



## TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

Thirteenth Session

OFFICIAL RECORDS

Wednesday, 10 March 1954,  
at 2 p.m.

NEW YORK

## CONTENTS

Page

Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi: (a) annual report (T/1081); (b) petitions circulated under rule 85, paragraph 2, of the rules of procedure ( <i>continued</i> )	
Questions concerning the Trust Territory and replies of the special representative ( <i>continued</i> )	239
Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika: (a) annual report (T/1083); (b) petitions circulated under rule 85, paragraph 2, of the rules of procedure ( <i>continued</i> )	
General debate ( <i>continued</i> )	240

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

*Present:*

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

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

**Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi: (a) annual report (T/1081); (b) petitions circulated under rule 85, paragraph 2, of the rules of procedure (*continued*)**

[Agenda items 3 (b) and 4]

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Leroy, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, took a place at the Council table.*

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

*Social advancement (*continued*)*

1. Mr. LEROY (Special representative for Ruanda-Urundi) explained, in reply to a question asked by the representative of New Zealand at the previous meeting, that indigenous medical assistants had numbered fifty-three in 1952. The figure for 1953 was seventy-seven, of whom sixteen were still undergoing training.
2. In reply to a question from Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), he said that the Decree of 16 March 1922, which governed the conditions of recruitment and employment and relations between employers and employees, had been made applicable to Ruanda-Urundi.
3. Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) asked if the enactments relating to the residence and movement of indigenous inhabitants in force in the Belgian Congo, particularly the Decree of 12 February 1913, concerning segregation of living accommodation, were applicable to the Trust Territory.

He asked the same question with regard to the Decree of 23 May 1906, under which any coloured person who was a beggar or a vagrant could be committed to a special institution for a period of one to seven years.

4. Mr. LEROY (Special representative for Ruanda-Urundi) replied that, in general, the laws in force in Ruanda-Urundi were similar to those applicable to the Belgian Congo.

5. In reply to a further question from Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), Mr. LEROY (Special representative for Ruanda-Urundi) said that it had not seemed necessary to limit the length of the working day by decree since in practice it never exceeded eight hours and was often as little as seven hours.

6. Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) noted that, according to the data given on page 168 of the report<sup>1</sup>, real wages were about 30 per cent below the theoretical minimum wage necessary for a family's subsistence; that minimum itself was in any case so low that it could not ensure decent living conditions.

7. Mr. LEROY (Special representative for Ruanda-Urundi) pointed out that the Administering Authority was constantly endeavouring to raise wages; it was obliged, however, to proceed by stages, for too sharp an increase in wages might lead to the dismissal of many workers and the closing down of undertakings essential to the Territory's economic development. The real minimum wage was at present about eighteen Belgian francs at Usumbura, a considerable increase over the eleven francs which had been paid in 1952. Wages were approximating more and more closely to the theoretical minimum.

8. Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) having inquired why emigration of the indigenous population to the Belgian Congo and the neighbouring British colonies was constantly on the increase, Mr. LEROY (Special representative for Ruanda-Urundi) pointed out that the Territory was over-populated: an area of 54,000 square kilometres, including large stretches of land unsuitable for cultivation owing to the ruggedness of the terrain or the swampy soil, held a population of over 4 million inhabitants, concentrated chiefly on the high plateaux. When the indigenous inhabitants had difficulty in obtaining a livelihood at home, they emigrated to the Belgian Congo and the neighbouring British territories; in the latter case the emigration was largely seasonal.

9. Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) thought that the emigration was due not to over-population but to economic stagnation, which was preventing many of the indigenous inhabitants from finding work in Ruanda-Urundi.

10. Mr. LEROY (Special representative for Ruanda-Urundi) pointed out that the Administering Authority

<sup>1</sup> See *Rapport soumis par le Gouvernement belge à l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies au sujet de l'administration du Ruanda-Urundi pendant l'année 1952*, Brussels, Etablissements Généraux d'Imprimerie, 1953.

had reported that the Territory was over-populated and that the 1948 and 1951 Visiting Missions had also noted that fact. Furthermore, Belgium could not be accused of neglecting the development of Ruanda-Urundi: it was due to Belgium's persistent efforts and to the measures it had taken to drain the swamps, conserve and rehabilitate the soil, irrigate the deserts, and teach the indigenous inhabitants to cultivate the land, that the famine which had formerly periodically decimated the population had been stamped out.

11. Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) noted that the Administering Authority had reported a recrudescence of tuberculosis. The measures taken to combat that scourge were wholly inadequate: only 150,000 persons out of a population of 4 million had undergone a medical examination.

