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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE EIGHT HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York  
on Monday, 10 March 1958, at 2.30 p.m.

President:

Mr. ARENALES CATALAN

(Guatemala)

Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika  
[4a, 5 and 6a] (continued)

Note: The Official Record of this meeting, i.e., the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.881 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

## AGENDA ITEMS 4a, 5 and 6a

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF TANGANYIKA: (continued)

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY FOR 1956 (T/1339, 1349 and Corr.1 English only, 1355, 1364, 1365, 1366; T/L.815)
- (b) PETITIONS RAISING GENERAL QUESTIONS (T/L.815/Add.1; T/FET.2/L.9 and 10)
- (c) REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS VISITING MISSION (T/1345, 1362)

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, special representative for the Trust Territory of Tanganyika under British administration, took a place at the Trusteeship Council table.

General debate

Mr. LALL (India): In addressing ourselves to this general debate, after many meetings of fruitful and useful discussion on the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, I wish to start with matters of great importance, but perhaps not of great substance so far as the Territory of Tanganyika is concerned.

For one thing, I wish to pay a tribute, on behalf of the delegation of India, to the Visiting Mission, which produced this comprehensive and extremely useful report on conditions in Tanganyika. This report has, of course, as we are all aware, made it possible for us to discuss the conditions in this Trust Territory with a degree of realism and freshness of information which has added, I think, to the value of this year's consideration of Tanganyika by the Council.

I also wish to refer very briefly to the helpful collaboration of the various specialized agencies, some of whose representatives do us the honour of sitting here in this Council chamber. I shall say more about their work -- or at least I shall hope to make a suggestion about their work -- later in this statement, but it is heartening that they are very much aware of the requirements of Tanganyika. In this connexion may I say how glad we were to learn that Mr. Black, the President of the International Bank, proposes to pay a visit to this important Trust Territory.

Then, the delegation of India feels, in all sincerity, that it would like to refer to the work of Sir Edward Twining, who is just completing his long stint as Governor of Tanganyika. During his period there, Tanganyika has undoubtedly progressed politically, constitutionally and economically, and it has progressed

(Mr. Lall, India)

in peace and, I think, in increasing co-operation between the various racial groups; and there is no doubt of it that Sir Edward Twining's leadership has been of great value to the Trust Territory. Upon his successor will devolve the delicate task of building from the foundations which have been laid, and we wish him well in this most important and difficult mission.

(Mr. Lall, India)

The Trust Territory of Tanganyika is the largest of the Trust Territories with which this Council deals. It has a population of almost 10 million. It can become -- and I think this thought was expressed by Sir Edward Twining, the Governor of Tanganyika, in his speech on 17 September 1957 to the Legislative Council -- a model State in Africa. If that is to be the case, no time must be lost.

This takes me straight to the political and constitutional position in Tanganyika. At the very outset of the remarks which I wish to make on this point, I would say that the delegation and the Government of India find themselves in the fortunate position of having no difference whatsoever with the Administering Authority as regards the constitutional and political objectives for the Trust Territory of Tanganyika. In his speech of 17 September 1957, to which I have already referred, Sir Edward Twining pointed out that Secretaries of State of both the major political parties in the United Kingdom had solemnly stated that the aim of the Administering Authority was to grant Tanganyika self-government. Indeed, Sir Edward Twining pointed out that this aim was written into the Trusteeship Agreement. He reassured us all -- as he did, mainly, the members of the Legislative Council themselves -- that the Administering Authority had every intention of fulfilling the aim of the Trusteeship Agreement. He then went on to make the following remark, of which we take particular note: "It is therefore our duty to prepare the Territory as quickly and as thoroughly as possible for self-government".

But that is not all. At the close of his speech of 17 September, the Governor reverted to the overall matter of progress in Tanganyika, political and otherwise. He said that conditions were changing, and changing rapidly. He hoped that the members of the Legislative Council and the people of Tanganyika would do all they could to speed progress. He closed with the thought which I have already attributed to him -- namely, that he was confident that Tanganyika could look forward to the achievement of nationhood and could emerge with pride and dignity as a model State in Africa.



