities for self-government or independence as prescribed under the terms of Article 76 of the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreements.

It is clear from the annual reports on Togoland and the Cameroons that neither Territory has legislative, judicial or budgetary autonomy. Each of these two Territories is parcelled out and integrated with the administrations of the adjoining British colonies of Nigeria and the Gold Coast respectively.

Two questions may be asked: First, is the administration of each Trust Territory of such a character as to maintain and preserve its international status as a separate political entity? Secondly, is the administration of each Trust Territory of such a character as to enable the Trusteeship Council to exercise its supervisory functions?

As to the second question, which is simpler, I may recall that the Permanent Mandates Commission was also concerned with the problem in connexion with the two Trust Territories under consideration.

At its fifth session in 1924, the Permanent Mandates Commission reported that if as a result of incorporating the mandated territories with the neighbouring colonies, the mandatory power found it impossible to submit a report which would enable the Commission clearly to appreciate the nature and character of a mandatory administration, and in particular the work done in order to ensure the wellbeing of the population under the mandate, such incorporation would ipso facto appear to be incompatible with the spirit of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

It appears that an examination of the Annual Reports on Togoland and the Cameroons and the questions and answers concerning these Territories have revealed that they are so completely integrated with adjoining territories that it is very difficult for the Trusteeship Council to gain a clear and detailed understanding of the conditions which exist in these Trust Territories.

Furthermore, effective administrative control is located outside these Territories in adjacent colonies, where policies are formulated for large unions in which the Trust Territories form only small and backward portions.

/In this connexion

In this connexion the Council notes that the representative of the Administering Authority has promised the Council that it will do its best to secure separate figures and facts for future annual reports. We are sure that the Administering Authority will give all such information as may be necessary for the purposes of the Trusteeship Council.

As to the first question, the status of the Territories themselves, this is a more difficult question. We should like to make the following observations:

Neither Territory forms a distinct administrative unit. The integration is of such a nature that various portions of these Trust Territories are integrated separately for administrative purposes into different administrative divisions and sub-divisions of the adjoining colonies. This integration is carried so far that even on the lowest administrative level, that is, on the level of the native authorities, certain sections of the Trust Territory are administered as part of administrative native authorities having their seats in adjacent colonies.

Furthermore, there is a sharp cleavage in administrative policy and tempo of development between the northern and southern sections, to conform with the policies of adjacent territories, as has been ably pointed out by the representative of Belgium yesterday.

As a result we find that the Administering Authority is applying different legislative and administrative policies in respect of the same Trust Territories.

Neither Trust Territory sends native inhabitants as representatives to the legislative councils which exercise jurisdiction over their territories. These Councils are not organized to recognize any members as representatives of such territories. For example, although there is a theoretical possibility for native inhabitants of the southern Cameroons to be selected to sit in the Legislative Council of Nigeria, they would represent not the Trust Territory of the Cameroons but merely local interests in the eastern section of Nigeria, which includes the southern portion of the Cameroons.

The same principle holds true for the representational system in the northern and eastern Regional Councils.

/The Trusteeship

The Trusteeship Council, therefore, can hardly consider Togoland or the Cameroons as entities having a separate political existence. In actual fact, these two Territories are merely administrative bits and pieces of adjacent colonies. They have only a theoretical status as Trust Territories.

The problem of the Administrative Union is not a new problem. It was a problem that was constantly on the agenda of the Permanent Mandates Commission. It may remain a problem in the Trusteeship Council for a long time. I am afraid -- but I hope not -- that this problem might even become a source of perennial irritation and recurring conflict in the Council, composed of men of goodwill and honest opinion.

Something must be done to clarify the situation. The appointment of a special Commissioner for the Cameroons, for instance, is a step in that direction. There is an apparent conflict between law and reality, between theory and practice.

That the status of the Trust Territory is an international status in international law, that the Trust Territory should maintain and preserve its own administrative unity or autonomy, that the Trust Territory is potentially a self-governing or independent body politic - these constitute a legal doctrine or political principle insofar as the United Nations is concerned.

The Trusteeship Council has insisted on this legal doctrine or political principle, and the Administering Authority has also, on its part, maintained this legal fiction. On the other hand, in the Territories under consideration, there are practical reasons, perhaps very real reasons, budgetary, racial, geographical, which dictate the necessity of temporary incorporation of Trust Territories with adjacent territories. I am thinking particularly of the ethnic composition of the populations concerned, on which matter I have very little information or understanding.

The Trusteeship Council has established a Committee to study this problem. It is hoped that this problem will be thoroughly studied by the Committee, and later on by the Trusteeship Council itself, not only in the light of law, but also in the light of reality. For this purpose, complete cooperation between the Administering Authority or Authorities concerned and the members of the Committee and the Council is absolutely essential. It is my belief that men of good will and honest opinion and men of common sense should be able to settle this problem in a manner that is juristically sound and socially and economically practical.

/Sir Carl BERENDSEN

Sir Carl BERENDSEN (New Zealand): I think there is one aspect, at least, upon which we can all join in congratulating the Administering Authority, and that is on the quality of the reports themselves.

The report on the Cameroons in particular is not only a work of some literary interest, it is a document of great human significance, a document which one can read with real interest and appreciation; and in that connexion, I would refer particularly to the really excellent assessment of the policy of indirect rule which appears on page 23 of the report on the Cameroons. That is well worth reading, a very interesting commentary and extremely important doctrine of colonial administration. Another section of that report which will repay careful perusal is the comprehensive survey of labour legislation in section 151.

In both these reports - the reports on the Cameroons and Togoland under British Administration - one can at least say and say with appreciation that the picture that is drawn is like the portrait of Oliver Cromwell, it shows the subject, warts and all. And that is an extremely useful thing.

One cannot read these reports without being led to the conviction, which is based on fact, that the Administering Authority is confronted in the Cameroons and in Togoland with people and conditions more primitive perhaps than in any other Trust Territory with the possible exception of the Australian territory of New Guinea; and in considering the achievements or the want of achievement by the Administering Authority, that is a fact that reasonable people just take into account. No one can expect, no one should expect or is entitled to expect relatively quick results, because, believe me, there are no positively quick results obtainable in this field anywhere on this earth. Relatively quick results can be expected in more advanced territories, and it is only by patient and stubborn effort by the Administration that improvements will gradually be brought about.

Political practice is so dependent, so inter-dependent on educational practice that we could not expect the people of the Cameroons to achieve an advanced stage of political development, and of course they have not achieved such a thing, they are only in the very beginnings of political development; but no doubt, in the course of time, a self-governing institution for the whole Territory could develop, and, please God, will develop, out of the present system of local government. The New Zealand delegation, accordingly, is glad to note those institutions of the amalgamation or federation of small native authorities which have recently

taken place. It is our hope that this process may, in the course of time, encourage the participation of the inhabitants, not only in their local matters, but in a wider, a national sphere, that that process which is seen now to be just beginning may develop until it takes a substantial form.