12. Mr. LEROY (Special representative for Ruanda-Urundi) stated that a mission from the *Université libre* of Brussels, which had reached the Territory in 1951, had undertaken a mass campaign for the detection of tuberculosis. The number of cases reported in recent years had risen simply because the mission had been extending its examination and had in consequence diagnosed many more cases. The incidence of the disease was no higher in Ruanda-Urundi than in other Territories. The Administering Authority was doing everything in its power to combat the disease and there was no reason to belittle its efforts.

*Mr. Leroy, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, withdrew.*

**Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika: (a) annual report (T/1083); (b) petitions circulated under rule 85, paragraph 2, of the rules of procedure (continued)**

[Agenda items 3 (a) and 4]

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Grattan-Bellew, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, took a place at the Council table.*

**GENERAL DEBATE (continued)**

13. Mr. ASHA (Syria) thought that it was difficult to judge the progress made in the Trust Territory concerning basic problems. Certain ordinary improvements which might be expected from any reasonably efficient administration had indeed been made; but no solution seemed to have been reached concerning the real problem, which was the political, economic and social inferiority of the African majority to the immigrant European and Asian minorities.

14. It was true that, as yet, the situation in Tanganyika had not become dangerous and explosive, as in other territories, some of them very close to Tanganyika, where the same problem existed; it was also true that the worst manifestations of that kind of situation had been avoided. He would like to think that that was at least partly due to the fact that Tanganyika was a Trust Territory; its development was therefore in full view of the public opinion of the world; the international status of Tanganyika had also helped the Administering Authority to stand fast against any tendencies towards extreme racial theories and doctrines on the part of the immigrant minorities. Because the Administering Authority could count on the full and legitimate support of the United Nations, it could make Tanganyika a

model example of how to ensure that the African majority played its full role and exercised its proper rights in the development of the country and, in the second place, of how to establish the conditions under which the immigrant communities were entitled to stay or were justified in staying in the Territory. His delegation had no doubt of the sincerity of the Administering Authority's intentions, but noted with some anxiety that, although there had been no serious racial disturbances in Tanganyika, there were present in that Territory a large number of the elements which had given rise to such disturbances in other territories.

15. There were nearly 8 million Africans, 80,000 Asians and 18,000 Europeans in the Territory. The importance of the part played by each of those ethnic groups varied in inverse proportion to their numerical strength. The Europeans, the smallest group, had the largest number of seats in the main organs of the Government; moreover, according to the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1951 (T/946 and Corr.1) they were strongly opposed to having equal representation of the three communities. Similarly, the Europeans held all the key posts in the Administration. They also owned a major part of the private sector of the Territory's economy: for example, they produced more than half the Territory's exports; out of exports valued at £47 million, they accounted for £27 million. It was true that the Europeans held only a small fraction of the land, but as the 1951 Visiting Mission had observed, most of the land alienated for their use was fertile and situated in areas enjoying good climate and abundant rainfall. The same disparity reappeared in the social field. The Visiting Mission had pointed out that the Africans enjoyed a low standard of living. There was every indication that the standard of living of the Europeans who had settled in Tanganyika to enjoy a better life than they could have had in their mother country was comparatively high. The gap between the Europeans and the Africans could be measured by comparing the economic position of a European producer of sisal making a profit of several thousand pounds a year with that of an African worker on the same European plantation, who earned from twenty-three to twenty-nine shillings a month. For purposes of education, the Europeans, Asians and Africans were divided into three separate groups. It was clear that the minority composed of European children enjoyed better schools and received a more thorough education than most African children.

16. He had no doubt that the Administering Authority was firmly resolved to correct that dangerous disparity. It was true, for example, that the Administration had gone against the views of the local European settlers in proposing that the three ethnic groups should have equal representation in the Legislative Council. Similarly, the Administering Authority's financial policy was intended to correct the imbalance in the export trade: taxes and customs duties siphoned off part of the Europeans' profits, which the Administration diverted to public expenditure for the good of the Territory as a whole. The Administering Authority was also trying to introduce the Africans to better farming methods, to encourage them to greater activity in the production of exports, and to raise their standard of living and the standard of education in the African schools by spending more and more money on education. Nevertheless, he was not sure that those measures were far-reaching

enough, that they were being applied rapidly enough or that they held out the assurance of eventual success. The Visiting Missions to the Territory had expressed some doubt on those questions, a doubt shared by the Trusteeship Council.

17. To promote political advancement, for example, the Administering Authority had planned to reorganize the Legislative Council in such a way that the three racial groups would be equally represented. While it recognized the importance of the plan, the Trusteeship Council had none the less felt that the interests of the three communities should be subordinated to that of the Territory as a whole, and had suggested the institution of a common electoral roll (A/2150, p. 32). Two years had passed since then, but the electoral roll had not been instituted and the Legislative Council had not been reorganized as intended; its membership consisted of seven Europeans and only three Asians and four Africans. Similarly, although the Council had welcomed the idea of a decentralization of the government and the establishment of provincial councils in which the indigenous population could have greater say in local affairs, and although the 1951 Visiting Mission had stressed the need for immediate steps along those lines, even before the completion of the long-term investigations, nothing had been done, and the annual report<sup>2</sup> said nothing about provincial councils. The same was true in local government: the county councils which the Visiting Mission had expected to be operating within a year had still not been established. Moreover, it was somewhat hard to understand how those councils would fit in with the existing system, which was based on the authority of the traditional chiefs.