(Mr. Lall, India)

As I have already said, we are fully satisfied -- and we make no secret of this -- that the objectives of the Trusteeship System, enshrined in the Charter and reiterated in the Trusteeship Agreement, will be fully implemented by the Administering Authority. We are full of confidence about that basic position. We have no reason to doubt it. Indeed, if we were in doubt about the matter, we should not be sitting here. If this was not the position, the history of the past twenty-five years in the world would be rather different from what it is today. Thus, we have this full confidence that the objectives of the Trusteeship System are going to be achieved. We take particular note of the fact that the Governor of Tanganyika has stated that the Administering Authority must do all it can, and do it rapidly, to prepare the Territory for self-government.

An important remark made by Sir Andrew Cohen in his statement to the Trusteeship Council on 28 February 1958 bears on this matter. In referring to the Visiting Mission's report, Sir Andrew thanked the Mission "because the report is a challenge to the Administering Authority to pursue with the utmost vigour our efforts towards the objectives of the Trusteeship System" (T/PV.872, page 3-5). When so distinguished a representative as Sir Andrew Cohen, a representative so given to the understatement which is in the best tradition of his country, speaks of pursuing with the utmost vigour the Administering Authority's efforts towards the objectives of the Trusteeship System, the Trusteeship Council has no reason to feel that the Administering Authority will in any sense be laggard in leading Tanganyika quickly -- and "quickly" is a word which has been used by the Governor himself -- to self-government or independence. Here, I might just say that I am sure that the Administering Authority has no objection to the use of the word "independence", because I think I am right in saying that it is explicit in the thought of Article 76 (b) of the Charter that self-government or independence, as may be the desire of the people, should be achieved. I do not have to quote Article 76 (b) because all members of the Trusteeship Council are familiar with it.

(Mr. Lall, India)

We therefore come here to make some detailed remarks about developments in Tanganyika with the basic position that we are satisfied that progress in Tanganyika is going in the right direction and that there is every intention that Tanganyika should become an independent or a self-governing State, in accordance with the desire of the people.

(Mr. Lall, India)

In considering in a more detailed way the political and constitutional position in Tanganyika, I think it is right to direct our attention for a moment to what would appear to be future steps. I, for one, freely admit -- as I am sure all members of the Council will admit -- that no Government and no administration likes to reconsider decisions already taken, especially when those decisions have been taken with the best of intentions and have received broadly, as Sir Andrew Cohen pointed out in his remarks on 28 February, the blessing of this Council. We said for example, I believe, that the parity system of elections was a very interesting system and that we would await with interest the results of the elections. And there is no doubt that the system of elections to the Legislative Council is a step forward. It must have meant a good deal of thought and very careful consideration on the part of the Administering Authority before that step was devised and before the arrangements were made to implement it.

But I would like particularly to draw to the attention of the Administering Authority itself that, in its wisdom, pondering the question of political development and constitutional development in Tanganyika, it has, in searching its own heart on this matter, come to the conclusion that parity in the political and constitutional development of Tanganyika, while it was a necessary stage in the thought processes, may I say, of the Administering Authority, is already a stage in those processes which the Administering Authority itself has left far behind. As I will demonstrate to the Administering Authority -- though this should obviously be unnecessary -- in this matter of constitutional and political development parity is something the Administering Authority has already reached far beyond.

Therefore, for the Administering Authority today to have to implement a decision regarding parity in terms of the election to the Legislative Council is something which I can well understand. It arises out of the inexorable character of a governmental machine -- and I am not using the word "machine" in any derogatory sense. It is used purely in a figurative sense. There is an inexorable character in these matters, and a decision has been taken, but the Administering Authority itself has taken many decisions which go beyond this parity rule. Therefore while, during the questioning period, we and other

(Mr. Lall, India)

delegations have suggested to the Administering Authority alternatives to this parity rule which it seeks to implement in the elections to be held later this year and next year, I should like, more than all those specific suggestions, to suggest to the Administering Authority that, difficult though it is normally for a Government to reconsider decisions, sometimes a Government goes beyond those decisions itself, and that stage in fact has come in Tanganyika.