One faces here, as one may face in so many places, the paradox, the contest, the conflict between the desire of the well-meaning administrator to utilize the indigenous - I hate the word native - indigenous customs to the full on the one hand, and on the other our ideas of modern democracy.

Let us agree at once that in very many of these Trust Territories democracy as we know it in the sense of each individual having an equal right in the management of his country, really does not exist. It is an object to be aimed at, to be attempted, and it is a matter of very nice judgment when it is proper, if it becomes such, to abandon the age-old tradition of the people and endeavour to persuade them - because you would be very unwise to attempt to force them - into a system of which they have no experience and very little knowledge.

/It is all very well.

Now it is all very well to say they ought to want democracy. You can talk until you are blue to men and women and tell them what they ought to want and when you finish talking to them about what they ought to want they continue to want just what they wanted before you started. Men and women are the kittlest of cattle. That is the point that I want to emphasize, and that I have tried to emphasize so often.

We are dealing here with human beings; we are not dealing with nice little algebraical problems. You have got to convince these people that there are better ways of life than the only way of life they have known up to the present. You have got to educate them to show them they have got something to gain for themselves by a different way of life. You have got to lead them along and I have not in my time met anybody that likes being led any more than I have met people who liked being driven. It is a long, steady, hard pull and the greatest error that any administrator can make is to try to push -- the only thing to that is that you push yourself over into the water.

Political advancement depends almost entirely upon educational advancement. It is for that reason that we in the New Zealand delegation are extremely glad to learn of the plans for educational development which are being put into effect in the Cameroons. We hope that, especially in the two northern provinces where educational facilities are meagre, the Administering Authority will press forward energetically with its plan and that with the opening up of new roads, with the easier access that such facilities imply, rapid educational advances will indeed be made.

Turning now, for the moment, to Togoland we, like the other delegations, have found some difficulty in reaching conclusions in respect of this Territory because of the fact that in most cases separate statistics have not been supplied.

This is not the time -- though I am sorely tempted to follow our Chinese colleague in his extremely interesting analysis of the problems involved in the question of administrative union -- but I do not propose at the moment to go into that except to this extent: to say that there are three obvious comments one may make on the question of administrative union.

The first is that we can all conceive circumstances in which administrative union is of real tangible benefit, could be of real tangible benefit to a Trust Territory.

Secondly, that where the trusteeship agreements themselves establish

/the right

the right to form such administrative union, there can be no question of the legitimacy of such an action.

Thirdly, that where an administrative union has been established it inevitably makes for difficulties in this Council. We are facing one of these difficulties now.

There is not the slightest doubt that the Council is indeed severely handicapped in its work when separate figures are not available for any particular Territory. For this reason, we of the New Zealand delegation do welcome, do very warmly welcome, the assurances given by the Administering Authorities and the special representative that efforts will be made to provide separate financial and other records in the future.

I venture to suggest that the Council is entitled to that information and I am quite sure that the Administering Authority will do its very best in the next report to provide that information.

I have no particularly detailed comments to make in respect of Togoland under British Administration because I feel that here, as indeed with regard to the Cameroons and the two French Trust Territories in West Africa, the Council would, at the moment, be well advised to reserve its final opinion and reach only tentative conclusions since it has not yet a sufficiently clear picture of the situation in the West African Trust Territories and it should await the report of the visiting mission which is about to go there.

Of course that leads me to another of my hobbies. I do not see how anybody can conscientiously and adequately decide this and that about a Territory when he has not seen that Territory, how anybody can say "well now this is good for the inhabitants of such and such a place" when he has not even seen one of those inhabitants.

There is nothing, believe me, that will take the place of the personal contact with the problems to be faced.

We are not doing, in my opinion, nearly enough in that direction. But it is one of the few aspects in which this body is superior to, one of the few aspects in which this body is equal to, the Permanent Mandates Commission.

But we have established some means of personal contact and I think we would be well advised to postpone our final consideration of this matter until we have heard the report of those who are going on our behalf to investigate the conditions on the spot.

/I do hope

I do hope that in Togoland the Administering Authority will press forward with its plans for the advancement of the inhabitants and I am particularly glad to note the reply of the special representative to a question put by this delegation, that active consideration is being given at present to a scheme whereby the southern provinces of Togoland will always be assured of representation on the Gold Coast Legislative Council.

I agree with some of my colleagues who have spoken on this matter that that is a matter of really substantial importance.

I am glad to learn also that local indigenous societies are gradually showing more interest in affairs outside their own particular environment. You have got, in the course of time, to spread interests of the individual from his own little village to the surrounding country in wider and wider circles until he regards himself as in his own proportion responsible for the whole of his area. That is a long, long row to hoe but it is the obvious aim of any responsible administration.

In the economic field in which cocoa is a matter of paramount importance I agree fully with the general principles of the stabilization scheme which has been set up in the Territory. I think the Council should and is entitled to be given detailed information in connexion with the whole scheme; in particular of the apparently very wide spread between the world price and the price paid to the producer, a point which was made by the representative of the Philippines.

There can be no doubt whatever that in markets such as those for tropical products which are conspicuous for their liveliness that some scheme of stabilization is of the greatest possible usefulness. I would not question too much the extent of the reserves that were established under such a scheme so long as it is made perfectly plain that those reserves go sooner or later, either by way of direct payment or by way of a lessening of price reductions, to the same people, in general, as owned the original product itself.

In connexion with social conditions I am greatly interested in the part played by women in the affairs of the Trust Territory and I am encouraged to learn that in Togoland these unofficial women's councils are taking great interest -- not only in political and economic matters, but also and particularly in progressive health work.

The special representative told us that their response in this matter has been both ready and co-operative. There you have at your hand a host of nursing assistants, a host of advisors on how best, not only to rear the young, but how best to maintain health in a really difficult situation.

There is no better test of the progress that is being made by any people than the utilization which is made of the women of the population. I am happy to say that in our particular small problem, the Samoan ladies are really beginning to assume an equal share in the social and economic activities of the Territory. They are not yet assuming their full share politically, but that will come.

I am particularly interested to see women raising their handsome and useful heads in Togoland, and I am particularly interested to see that the Administering Authority has instituted this ten-year plan for education. I hope the details of this plan can be given to the Council, as was done in the case of a similar plan for the Cameroons, and full details of the progress achieved from year to year will be given to the Council.

I am quite sure that provision of these facilities will help to fill a badly felt gap in the life of the people.

I never think of administrative unions without apprehension. It does, as I say, make serious difficulties for the Council in considering the Trust Territories for which the Council has so large a responsibility. But I think that it would be less than just on my part if I were to bend over the microphone without expressing my own very deep admiration for the work that I have seen in many colonial territories.