18. The Syrian delegation thought that prompt action was needed. The Administering Authority should make every effort to persuade the indigenous inhabitants to take an active interest in government, and, in particular, to organize further experiments in election by secret ballot. It should also appoint more Africans to the Executive Council and to senior administrative posts. The exercise of power was the only means by which the indigenous peoples could be prepared for self-government. Furthermore, it was hard to understand why, after forty years of British administration, not a single African should have acquired the training considered adequate for an important administrative post. Nor was it sufficient to encourage the use of Swahili, the language of the Territory; it should become an official language and the Administering Authority should take the necessary steps to make it an official language.

19. With regard to the judicial system, the Syrian delegation had been concerned to hear the special representative say that the Administering Authority did not plan to grant the people of Tanganyika the right to choose their own judges. While it might be premature to do so for the time being, the fact remained that that was a right to be exercised by the indigenous peoples as they developed. The Administering Authority should provide young Africans with the necessary training, send them abroad to complete their education if necessary, and appoint them first to junior posts where they

could gain the required experience, and then to higher judicial office.

20. According to the Administering Authority, it was extremely difficult to promulgate a citizenship law for Tanganyika. He trusted that the Council would give due attention to the matter and would ask the Administering Authority to take appropriate steps to institute universal suffrage and citizenship as soon as possible.

21. With reference to economic questions, he expressed concern over the disequilibrium prevailing in Tanganyika, where a few Europeans owned most of the resources. The Administering Authority should endeavour to improve the system of land tenure. In that connexion, he was interested to note the appointment of a special officer to advise on land tenure. It was to be hoped that the Administering Authority would endeavour to teach the people of Tanganyika more modern farming methods and provide them with farm machinery. The authorities should encourage the development of light industry, such as the textile industry, for which the necessary raw materials were available in the Territory. In that way, permanent employment could be given to more indigenous persons and the country's economy would become more balanced. Exemption from import duties and local taxes could contribute substantially to promoting light industry. The Administering Authority was very wisely granting Africans more prospecting licences; it should help them as much as possible to take part in exploiting the Territory's mineral wealth. In mining, as in industry, indigenous enterprises should be encouraged.

22. The authorities should continue to co-operate with the Technical Assistance Administration; such co-operation was of great benefit to the entire area.

23. With reference to social questions, he said the standard of living of the indigenous inhabitants had not changed for some years and was still very low. The action taken by the Administering Authority to revise the salary scale for civil servants was a step towards the equalization of salaries. The Administering Authority should expedite all measures necessary to improve the people's well-being. It was disappointing to note that the people of the Territory, according to the special representative, had considered it advisable to retain corporal punishment. The Administering Authority should abolish that practice as soon as possible. It should also provide labour legislation to regulate weekly holidays for workers and pay for days of absence due to illness. Medical services had been expanded, but there was still much to be done in public health. Moreover, there should be no discrimination in the admission of patients to hospitals.

24. In education, the Administration's ten-year plan was inadequate. The percentage of children who would attend school under the plan was much too small. It was true that expenditure for education had been substantially increased, but plans should also be made for compulsory and free education. Moreover, it would be desirable to initiate special courses which might constitute the nucleus of a future university.

25. Tanganyika should be moulded into a national entity before existing rivalries between the various racial groups became too pronounced. Consequently, the Africans should play their full natural part in the life of the Territory. The United Nations and the Administering Authority had the opportunity of proving that peoples of entirely different characteristics could live together peacefully as a single nation.

<sup>2</sup> See *Report by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of Tanganyika under United Kingdom Trusteeship for the Year 1952*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1953, Colonial No. 293.

26. Mr. LOOMES (Australia) observed that the reforms recommended by the Special Commissioner on Constitutional Development were currently under study by the Government of Tanganyika and the Administering Authority. Application of the legislation providing for the establishment of county and town councils had met with opposition from the Chagga tribe, which preferred to retain the tribal system. While that attitude was disappointing, he shared the Administering Authority's view that constitutional changes should not be imposed upon the population until every possible endeavour had been made to secure its co-operation. The establishment of an inter-racial consultative body in the Moshi district might lead to greater understanding of political matters among the population. Moreover, it was interesting to observe that local councils had begun to take over the administrative and executive functions of the Native Authorities.