I agree at once with the representatives around this table who denied that colonial status is ⁱⁿ any way a lesser thing than the status of a Trust Territory. If there is any suspicion in the mind of anyone around this table that there is something sinister about colonial administration, I suggest that it should be dismissed forthwith.

Let us all agree that in the early days, in the bad old days, there was moral turpitude in colonial administration, that dependent peoples were oppressed, and that there was much that happened in those days which could not and would not be defended today. But those days have passed. Those were bad old days, not only in respect of colonial administration, but in respect of many other things.

/I Have seen

I have seen a lot of colonies in my time. I can speak of my own responsibilities in a small way in New Zealand, and I would like to say this: it is so easy to sit around a table here and say, now this is the right thing to do. It is not easy when you come to actually doing the thing on the spot. It is often very difficult to decide what is the right thing to do, and when you have decided what you think is the right thing to do, you are only a yard or two along the way. The next question is, can you do it?

If you decided that, on the whole, you think you can, you have to ask yourself, how? You get two troubles there: you have the kittle cattle, to whom I referred; you have got to get them to agree to do it or you might as well stop. Then when you have got that all done, you have to ask yourself, where is the money coming from?

Where is it coming from? This Council does not provide it, the non-administering powers do not provide it, the Territory itself does not provide it except in very small part. It comes, in large measure, from the Administering Authority. And what monies are spent in that way are spent on grounds of moral improvement. They are not investments which are going to pay interest later on; they are expenditures on behalf of what one considers one's duty.

I can speak for my small country. We have never made a penny out of Western Samoa; it has cost us a very great deal of money. From time to time, when we, as has been so properly pointed out, have been engaged in a war fighting for our very existence, and not only for our existence, but for the liberties which we all hold dear, I have been at my wit's end from time to time to know where the money is coming from for things which obviously want to be done and should be done. How are you going to get them done?

It is not easy, even when you know what ought to be done, to get it done. You have to persuade the people concerned that it is a right and proper thing to do, and you would be amazed how difficult it is frequently to achieve their agreement.

Take the matter of sanitation. Sanitation has been mentioned in connexion with Western Samoa. Sanitation has been mentioned in connexion with Western Samoa since Kelly died. We have always been worrying about how to get sanitation introduced there. There came a time when we were all ready, when we had saved up the money to do it, and then we had some political disagreement with the Samoans, and they would not look

/at sanitation

at sanitation. They would not even look at these seaside places; they were going back to their old habits, and back they went.

Again and again I come back to the point that the problem is not a problem that you settle on a piece of paper -- the problem of carrying hundreds of thousands of people with you along lines that they do not always think they want to follow.

I have seen many French colonies -- I have never seen a Belgian colony I am sorry to say; I have no doubt they are admirable, but wherever you see a Frenchman you see liberty. I wish I had the time to say how greatly I admire many of the French colonies that I have seen. There is no feeling that these people are oppressors; there is no feeling that the French are there for what they can get out of the place. That could have been said of all colonial powers at one stage, but it cannot be said now.

I have taken a long time to come around to where I want to go, but I should like to say that I have seen a great number of British colonies, and among others, I have seen something of Nigeria, which is not entirely without pertinence in respect of what we are discussing now.

I am not one of those who believe that I can go to a Territory and write a book about it in the course of two weeks experience. I would, however, like to think aloud for a few minutes about what I did see in Nigeria about five or six years ago. It might give those who are doubtful about colonial powers a different slant on these things. You do not see horns growing out of the head of the British representative, and there were no tails on the special representatives who appeared here.

I want to tell you the feelings that were left in my mind by seeing some of these places. I went to Nigeria because Hitler was making himself a little difficult along the ordinary route to the United Kingdom. I was accompanying my Prime Minister to London and we just could not get by in Central Europe so we had to go around Africa.

We got down to Lagos, where a gentleman named Bourdillon was Governor, and there we got stuck because Hitler was getting more and more difficult and we could not get a plane.

The first day we were there, I was taken out by Lady Bourdillon to the local market. They have a very good idea there in Nigeria that the women do all the work. I think that is a very admirable idea that we ought to encourage generally. All the shops in this market were run by the ladies of the community. I have never seen anything quite like it, nor have I seen anything quite like some of the commodities which were offered for sale.

/The first thing

The first thing that happened was that a very elderly, very stout African lady, came tearing up to Lady Bourdillon, the Governor's wife, put her arms around her and kissed her. I thought it was odd and I was a little apprehensive about what was going to happen to me.

This lady said, "My dear, I am coming to see you tomorrow", and Lady Bourdillon said, "That's fine". Wherever we went throughout that market, the ladies either kissed the Governor's wife or shook hands with her, or smiled at her. Nobody can tell me that everybody in that market did not love that woman.

/The next day

The next day they came up to see her. Why did they come up to see her? They came up to the glee club. Now I am not what you would call musical but I was particularly interested in that glee club. It seemed to me that everybody in Lagos was there. There were hordes of them there and it is not without interest that there were Africans, and there were Europeans, there were Yorubas if that's the word, there were Fulanis, there was everything that you could think of in that room. There was only one thought and that was making music. Now I was inspired by that meeting, I was inspired by what I saw later.

We were stuck there for another couple of weeks and we were taken up to an African state which had a king and all the trappings of a modern administration. I have never seen anything more inspiring. There were a lot of things which struck my Prime Minister and myself as odd, but then you would find a lot of things odd if you came to New Zealand. Everybody in that state seemed to wear a garment that might be described as something approximating our "nighties". A long, flowing garment of very bright colours. It looked as though one ought to smile at it, but during the heat of the day one began to wish one were wearing a nightie oneself.

The king had some odd ideas. He drove a Rolls-Royce which seemed a little unusual in what is commonly called "darkest Africa". And when he drove out in his Rolls-Royce, he had a gentleman in a breech-cloth sitting on the fender who blew a big trumpet, and whenever that trumpet sounded, everybody fell on his face. My Prime Minister was impressed with that. I think he was flirting with the idea that it might not be a bad idea to introduce into New Zealand. And one smiled a little at that.

But we saw the operation of that state. I have no doubt there was some modest adviser in the background, but what we saw was of the most inspiring character.

We saw a court; we went into that court which was hearing a case as you might hear one in New York. It was a traffic case and, if I may say so, the usual lying was going on in that traffic case. The African judge, the African advocates on both sides had an air of decorum and firm and impartial justice which was unmistakable.

We went to the local council. We heard a debate. It was as good as any of our debates and it was in English.

We went to see the schools. I have never seen anything more inspiring than those schools. They had educated ladies and gentlemen, all of them Africans, teaching with an enthusiasm, a love of their work, which was

/completely

completely thrilling to me. Children bright as whistles, eager to give the answer. Nobody can tell me that was prepared. That was natural and normal.

We saw, in the middle of what is called "darkest Africa" a clinic for infant welfare, a branch of our own New Zealand Karitane Movement, which is well known, and if you do not know of it then you are not abreast of local events in the field of infant welfare. Here in the middle of this state was a Karitane clinic. And there were 350 babies lined up there for my Prime Minister's inspection. The lady in charge said: "Now, Mr. Prime Minister, you ought to kiss one of them;" and he kissed one. Then she said, "Well now you've kissed one. If you don't kiss the lot there'll be trouble." So he kissed the lot. I did not regard that as my department, but if it had been I would have done it with great pleasure.

Now I saw there something, quite incidentally, just bumping around. I bumped into that thing and bumped out. Now nobody need tell me that there is not something real and good and true taking place there. That is a colony, and I venture to say that if you look you will find that most colonies are like that. Now what we must do is to endeavour to see to it that all our Trust Territories have that same feeling, leading inevitably -- because there is only one excuse for colonialism now, the same reason as there is only one excuse for Trust Territories now. -- to self-government or independence as and when these people are ready for it.

Let us see that we have the same spirit and we will get there safely if we can work together and not divide ourselves up as we have too often been doing into Administering Powers and non-Administering Powers as if our interests were different. They are not. They are exactly the same.

Now I want to endorse the very wise comment that was made from the representative of Iraq a moment or two ago. He said, and I say, we can all see defects, grave defects in the administration of the territories with which we are at present concerned. He said, and I say, there is not the faintest doubt that those responsible see those defects just as clearly as we do and are just as anxious as we are and probably more anxious to remove those defects.

It is the task of this Council to endeavour to encourage and assist the Administering Powers to remove the defects one by one just as rapidly as may be and to wish them well in that high objective.

/The PRESIDENT:

The PRESIDENT: I think, and I am sure the Council agrees with me, that nothing is irrelevant that bears upon the operation and philosophy of the Trusteeship system, especially when it is told by the representative of New Zealand.

My only worry is that the Visiting Missions which are going out to these Trust Territories will now insist on going to Nigeria to look at the beautiful dresses of the ladies and kiss the babies as the representative of New Zealand so colourfully put it.

After this stimulating discourse I do not know whether the Council would like to revert to the general discussion. It seems to me that most of the representatives have already spoken and I would like to have an indication of how many representatives are going to speak, because if only one or two representatives wish to speak then I would suggest that we waive the recess and proceed to the end of the discussion.

I have on my list the representative of the Philippines. Does any other representative wish to speak?

I believe the debate will be terminated within half an hour and I think it would be well advised for the Council to continue without a recess.

Mr. CARPIO (Philippines): I would have wanted to speak earlier this afternoon because that would have done away with the apprehension that I might feel.

After listening to all the detailed and the well-grounded discussions of previous speakers, the wit and humour as well as the logic that we have just heard from the representative of New Zealand, as well as the detailed views expressed by the other representatives, with special reference to the representative of China, with whose opinions, I want to record my delegation conforms in every respect, I feel that whatever little I might have to say this afternoon might dwindle into insignificance, not only from the point of view of quality but perhaps in quantity.

I would like to express my delegation's views on what was stated yesterday by the representative of the United Kingdom. It has put me to thinking and to realizing once more as I have always realized the difficulties -- the insurmountable problems -- that face the administration of these various colonies or Trust Territories.

I want to give my delegation's reassurance to the Administering Authorities of all the Trust Territories we have considered, that we are fully conscious of the tremendous problems that beset the achievement of the purposes for which the International Trusteeship System has been established.

There can be no question but what a great deal has been achieved by the administering powers -- from the time of the Mandate up to the present -- in the administration of these Trust Territories. I do not believe that there is any question ^{that} a great deal has been done.

Of course, from the point of view of my delegation, there arises a corollary question, and that is, whether the best that could have been done has been done. And if I do make the few remarks that I am going to make now, it will be in that spirit, in order that we might comply with the duties devolving on us as members of the Trusteeship Council.

It is no way by way of criticism, it is by way of calling the attention of the Administering Authorities to what we consider might be done in order that at the earliest possible time we may succeed in making the Trusteeship System a working system, as good if not better -- than previous other systems heretofore followed in the administration of dependent peoples.

/We have heard

We have heard -- and it has been admitted by the Administering Authority in the case of the Cameroons and Togoland under British Administration -- of the extreme backwardness of this Territory. We have heard it said, off and on, time and again, and even right here this afternoon, how small these Territories are, how backward, and how it is impossible to achieve the tempo of progress that we all earnestly desire and wish.

It is perhaps fortunate, however, that along with the discussion of British Togoland and the Cameroons, we have just also heard the report of the administration of the French Cameroons and Togoland.

And here we come exactly to a point where, these Territories having originated from the same colonial power -- that is, under the German regime -- and administered by that regime for so many years and later on administered by different administrations, on the one hand by the French administration and on the other by the British, we are met face to face with conditions which in the mind of my delegation present various, or should I say rather, noticeable contrasts.

My delegation believes that perhaps it might be a good idea to make, as the representative of Costa Rica said yesterday, comparisons, so that we may find just what has been achieved in one which perhaps may also be achieved in the other.

But before doing that I have particularly in mind one subject matter which, although it has been repeatedly referred to, discussed and analyzed by other previous speakers, I feel needs emphasis; because I do believe that this subject matter is the root cause of all the backwardness of the Territories we are now discussing.

Yesterday and today we have been regaled by a great diversity of delectations on all the subjects of Trusteeship administration, all the way from administrative unions, political advancement, child marriage and, today, the utilization of women. There is hardly any subject that has not previously been discussed.

But there is one thing which in the view of my delegation we should specially consider, because I do believe that at the bottom it determines the whole tempo of progress which we have all been desiring. And that is the question of economics.

I have particularly in mind the question of these big landed estates that had been previously organized as plantations under the German regime.

/I may perhaps

I may perhaps be pardoned if I do refer to a short history of these plantations. I have taken the time and effort to make a little enquiry and investigation and research on this matter because I feel that it has such a fundamental influence in the present conditions that we find in these territories today, that we should emphasize it again and again.

These huge tracts of land, I understand, have been taken through various methods and means of dubious validity way back to 1884 from the Ewe tribes -- if I say the Ewe tribes it is because it is they who have been most affected by these German plantations.

/It was not

It was not until 1896 that there was some semblance of any system of land acquisition in that part of the Territory. Meanwhile, however, thousands upon thousands of acres had already been taken and confiscated by the Germans, so that, at the time of World War I, about half of the arable land of the Cameroons had been taken, exploited and utilized for the benefit of German capitalists.

How the Germans took all this land is not at all clear, but knowing something of the methods of the colonial system in those days we can be sure that those methods cannot be condoned today.

Perhaps we have some inkling of the methods from the petition that has been filed by the Bakweri Land Committee in this regard.

This half of the arable portion of the Territory had been exploited without hardly any benefit to the indigenous inhabitants, and when the first World War came these plantations were seized, the German owners were deported and these plantations were then taken into public custody.