27. In the field of judicial organization, he noted with satisfaction that the number of resident magistrates had increased.

28. In the Economic field, it should be noted that after the drop in the price of sisal — the Territory's principal export commodity — the Administering Authority had attempted to diversify the country's production. The Administering Authority should be complimented for its efforts to establish experimental stations with a view to increasing the production of such commodities as cotton and coffee. Besides the steady development of local handicrafts, the food industry was expanding; that, too, was an encouraging sign. In addition to continuing its road construction programme, the Administering Authority was preparing further surveys of the network of communications. The increase in the number of co-operatives, which engaged in numerous activities, was also a most promising development. Lastly, the measures taken to encourage the storage of grain had considerably alleviated the Territory's economic situation during poor crop years.

29. In the field of social advancement, the special effort made to build new hospitals should be noted. The World Health Organization had furnished the Territory with assistance and the Administration would no doubt make full use of the facilities which that specialized agency had made available. Particular attention was being paid to the appointment of district medical officers. As a result of the improvement in the public health service the control of communicable diseases, including plague, had become more effective, employed labour was receiving medical care and rural sanitation was being developed. The Administering Authority had adopted a realistic approach to the labour-supply question in Tanganyika. The local administration's careful planning with respect to housing was particularly significant in view of the perceptible drift of Africans away from rural districts.

30. In the field of education, he noted the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the formulation of educational policy at both the central and local levels. He also observed with satisfaction the establishment of the Natural Resources School, which could receive 450 African students. Moreover, the revised ten-year plan for education was proceeding on sound lines. He approved of the emphasis being placed on the development of primary schools; at the same time, progress had been maintained in the expansion of secondary schools, with the result that several Africans were attending higher education courses in the United Kingdom and

elsewhere. The Administering Authority should be complimented on its mass literacy campaigns, which had been accepted with much enthusiasm by the people.

*The meeting was suspended at 3.55 p.m. and was resumed at 4.20 p.m.*

31. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) observed that while there might not have been any noticeable development of a community opinion, the absence of racial discord in the Territory was in itself encouraging. He therefore welcomed the proposed formation of an interracial Kilimanjaro county council. The Administering Authority's intention to persevere in its attempt to persuade the Chagga people to accept it was sound. The acceptance of the principle of racial political equality augured well for the future in spite of the apprehension to which it had given rise among some groups. In the absence of a homogeneous social structure, the establishment of local councils was a sound initiative. It seemed clear that at the moment it would be dangerous to vest responsibility in the hands of politicians who could not claim to be representatives of the people. While it was unfortunate that the establishment of local councils had failed to arouse enthusiasm among the Africans, the policy that the Administering Authority was attempting to put into practice was sound and the Administration was right in not wishing to impose its views upon the indigenous population.

32. The policy of providing grain-storage facilities had succeeded in averting the serious consequences to which the unfavourable agricultural output in 1952 and 1953 might have led. The Administration should nevertheless be urged to give priority to schemes designed to increase output and to improve the conditions and methods of the African farmers. Such a policy entailed continued attention to the construction of roads, improved water supplies, more credit facilities for agriculturists, the transfer from pastoral to mixed farming and the use of fertilizers. The success of those measures depended to a large extent upon the result of preliminary surveys of the land by competent agricultural officers and also upon an expansion of agricultural training facilities for the population. In that connexion, the opening of the Natural Resources School and the development of the co-operative movement were most heartening, particularly since the Administering Authority faced considerable difficulties such as the poverty of the soil, indigenous systems of land tenure, lack of funds and the poor state of health of the rural population.

33. The complete elimination of the tsetse fly threat to cattle required funds beyond the country's financial resources. The most effective method of eradicating the tsetse fly might be the clearing of bush and the settlement of population.

34. In the field of public health, existing services had been expanded, expenditure increased and new hospitals constructed. However, much remained to be done in the field of preventive medicine. It should be noted, in that connexion, that some African girls were already being trained as public health nurses or assistant nurses. The experience acquired in Western Samoa in a similar project had paid considerable dividends. Even though some of the girls did not finish their studies, they acquired useful knowledge of hygiene and maternal and child welfare, and could thus exercise a beneficial influence on their communities. Moreover, the Administering Authority should increase the number of health survey teams for communicable diseases in order more effectively to control malaria, yaws and tuberculosis. It

might then consider the advisability of applying to the specialized agencies concerned for assistance in mass campaigns against those diseases.

35. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) observed that the indigenous population in the Territory did not appear to be interested in the proposed constitutional reforms. The Administering Authority's policy towards tribal customs was not sufficiently bold. The indigenous inhabitants participated in the country's political life only to the extent of having one representative in the Executive Council who was, at the same time, a member of the Legislative Council. Both organs had a majority of European members. The establishment of a new political and social system should be considered, for otherwise a minority problem might arise before long. It was unfortunate that universal suffrage had not yet been introduced in the Territory, even though the more educated inhabitants had clearly asked for its introduction.

36. In the economic field, the general situation remained somewhat precarious despite the increase in the export of such products as sisal, coffee and cotton. While the difficulties encountered should not be minimized, the blame should not be placed solely on the customs of the indigenous inhabitants. They should be encouraged to use modern agricultural methods. The Administering Authority should not only caution the indigenous chiefs, whose decisions contributed to the impoverishment of the soil, but, if necessary, should take energetic measures.

37. With regard to social advancement, the bulk of the indigenous inhabitants still lived under very primitive conditions. Wages — from two to six dollars a month — were low. Consequently, even the low rent of two or three dollars a month for government housing was beyond the reach of the mass of the population. The next reports of the Administering Authority and of the forthcoming Visiting Mission might include tables indicating the average family budget of various sectors of the Territory's urban and rural population.

38. According to the special representative, there had been an increase in the number of persons sentenced to corporal punishment in 1953, which suggested that the General Assembly and Trusteeship Council resolutions concerning the abolition of corporal punishment were not being properly applied. The arguments advanced by the Administering Authority to justify the retention of corporal punishment were not convincing. If the Administering Authority preserved that relic of slavery, it was not advancing the cause of civilization. It could only do so by introducing reforms and giving the people a sense of human dignity.

39. With regard to educational advancement, the development of education was hindered if pupils had to pay school fees, however small. The Administering Authority should begin by making primary education free and compulsory, as it was in other territories. The resulting increase in the number of pupils would encourage the authorities to provide the necessary funds for education. In discussing higher education the special representative had said that the problem was not to build university buildings but to recruit students and train teachers. That argument could not be lightly dismissed but the need for higher education would be increasingly felt. At the present stage, efforts should obviously be concentrated on primary education with a view to training gifted pupils who would continue their education at the secondary and university levels.

40. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) said that it was not reasonable to expect spectacular progress in the development of a Trust Territory from one year to the next. Impartial experts who had studied the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance had stated that by expending enormous sums on the development of the under-developed countries the standard of living and average productivity in those countries might be raised by approximately 2 per cent per annum. That modest achievement would require considerable effort. The Trusteeship Council had therefore no right to ask or to expect the Administering Authority to perform miracles which had not been performed in any other territories.

41. The annual report showed that the Territory was making steady and certain progress. For example, between 1948 and 1953 the Territory's budget had risen from £7 million to approximately £18 million. There was, however, a limit beyond which a budget could not be increased and there was also a limit to what could be done no matter how much was spent, because in dealing with human beings the time factor was important. For example, by doubling the school budget the Administering Authority might be able to double the number of children attending schools but it could not halve the time taken to educate a child. Half a generation elapsed between the time a child entered school and the time he left college as a trained teacher. That was a fact which no amount of goodwill and no financial effort on the part of a government could change.

42. With regard to social advancement, it would be useful to have population figures for the provinces. Some of the figures might be disturbing because of the disparity between the number of male and female inhabitants. Such a situation might call for special measures. It would also be useful to have employment statistics by province as the labour force employed in some provinces appeared to be large, which necessarily implied that workers were being recruited from other districts or even from abroad. His delegation had read with satisfaction the circular on indigenous employment, on pages 328 and 329 of the annual report, in which the Administration showed that it was not only realistic but also mindful of the special interests of the workers and of the population in the various regions.

43. With regard to medical care, the 10 million consultations showed that the people had learned through experience to appreciate the efficiency and usefulness of the medical services provided by the Administration or with its help.

44. With regard to educational advancement, the number of teachers and the figures for school attendance were encouraging. The number of girl students accounted for almost 30 per cent of the total, a high figure for Africa, which was evidence of the great effort being made by the Administration. His delegation noted with satisfaction that the Administration willingly accepted assistance from all those wishing to collaborate with it, provided of course that the syllabuses were adhered to. Financial assistance from the Administration provided 50 per cent of the cost of building construction and 95 per cent of the salaries of teachers. The Administering Authority might consider the possibility of granting higher subsidies for the construction of new schools. With regard to the "bush schools", the value of the instruction given, rudimentary as it was, should not be under-estimated. It had been found in many countries that the method of asking those who could

read to teach someone else to read was a useful way of increasing literacy and had achieved positive results. The "bush school" offered education of that kind and also gave the people elementary training in hygiene, farming etc.

45. On the whole, the Belgian delegation was satisfied with the significant and steady progress which had been made in Tanganyika.

46. Mr. HURE (France) said that in considering the situation in Tanganyika the Council should not forget the special problems, found in many parts of Africa, created by area, climate, vegetation, geographic and ethnic differences and the fact that the inhabitants had been introduced to modern civilization relatively recently.