When they occupied the Territory during the first World War, the United Kingdom authorities deported the German planters and held these plantations. They were impressed with the scientific methods employed and the rather intricate ways in which they had been put into cultivation, so that the question arose as to what to do with these plantations.

They were offered for public sale to various interested parties, both Europeans and Americans, but apparently it did not succeed. They were later on re-sold to the same German owners that had previously exploited these territories, up to the time of the second World War.

In the meanwhile, these Territories had been lost almost entirely to the indigenous inhabitants. The territory itself is limited, as we have heard so often, and now that half of that arable portion has been wrested from them, we can easily see that it necessarily resulted in economic and social repercussions.

I might be permitted, perhaps, to quote the social questions of the wresting of these big landed estates from the native authorities. It was reported by the Administering Authority under the mandate in 1925 as follows: There is no doubt that the wresting of these properties has relegated the native inhabitants into reserves and has to a large extent made them lose interest in life, as is demonstrated by the dilapidated state of their houses and their neglect of most sanitary measures, in spite of years of cultural contact with Europeans. Even if the land allotted to them appears large enough for their needs, it is invariably not for tilling, for the
/best land

best land has been apportioned to aliens. Nor is it surprising that interest in life has been lost, when they have seen their native organization and institutions ruthlessly broken to make way for foreign ideas and enterprise.

While then it is not argued that the Bakweris -- and these are the tribes that have been most affected by these confiscations of land -- would have cultivated the land in as scientific a manner and to such quick profit as it has been by European capitalists, there is little doubt that they would have been healthier and happier people if there had been no large alienation of land but a policy of promoting production by the native himself on his own land, as has been followed with such excellent results in the Gold Coast.

The development would have been slower but it would have been surer and it would have been possible to maintain the framework of the native system of government and preserve for the people that racial pride and self-respect which they have now to a large extent lost.

That, I emphasize, is one of the social effects of the alienation of these big estates from the native inhabitants of the Cameroons, as appear in the annual report of 1925, page 94.

But along with the social repercussions came the economic consequences. The annual report for 1926, appendix 3, as well as subsequent reports, has this to say on the matter: The economic development of the Bakweri people also appears to have suffered as a direct result of the alienation of the land. In particular it appears to have made impracticable any concerted programme to encourage them to take a greater part in production for export.

An investigation made in 1925 with a view to developing production, particularly of cocoa, on a co-operative basis, led to the conclusion that any such plan was unworkable in the Victoria Division for the very reason of the scarcity of usable native land and the separation of the Bakweri reserves by the large European plantation tracts.

In the adjoining Kumba Division, on the other hand, where much less alienation had taken place and land was said to be plentifully available, the Administering Authority launched a co-operative cocoa-growing scheme with much enthusiasm and apparently a good deal of success has been achieved.

That is the economic consequence of the alienation of these big parcels of land, and the Nigerian Government has acknowledged this

/consequence

consequence, this effect, this repercussion, and I quote from the annual report of 1926 again: One is fortunately forced to the conclusion that very little can be done in the Vistoria Division to improve native agricultural conditions. The chief factor is the lack of land suitable for the extension of cultivation, particularly of exportable crops.

That is, in short, the picture that we have to face today as a result of the alienation of these big landed estates from the natives of the British Cameroons.

And not only that, but it has created such a condition of affairs that today the Cameroonians are forced to live in these reserves, in these narrow stretches of land between the big plantations, with all the social evils, the influx of strange natives, the rampant diseases, venereal as well as other diseases, hampering, fettering their lives day by day. And that serves as a short background to the petition which has been sent to us by the Bakweri Land Committee.

In the view of my delegation, the whole crux of the question and the solution of the problem as far as British Togoland is concerned, consists in a satisfactory solution of these big landed estates problem, these plantations that have now been brought to the fore by the formation of a government corporation, the purchase thereof by the Nigerian Government and its lease, from plans that we have so far been presented with, to that corporation for a period of 35 years with the avowed and laudable purpose of eventually turning the land to the benefit of the native inhabitants.

But, from 1894 up to the present time, more than 65 years will have elapsed, during which period the native inhabitants have been deprived of the only source of any possible income, any possible progress on their part because the best part of their territory has been taken from them. These are the problems that I want to present to the Council as a background for the consideration of the Cameroons Development Corporation.

I am glad to note from what we have heard so far in the discussion of this problem that the Administering Authority plans in due time to give these landed estates eventually to the indigenous inhabitants.

Unfortunately, however, there has been no fixed programme as yet presented to us that would make us hope that a near satisfactory solution will soon be arrived at.

I think at least that the Administering Authority ought to be commended for this bold venture in at last trying to make up for what they have considered omissions of the past. But words which I have read in some of these reports had made me think what those omissions of the past could be and by reading subsequent reports, year by year, we can see unfolded the injustices that apparently resulted in the confiscation of these lands from the indigenous inhabitants.

I do not know whether the Administering Authority can actually be blamed for this condition of affairs, but, for a period of 65 years, these lands had been taken away from these people with the result that, as the annual report now says, and it is admitted by the Administering Authority, these people are very backward. So much so that the budget has got to be supported in part by the colony or protectorate of Nigeria.

But have we stopped to consider whether this condition of affairs might not altogether be due to the confiscation of these landed estates? I feel and my delegation feels, that in great measure this backwardness and these deplorable conditions that we see existing in the Territory today are to a great extent due to the withholding of these big tracts of plantation land.

For this reason my delegation proposes that perhaps the Council might see fit to suggest to the Administering Authority to restudy or to reconsider, if necessary, present plans in regard to this question to the end that as soon as possible the results of this new venture of the Cameroons Development Corporation may redound as much as possible to the benefit and as soon as possible, I repeat, of the indigenous inhabitants.

/From what

From what we have heard so far it will take some 35 years before the Cameroons Development Corporation could, in some way, give way to the use of these lands by the indigenous inhabitants.

But facts and figures show that the profits of this Corporation alone in the year 1946/1947, if I am not mistaken, amount to £178,275 and it is calculated, as suggested by the special representative; a week ago, that the price which the Nigerian Government would have to pay for this plantation would come to around £100,000.

In other words, if the profits for one year, amounting to £178,275, should continue for a period of five years, the total amount of £100,000, which the Nigerian Government proposes to pay for this plantation, will have been paid. So that it occurs to me that perhaps the 35 years calculated to be the amount of time when the indigenous inhabitants will take possession of this land is a little bit too long.

This is a problem that needs immediate satisfactory attention, I repeat. I believe that we would be failing in our duty if we did not call this, and emphasize it, to the attention of the Administering Authority. So much for the economic phase of our problem as far as the Cameroons is concerned.

I would just like to say a few short statements also in connexion with the Cocoa Marketing Board which we have found existing in the Trust Territory of Togoland.