47. With regard to political advancement, he fully appreciated the Administering Authority's desire to promote the development of institutions while avoiding the disturbances which were occurring in other parts of the continent. Democracy could flourish only in a particular kind of atmosphere. That desire justified the exchange of personnel to maintain order between Tanganyika and adjacent British territories. The Administration rightly felt that political education must be started at the village and district level. The method was reasonable and effective although clearly not spectacular enough for those who preferred theoretical measures to concrete achievement. Although the membership and powers of the councils set up to assist the Administering Authority were still limited, their status was being changed each year to the advantage of the indigenous inhabitants. His delegation approved of the Administering Authority's attempts to convert the indigenous chiefs to democracy and to induce them to take public opinion more fully into account. If traditional institutions were transformed too rapidly, a political vacuum would be created that would result in anarchy or in the use of force. There were still no electoral laws in the Territory, but the Committee on Constitutional Development had adopted the principle that members of the Legislative Council and of the regional and parish councils should be elected.

48. In the economic field, the main difficulty was the shortage of locally produced foodstuffs. The Administration was taking steps to remedy the situation by improving farming methods, building storage centres, providing low-interest loans for Africans engaged in commercial and industrial activities and delimiting alienable land, having regard to the needs of the tribes and the general economic requirements of the Territory. Prospecting for coal, base metals and petroleum was also being undertaken in order to encourage industrial development.

49. In social matters, it was to be hoped that the status of women would continue to improve owing to the measures taken by the Administration to encourage the development of women's activities. Many years would be required to eliminate prejudices and substantial progress could not be expected from one year to the next. With regard to medical matters, considerable progress had been made in the control of contagious disease and in setting up efficient medical services in a great many districts.

50. There had been a significant increase in public expenditure on education. His delegation was particularly interested in the adult education campaign which seemed to have fired the imagination of the indigenous inhabitants and was obviously the best means of bringing

about an immediate reduction in the very marked differences in the education levels of the various population groups.

51. Mr. EGUIZABAL (El Salvador) said that the report showed that the Territory was still a long way from the self-government and independence which were the goals of the International Trusteeship System. He realized that the complexity of the ethnic and traditional structure of the population, the diversity of languages and customs, and similar difficulties created problems which could not easily be solved. In view of the skill and leadership of the Administering Authority, he was certain that the latter would complete its mission within a reasonably short time.

52. With regard to political progress, he was glad that the constitutional reform would soon bear fruit. The functions and membership of the Legislative Council were, however, still very limited. It would be desirable to broaden its membership and legislative powers, and to curtail the number of cases in which its decisions had to be approved by the Governor. The establishment of a common roll would help to create a sense of territorial unity, which would prepare the ground for the establishment of citizenship. The extension of education and the use of Swahili would be helpful in achieving that goal. The members of the Legislative Council should not be appointed; they should be elected on the basis of limited suffrage, which could be extended as the civic education of the people improved. It would be equally desirable to increase the number of Africans in the executive organs, in accordance with the Trusteeship Council's recommendation (A/1856, p. 29) and with the obligations which the Administering Authorities had voluntarily assumed under the Trusteeship Agreements.

53. The economic condition of the Territory was not very encouraging. The balance of trade was unfavourable and revenue had dropped substantially in comparison with the preceding year. The food situation was serious. The Territory had not become self-sufficient, although it was rich in natural resources. It was to be hoped that the numerous experiments which were being carried out in the Territory would soon bear fruit. With regard to communications, he was pleased to see that the programme was developing according to plan, and asked the Administering Authority to continue its efforts in that field.

54. Turning to social matters, he noted that corporal punishment was still practised. He did not understand why that was the case at the present stage of civilization and urged the Administering Authority to take all possible steps to abolish such punishment. Despite the unfavourable report of the commission appointed to study the question, the Administration should try, by means of special legislation, to introduce principles which the population would be taught to understand and the effects of which would soon be evident. He pointed out that the Trusteeship Council had adopted resolution 127 (V) recommending the immediate abolition of corporal punishment in Trust Territories.

55. The Administering Authority should also increase the number of social workers in the Territory and persuade the men to accept modern ideas and not to prevent their wives from benefiting from social welfare work.

56. In the educational field, he noted with satisfaction the progress achieved in co-operation with UNESCO. The literacy campaign should be strengthened and elementary education should be made free and com-

pulsory. Private schools should conform strictly to government syllabuses, and should be supervised by the Administration. At least one centre of higher education should be established in the Territory.