I previously said a while ago that it is fortunate that in this present session we have had occasion to investigate conditions in other Trust Territories. We have found that a similar set-up has been made in Western Samoa, where control is made for the export of copra. And yet we have found out that even with all the funds that were envisaged in that Samoan plan, the purchase price to be paid to the producer was no more than 50% of the possible selling price in world markets.

In the case of the Cocoa Marketing Board, we found out that in the year 1948, when the price of cocoa was somewhere in the neighbourhood of £258 per ton, the farmer in Togoland was paid no more and no less than hardly one-third of the world market price. So that for each ton of cocoa the Togoland producer lost somewhere around £178 per ton alone.

I do appreciate the support that my colleague from New Zealand has given me in calling the attention of the Council to that big discrepancy in the amount received for the export of this cocoa and the amount paid to the producer.

/I do believe

I do believe that a great deal of the economic troubles and difficulties could be solved very satisfactorily in great measure if the Administering Authority could reconsider its stand on this matter.

My delegation suggests that the Administering Authority be recommended to reconsider its plan along these lines.

I should like to give once more the assurance that if we call these features of the administration to the attention of the Council and the Administering Authority, it is in the best spirit and in the hope that we may fulfil our functions as members of this Council.

I do not share the opinions of others that we ought to make it hard for the Administering Authority. That is not my function as far as our membership in this Council is concerned. All we want is that justice be done and that the objectives of the Charter be accomplished, if possible, to make a working system out of the International Trusteeship System.

Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom): I have listened with great interest to the views expressed by my colleagues in this discussion, and I made a careful note, which will be laid before my Government, of any constructive suggestions that have been made.

I readily accept the assurance of my Philippine colleague that his comments are made in a friendly spirit. I can assure the Council that the Administering Authority will be only too happy to give these suggestions the most careful consideration and to implement those which are practicable.

I do not propose to deal in detail with all the matters raised. As regards the remarks of the representative of the USSR, which constituted a violent attack on the Administering Authority, the gist of his thought seemed to me to be this: that the United Kingdom is not a Communist country, (thank God!) that the United Kingdom is the Administering Authority for the Cameroons and Togoland, and therefore, the whole administration of these two Territories must be bad.

This is a very simple theory, but unfortunately, the conclusion reached happens to be wrong, and I believe the representative of the USSR knows it to be wrong. Some of his so-called facts are wrong in spite of the explanations given him by the special representative and others are twisted in such a way as to convey a totally false impression.

No doubt this is good propoganda. However, I presume that he has received his orders and is bound to carry them out, and I will not take

/up the time

up the time of the Council by refuting individual charges.

I must however refer to two matters. When the representative of the USSR was speaking contemptuously of the Native Authorities in the Trust Territories, I thought for a moment that he was referring to indirect rule in some of the so-called satellite countries of the USSR.

He referred to the suggestion on page 52 of the Togoland Report which said that it is not certain that the pledging of children for debt is not practised. I have gathered the impression that in the USSR perfection has very nearly been reached, but I imagine that even in such a wonderful country there are occasional crimes. Otherwise, why should there be several millions of people in concentration camps?

Let me turn to more constructive criticisms. I appreciate the point made by several representatives that the lack of exact statistics, and particularly of a separate budget for the Trust Territories, makes it difficult for the Council to see the position clearly. But I would remind you of what I said in my opening speech, that the revenues of the Trust Territories have never been as great as their expenditures, and the point is not therefore as important as it would otherwise be.

I will, however, gladly call the attention of my Government to the matter, and I trust that satisfactory figures will be furnished in future reports.

I do not agree with those of my colleagues who think that the administrative structure of the Trust Territories is in any way a handicap. On the contrary, it is the practical method for dealing with these Territories, and is fully in accord with the provisions of the agreements. Such arrangements have been enforced for more than a quarter of a century, and were known to exist when the agreements were approved.

Nor do I agree that the position of the Cameroons and Togoland, in their relations with Nigeria and the Gold Coast respectively, is an administrative union in the sense that this term is ordinarily used.

Let me quote article 5 (a) of the Trusteeship Agreement. It says:

"The Administering Authority:

"(a) Shall have full powers of legislation, administration and jurisdiction in the Territory, and shall administer it in accordance with the Authority's own laws as an integral part of its territory with such modification..."

This seems to me to be quite clear; none of the arrangements found in the Cameroons and Togoland derive from article 5 (b) of the Agreement.

/They all

They all derive from 5 (a).

Article 5 (a) recognized the absolute impossibility of administering these Territories as separate entities, and authorized their administration as integral parts of neighbouring territories.

In the case of the Camercons and Togoland, article 5(b) seems to me to be completely redundant, and has never, in fact, been used.

While, therefore, my delegation agrees that the Council has the right to examine the relationships between the Cameroons and Nigeria and between Togoland and the Gold Coast, and to satisfy itself that the terms of article 5 (a) are being complied with, this question has nothing whatever to do with the question of administrative unions, which engaged the General Assembly's attention at its last session.

In the view of my delegation, the General Assembly's resolution had nothing whatever to do with the arrangements for administration as integral parts specifically provided in the Trusteeship Agreement.

While my delegation will take note of the various remarks made by representatives on this point, I must emphasize that this question is quite separate from that of administrative unions, and should be so considered by this Council.

I have been puzzled by the comments of my colleague from Costa Rica regarding income tax. The 7/6d. tax to which he refers applies, so far as I know, only to companies, and there is a sliding scale for the taxation of individuals. I am not an income tax expert, and I hesitate for that reason to cross swords with my colleague on a subject on which I know very little.

But it seems to me that any intent to impose a progressive income tax on companies would only result in the creation of a number of subsidiary or allied companies to reduce the apparent profit of the parent company.

Nor do I agree that the punishment of hard labour imposed by court on a prisoner convicted of an offence can be related in any way to forced labour in its ordinary significance.

With regard to the remarks about corporal punishment, I would like to remind the Council of the restrictions by which such punishment is controlled, and the fact that it is only imposed on such serious cases as rape.

/With regard to

With regard to the suggestion of the Philippine representative that the backwardness of the Cameroons may be due to the alienation of the Bakweri lands, may I remind him that there is not one acre of European plantations in the north of either the Cameroons or Togoland, which are admittedly the most backward areas of these Territories.

As regards the finances of the Cocoa Marketing Board, I have noted the desire of the Council to have more precise figures. The representative of the Philippines has dealt with the difference between the world price of cocoa and the amount paid to the producer. Let me assure the Council that the difference goes to the stabilization fund, and let me point out that with a crop of any size, the crop in the Gold Coast and Togoland together is between 299,000 and 300,000 tons a year. Let us say there is a crop of 250,000 tons. A drop of £10 in the world price below the price fixed would involve a loss of £2,500,000, and I believe that the present drop is in the nature of £35. It is, therefore, necessary to have a very substantial stabilization fund if we are going to cushion the shock which the producer must receive when prices vary in such an enormous way.