57. Mr. MENON (India) said that the Trusteeship Council had a special interest in the cultural and historical background of the situation in Tanganyika. Indeed, the Territory had a history going back nearly 3,000 years, and the populations had come from various parts of the world. Like Togoland, Tanganyika had been under the Administering Authority for a period of thirty-five years. It was now necessary not only to survey the progress made between 1947 and 1954, but also to ask to what extent the world community had discharged its obligations towards the Territory.

58. He wished to pay a tribute to the present Government of the Territory and to the successive administrations which had achieved some progress in a land which had been neglected by civilization for some time and which had fallen prey to the incursions of Western imperialism in the nineteenth century.

59. The political situation in Tanganyika was altogether different from that in the West African territories. In the first place, the territories neighbouring Tanganyika offered a much less hopeful picture than the West African territories. Secondly, there was no suffrage in the Territory, although, subject to the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement, British conceptions of citizenship and law should prevail in the Territory. The Territory had made little or no progress towards self-government or independence. The lower, African units of government, which had the semblance of representative bodies, were isolated institutions rather than part of an integrated whole that might one day result in a national administration. Neither in the organs of central government nor in the organs of local government were there any persons who exercised authority because of their position in relation to their peoples. All were appointed by the Administering Authority.

60. On the economic side, some advances had been made for which the Administering Authority should be commended. At the same time, those advances should be read in terms of the Territory and its population; although the vast land and mineral resources made great economic development possible, the indigenous inhabitants did not seem to have derived as much benefit as they should have done from the progress that had taken place. The diamond mines and the sisal industries, on which the Territory's international trade was based, employed 400,000 indigenous workers; that was the only benefit that the Africans derived from them. They were approximately 180,000 wage earners in agriculture; they were presumably landless agricultural labourers; it would be interesting to know how many months a year they worked, and whether they had any means of support other than the low wages paid.

61. The Territory's balance of trade was favourable. Like the favourable balance in Uganda, it helped to offset the deficit in Kenya and to bridge the metropolitan country's dollar gap. It was regrettable that imports of capital goods in 1952 should have amounted to only £625,000. The figure was small in relation to the needs of the Territory and current prices, and showed that the rate of industrial advance was much slower than it should be.

62. The workers were generally paid per task; while it had not been possible to ascertain what exactly a task

involved in terms of a working day, there was no doubt that wages were extremely low. The Indian delegation suggested that the Council should request the International Labour Organisation to make a survey of the labour situation in the Territory. It had been the experience of the Asian countries in particular that ILO surveys always resulted in a considerable improvement in labour conditions. In the case of Tanganyika, it might be wondered whether the proximity of a territory where the indigenous inhabitants were treated worse than animals had not had a harmful effect on the condition of African labour, both legally and in practice. The suggested survey would be the more appropriate in view of the special responsibility which the ILO and the other specialized agencies had towards the Trust Territories.

63. In the social field, attention had already been drawn to the fact that medical facilities were extremely inadequate and that much remained to be done before the whole population could benefit from them. Smallpox and plague had been largely brought under control, but at the present stage of social and medical development, such epidemics should no longer occur in any country. The annual report did not show that any extensive progress had been made in rural sanitation; that situation was probably related to political backwardness. No social, educational or other advance was possible until there was social responsibility arising from the establishment of democratic political institutions.

64. In the field of education, a European child cost the Administration eight times more than an Asian child, and thirty times more than an African child. That could only mean that the quality of education given to the European child was very much higher, and that the conditions in which the education was provided were much better than in the other two cases. True, most of the European children were children of administrators who had left their homes to serve in Tanganyika, and were entitled to receive as good an education as they would have received in the metropolitan country; there could be no question of lowering the standards of their education, but it might be asked why the expenditure on the education of African children was so low. In that connexion it should again be emphasized that universal or widespread education in any Territory was impossible and could not have lasting effects until the economic conditions of the inhabitants were satisfactory. He was glad to note that the Administration had a ten-year plan for the development of education; it was to be hoped that the execution of the plan would produce tangible results. The problem of illiteracy was not incapable of being tackled. The idea that there was resistance to literacy on the part of the population was not supported by experience.

65. Following those general remarks, he wished to comment on and make suggestions regarding individual points to which he attached special importance.

66. The Administration was to be commended on the measures it had taken to improve methods of cultivation and to prevent the erosion and impoverishment of the soil. It should also be commended for providing installations for the storage of grain, one of the primary needs for the prevention of famine. The annual report also spoke of improvement in the means of communication; he hoped that the hinterland would not be neglected in the efforts made to expand the communications system.

67. The banking system and the circulation of currency also called for some comment. In the first place, the co-operative societies should be further developed. In that connexion, he noted with regret that the number of co-operatives and their membership had diminished during 1952. The banks were for the most part in the hands of nationals of the United Kingdom or South Africa. While the Territory's economy could not, of course, function without the help of banks — and foreign banks at that — it would be desirable if the African community were able in some measure to participate in the banking system. The annual report mentioned the National Bank of India; he wished to mention that the latter was neither national nor Indian but a purely commercial British bank with no connexion whatsoever with the Indian Government. It was a matter of concern that, in a Territory where economic progress was limited, there should be a vast increase in the volume of money. The only conclusion to be drawn from that fact was that the Territory was suffering from inflation, which meant that the cost of living was going up and that its economy was conditioned to stabilize the pound sterling.

68. After thirty-five years of British administration, there were still no vital statistics in Tanganyika. There was no means of finding out the number of births and deaths, the infant mortality rate or other facts of fundamental importance in the country. The last census had been taken a long time ago, although usually a census was taken every ten years in every territory under British administration. An even more serious fact was that that census had been taken of the non-African populations only, while the indigenous inhabitants had been ignored completely; it would appear that they did not count in the life of the Territory.

69. It was a matter for congratulation that the inhabitants of Tanganyika could move about without a pass, in contrast to the situation in neighbouring territories. It was also pleasing to note the sense of mutual assistance, especially in times of trouble, which the indigenous inhabitants were showing. In any community, a sense of mutual assistance was the first and the most essential element for the establishment of representative institutions and democratic government.

70. A particularly difficult problem was land alienation. It had arisen and continued to arise in many dependent territories. In Tanganyika, at least 3,000 square miles of land had been alienated to the white settlers, and although the concessions had been granted for a maximum of ninety-nine years, what had taken place was really alienation; in any event it was hardly likely that at the end of ninety-nine years the land would be handed back to its original owners. The result was to create a large indigenous proletariat of labourers who, having been deprived of their lands, had to work them for foreigners; for it was often difficult, if not impossible, for them to leave and settle elsewhere. India fully subscribed to the principle of the multiracial society, but such a society was possible only if none of its parts had a monopoly in land; the best way to make the settler an alien in the community was to give him the ownership or even the main part of the usufruct of the land.

71. The racial situation did not raise such acute problems in Tanganyika as in some other countries and territories in Africa. In law, there was no racial discrimination in Tanganyika, just as there was none in the United Kingdom or in any of the British dependent territories; but the discussions in the Trusteeship Council had indicated that there were political and

social differences between Europeans, Asians and Africans: the white settlers were in a privileged position with regard to land alienation, educational opportunities, medical care etc. Racial discrimination did not exist as a doctrine in the territories administered by the United Kingdom, but it was none the less a fact. It was thus due not to a policy of the Administration in theory but to the fact that the indigenous inhabitants did not enjoy political rights and self-government.

72. For that reason it was impossible to lay too much stress on the need for political progress. The only way in which a harmonious multi-racial society could be set up was by the introduction of a common electorate, with such safeguards, of course, as might be necessary to ensure protection of the weaker racial group's legitimate interests. In any event it was essential to avoid the opposite extreme, which at present existed in Tanganyika, where the representation of the various groups was in inverse proportion to their numbers. Both the present system and the proposed solution were unfair to the indigenous inhabitants; the least that could be done was to grant the Africans equal representation with the other groups in the population. The argument that the Legislative Council was against the common electorate could not be accepted; the members of the Legislative Council had been hand-picked by the Administration; they would probably have little chance of being returned in an election. It could hardly be expected therefore that that so-called legislature would favour a truly democratic system.

73. Doubtless there were some Asians and even Africans in Tanganyika who were not particularly anxious for the Territory to become self-governing, since they wanted to retain the Crown's protection against racial discrimination. For some — the African chiefs — the reason was that if there were democratic elections, some of them might lose their chiefdoms; and for others, such as some Indians, the reason was that they feared they might suffer the racial prejudice practised against them in several African territories, and not only in the Union of South Africa. That situation was most regrettable, and offered cogent proof that the principles of the Charter and of the Trusteeship System were far from being observed in that whole section of the African continent. If the Administration did not stand up to the pressure from the white settlers and the neighbouring countries, particularly the Union of South Africa, it would become increasingly difficult or even impossible to create in the Territory the harmonious spirit necessary both from the political and the social points of view.

74. He drew the Council's attention to the passage relating to the maintenance of law and order, in the working paper drafted by the Secretariat (T/L.419). Reference was made in that passage to the activities in Tanganyika of a screening party from Kenya, members of which had been subsequently convicted of assault in a magistrate's court in Tanganyika, upon evidence of gross brutality towards some other indigenous inhabitants of Tanganyika. The Indian delegation wished to know whether the screening party had been authorized by the Tanganyika authorities to enter the Territory and whether the Tanganyika police had co-operated with it in using brutal methods against the persons under interrogation. The basic object of those questions was to ascertain to what extent the judicial system of the Territory was tied to those of the other East African territories.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.