I greatly appreciate the remarks made by some of my colleagues who, while realizing as I do, that many improvements in the Trust Territories are still necessary, realize also that the Administering Authority has to its credit some positive achievements.

I should like to say particularly how much I agree with what has been said by my Iraq and New Zealand colleagues. We in the United Kingdom are just as anxious, if not more anxious, than any other country in our desire to lead the people of the Trust Territories along the road to happiness and to self-government.

I should like to follow the representative of New Zealand for a moment outside of Trust Territory.

As a Nigerian official for 17 years, with a long acquaintance with the places and the local chief he referred to, it was gratifying to me to hear his remarks. I only wish that he could have seen more of the country as I am quite sure that he would have found examples everywhere of conditions just as pleasant.

Mr. SOLDATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Interpretation from Russian): I, of course, did not wish to speak again, but in view of the fact that the representative of the United Kingdom has

/repeated

repeated slanderous fantasies regarding the Soviet Union, which are in current vogue in the press of certain countries, and which in such a shameful way have been adduced here in the Trusteeship Council as an argument, it is in view of this that I have found it necessary to make a few remarks in connexion with that statement.

I think it is quite clear to the members of the Council that the statement of the Soviet Union delegation contains not a single fact which could be denied, because all of these facts have been taken from official documents submitted by the Administering Authority.

As regards the conclusions which the Soviet Union delegation reaches on the basis of these facts, it is well known also that these conclusions go no further than those conclusions which the delegations of other countries have arrived at, also on the basis of these facts. Therefore, from this point of view also I see no basis for such an unjustified approach to the work of the Trusteeship Council as we have seen here.

I feel that in view of the fact that the data contained in the Soviet Union statement are official facts, and are taken from official documents and statements made by the representative of the United Kingdom in the Council and on the basis of statements made by the special representatives, all of this has been the reason why the representative of the United Kingdom unfortunately could find nothing better than to state without any foundation that the situation in the Trust Territories is much better than as was drawn in the statement of the representative of the USSR.

I would like once again to point out to you that the representative of the United Kingdom has not refuted, and could not refute a single fact given by the representative of the USSR.

Regarding these slanderous remarks which are involved and current in the yellow press of certain countries, which again I repeat, in a very shameful way and without any foundation whatsoever, have been adduced in this Council as an argument by the representative of the United Kingdom, in this connexion I can simply express my regrets.

No less slanderous ^{are} ~~is~~ the statement and the fantasies expressed by the representative of the United Kingdom regarding the relationship between the Soviet Union and the new democracies. The impression is that the representative of the United Kingdom, utilizing the Trusteeship Council for reasons having absolutely no connexion with the work of the Council, thinks that, by repeating any given slanderous statements, ~~the~~ can divert

/the attention

the attention of the members of the Council from the serious questions with which they should deal. I think that this attempt is an attempt made with useless weapons.

The impression is that the representative of the United Kingdom thinks that if any slander, from any dirty source, is introduced into the work of the Council, its introduction would be a completely legal and justifiable act.

In any event, I am sure every delegation would feel that such an approach would only serve to hinder the work of the Council and to impede it in carrying out the task and obligations which have been imposed upon it.

As regards the personal element, I simply must express my surprise that the representative of the United Kingdom thinks so lightly, is so impressionable that he feels that if a slander is repeated several times, the slander and the fantasy will turn into the truth.

We know that a particular other person thought that way, but we know that history in a most shameful way laughed at those people who think that the truth can be hidden from the people.

Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom): I am very sorry that I have hurt the feelings of the representative of the USSR. I have never attacked, and never will attack, any member of this Council until I have myself been attacked. But I will not agree to sit here and have a landerous statements made about my country without replying to those statements.

The PRESIDENT: I think that no-one will regret more than the Chair that mutual reflections on member governments represented on this Council should intervene in an otherwise orderly and objective debate.

/I think in general

I think in general the observations and comments by representatives on the Council should be presumed to have been motivated only by a sense of duty as members of the Council and comments on conditions in Trust Territories should be confined to an objective evaluation of the conditions obtaining either in the metropolitan country or in the countries of other members who are not administering the Trust Territories.

I am sure that the members of the Council will realize that it is very difficult for the Chair to have any definite standard by which to measure the appropriateness of the comments of any individual representative.

It seems to me that any direct reference or direct attack would be quite out of order. Sometimes these attacks are couched in innuendoes or by way of illustration and I generally find that it is wasteful of time and sometimes interruptive of the trend of thinking if the Chair interrupts any statements by very rigid and strict enforcement of any rule.

For instance, we have heard a very stimulating discussion by the representative of New Zealand in reference to a territory which is strictly not within the purview of the Trusteeship System, but what he said in reference to a non-Trust Territory was to me, at that time, intended to give an illustration of what could be done in the colonial system and in a neighbouring territory with which that Trust Territory is closely associated.

If I had stopped him as soon as he mentioned a territory which is not within the purview of the Council -- if the Council desires me to do that, it would be the simplest thing; but I have to hear the connexions and the purpose in which such initially irrelevant matter may be brought into the discussion.

It is true that sometimes after I listen to a statement I may perhaps strictly say that such a thing is not in order, but then what has been said has been said.

I am sure members of the Council realize that we are all here doing a job irrespective of whether the Governments we represent are non-administering or Administering Authorities, and I am glad that on the whole this Council has observed that spirit of friendliness and impartiality.

If any hurtful feeling has crept in every now and then, I am sure that has not, in general, done any irrevocable harm to the harmony of this Council, and I hope that this incident will close.

/Mr. GARREAU

Mr. GARREAU (France) (Interpretation from French): I think the President is perfectly right when he says that we should continue our discussions on the technical basis exclusively -- that is exactly what the Council must do, and all criticism of a technical nature will always be accepted by the representatives of the Administering Authorities -- I apologize for speaking in the name of all of them, but my feeling is that all those who represent Administering Authorities here will share my views.

This being said, the technical consideration of a report should be objective and impartial. The President also said -- and there I cannot agree with him -- that all the members of this Council come here in a fully friendly and impartial spirit. I regret having to say that I cannot share his views.

There is one member of this Council -- the representative of the Soviet Union -- who is neither friendly nor impartial. I certainly need not recall certain interventions of the representative of the Soviet Union -- you all remember them. In particular at the time of the general discussion of the reports on the French Cameroons and French Togoland, he undertook a systematic criticism of the whole of the French administration, going far beyond what the President considers the duty of the Council.

This was not merely technical criticism; it was in complete bad faith that this criticism was uttered. Just to give one example: the Soviet Union representative said that the French Government had done nothing in the way of education. I have already answered this statement and I have done it in the terms that were called for. This time, in his last speech, I did not deem it necessary to answer. I simply met his observation with scorn because it was a propaganda statement which was entirely outside the framework of the Trusteeship Council.

All the figures which he brought up, according to him were in the report or in the written or verbal answers of the special representative. It is quite obvious that he abused these statements in order to reach conclusions which are obviously wrong, and I would even say are offensive to the French Government.

In future, I shall continue to meet with scorn all such statements which are not made impartially and in a friendly spirit. I shall only answer in case I am absolutely forced to do so and whenever I shall be called upon to do so in respect of the views expressed by a member of the Council.

/To conclude

To conclude, I would repeat that the President is perfectly right when he requests that the debate remain a perfectly technical, friendly and impartial debate, but on the other side I must maintain my reservation in respect of the systematic attitude of one of the members of the Council -- and on several occasions I have already drawn the attention of the Council to that situation.

The members of the Council are not only representing Governments who have Trust Territories and others who have not; all of us have the sincere desire to promote the political advancement of Trust Territories and to work in such a way that the aims of the United Nations be reached. Besides these eleven members there is a twelfth member who, quite evidently, considers that the Trusteeship Council is a means of propaganda of a character which has nothing to do with the welfare of the populations of Trust Territories and the aims of the United Nations.

The representatives of the Administering Authorities must take that into account, and when allusions of a very unfriendly nature and without foundation are made about such a member of the Trusteeship Council, then it is the duty of the representatives of the Territories in question to reply by all means at their disposal.

One of these means is to make comparisons. This is made indispensable by the attitude which I have already qualified. I would also say that without being called upon to make comparisons it is perfectly legitimate that when a criticism is uttered, the aim of which is perfectly clear to everyone, the member so attacked in the person of his Government should ask the representative of the Soviet Union what he would do were he in the position of the Government in question.

We could say that, for instance, in the French territory, the electoral regime is only in its infancy, and a very small number of persons are voting. There might be many more. Well, I could ask the representative of the Soviet Union how he considers that elections should be organized? What would he do if he had the Cameroons in trust? How would he consider the establishment of a truly democratic system?

When the representative of the Soviet Union attempts to show that there is slave labour where there is no slave labour left, we could say to him: are you really opposed to slave labour? In your country, do you not have slave labour? I am not giving an answer, I am just asking the question. It is for the Soviet Union representative to answer. I do not expect him to answer, but we have the right to ask the question. That is exactly how the problem should be posed. It is extremely delicate; it is a very serious problem for the future of the Trusteeship Council.

Mr. SOLDATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Interpretation from Russian): I would like to reply to the last question asked by the representative of France, if the President will allow me to do so, because that question has nothing to do with the work of the Council. The question which the representative of France has asked regarding forced labour is a question of the same nature as that which was raised for slanderous purposes in the yellow press of certain Governments.

As is known, the delegation of the Soviet Union in the Economic and Social Council introduced a proposal for the creation of a commission comprised of about 100-120 people, made up of representatives of trade unions, that is all the trade unions, in France, in the United States, in Great Britain, Catholic, peasant and other unions, and other organizations, for the purpose of having this commission make a true study of the conditions of work in all countries.

I think that my reply to the representative of France will be sufficient to refute the unfair method employed by the representative of France in the work of the Trusteeship Council.

/As regards

As regards the statement made by the representative of France regarding the fact that someone here is using the Trusteeship Council for propaganda purposes, I must unfortunately say that the representative of France actually has that tendency of utilizing the Trusteeship Council for inimical propaganda against the Soviet Union, and this is done in such a manner that all the members of the Council and the entire world quite clearly see the aims and purposes which the representative of France has in mind. I can certainly in no way call this a friendly and co-operative way of working here in this Council on the questions which are on the agenda of this body. I greatly regret that I have been forced to speak once again in reply to the statement made by the representative of France. It seems to me that the question is now completely exhausted and that there is now no more reason to return to it.

The PRESIDENT: As I said, the incident should have been considered closed. I feel that any imputation of motive is certainly entirely irrelevant to any discussion, and I can only rely, as I have always relied and I have every reason to continue to rely, on the good sense and good will of all members of the Council, that such regrettable mutual recriminations and reflections do not occur again.

Before I adjourn the meeting, I would just like to draw the attention of my colleagues to document T/262, under date 21 February 1949, containing the report of the Secretary-General on credentials. The Council will recall that at the earlier meetings of the Council the report was not ready, and that report on credentials has been circulated as document T/262.

The credentials of all representatives who have been sitting round this Council table have been found to be quite in order.

The agenda for tomorrow will be discussion of the report of the Visiting Mission to Ruanda-Urundi, and I would also like to draw the attention of representatives to the revised timetable, which I believe has been circulated. We are making it our objective to complete all our meetings by 25 March, and I believe that that objective is capable of fulfilment.

Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) (Interpretation from French): I see that two days have been reserved for the discussion of the report of the Visiting Mission to Ruanda-Urundi. I do not know what will be said in the discussion of that report, and I do not know how far this report calls for discussion,

/but it seems

but it seems to me that the only point that might be discussed is the impression that the report of the Visiting Mission made on the administration of Ruanda-Urundi, the reaction of the administration of Ruanda-Urundi to that report and in respect of the Administering Authority.

It seems to me that for the rest all that can be done with this report is for it to be read, and sent to the Power in question, inviting it to take the report into consideration. As far as I am concerned, I have already told the Council that I could not usefully help the Council in the examination of this report, because I lack the necessary elements. I have told the Council that the Administration has been called upon to take into account the findings and the suggestions of the Visiting Mission in drawing up the annual report, which is now being done. That report is not finished, it has not been received by the Administering Authority, and I do not know myself what it contains. I have received certain preliminary remarks from the Administration of Ruanda-Urundi, and by courtesy towards the Council I shall try not to be entirely negative in the consideration of the report, but I would like to repeat once more what I have already told the Council, that if we spend two days on the consideration of this report, the Council will be losing its time.

The PRESIDENT: I must say, the Chair cannot predict the course of a debate and I certainly cannot know how long it will take. I hope it will not take very long. I thought that the two statements would have been completed by 5 o'clock, but you can see that sometimes the course of events is beyond my control.

/Mr. RYCKMANS

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Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium): In normal circumstances I would have taken as long as all the others because I would have replied to everything that everyone had to say. Now I am not in a position to do so and they speak, as far as I am concerned, in the desert.

The PRESIDENT: I understand that the Council appreciates that fact and that perhaps the examination would be only in a preliminary way without arriving at any definite conclusions...

Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium): The President might perhaps put something else on the agenda for tomorrow.

The PRESIDENT: Does the representative of Belgium think tomorrow there would not be any debate on it?

Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium): I do not know. But I cannot help in the debate. I cannot keep it going for hours because I do not know what to reply.

The PRESIDENT: I would say that if the agenda for tomorrow afternoon should be completed in an unexpectedly short time then we can go on with some of the petitions.

The meeting is adjourned until 2:30 tomorrow afternoon.

The meeting rose at 5:42 p.m.