I shall say precisely what I mean. The Tanganyika Government is introducing a ministerial system. There was a question of appointing, as a first step, certain Assistant Ministers. Now did they appoint Africans and Europeans and Asians on a parity basis as Assistant Ministers? No, they did not. They appointed four Africans out of the six -- no parity at all. Why did they do that? They did it because, in pondering this matter, they have already reached beyond the parity stage. It is perfectly obvious to them, if I may say this, that parity is not the appropriate arrangement for Tanganyika, where 98 per cent of the population is African. Therefore, very wisely and very properly, they have gone beyond and have appointed four Africans out of six as Assistant Ministers. Now they have appointed a full member of the Executive Council. He is the Chief of Lugusha, and he is an African.

Where is the parity in that, I ask? Far be it from me to suggest that there should be parity, and I am quite certain that the Administering Authority and the representative of the United Kingdom do not understand me in those terms and that they are not going to announce here, after my speech, that they are appointing an Asian and a European -- and in fact four Assistant Ministers from each of those communities. Of course not. Their thought has passed beyond that phase.

I turn now to the District Councils. A law has just been passed about District Councils. Provision has been made for these Councils to be elected. We questioned the special representative on this law and on what the composition of the District Councils would be, and I am quite certain -- as, I am sure, is the Council -- that there was no mention of parity. None at all. In fact, we were told I believe that these Councils will be over-whelmingly African in composition, and that only here and there there may be a non-African representative, depending on the population of the particular district concerned.

(Mr. Lall, India)

This being the case, I suggest to the Administering Authority that the undoubted step forward that it took with regard to the system of elections to the Legislative Council stands out already as glaringly anachronistic. There is no other field in the Administration, either in the Executive or in the local government field or in the services -- and I shall come to them in a moment -- where there is any suggestion of parity. So I would be most grateful if the Administering Authority would further ponder this matter.

I do not wish to repeat the specific suggestions which we made during question time. We suggested, for example, that instead of a return of 1-1-1 it might be 2-1-1 -- two Africans and 1-1 of the others -- in each of these ten constituencies. We suggested that, following the precedent of the Lake District constituency, constituencies might be split and that additional single-member constituencies might be created without any qualifications as to race, and that members of the Legislative Council might be elected also from those single-member constituencies. It was my impression that the Administering Authority put down these suggestions for future consideration.

In this statement, however, I am bringing to bear a much more basic consideration in this issue. It is not a question now of tinkering with the present decisions. The plain fact of the matter is that the basis of that decision does not stand logically with any of the decisions being taken by the Administering Authority itself in the Territory of Tanganyika. That is the point, and it is that basic factor which undoubtedly will appear to the Administering Authority just as it appears to us. We have no doubt of it, and we have little doubt that there will be movement in this matter.



(Mr. Lall, India)

I shall now proceed to one or two other aspects of the central picture in the constitutional and political field. I have before me the Governor's speech of 17 September, and I am looking at the part of it which deals with the appointment of a committee of the Legislative Council to examine further constitutional progress. Purely illustratively, the Governor mentioned four or five matters which would be included within the terms of reference of this committee. We are very glad indeed to see that the Governor mentions that the parity representation matter will be re-examined. He also mentions the existing constituency boundaries, by which I take him to mean the number of constituencies and so on. There will also be study of the implications of the development of the ministerial system and ways and means of improving the Executive Council, and perhaps replacing it by a Council of Ministers. There may also be a case, states the Governor, for establishing a Council of State, which, in the conditions of Tanganyika -- while I am not attempting now to make any theoretical or academic justification for councils of state as part of democratic constitutions; we of course have one ourselves, so I am not speaking against a council of state -- where there are grounds for giving special interests a measure of representation in the legislative organs of the central Government, I think it is easy to see that a council of state may be a very good way of doing this.

If there is any fear that those who have invested some money and who are part of the indigenous population now having settled in Tanganyika but are outnumbered, but whose interests are important, well there are ways of giving such groups special representation in a council of state. The central Government has before it the experience, the knowledge and the special expertise of persons with these unusual qualifications and background.

There are several points I would like to make about this proposed committee for constitutional reform. One is that since the Governor has said that the terms of reference will include the matters which I have mentioned, I take this list to be illustrative and I take it that the intention is that this committee will have wide functions, and we would suggest to the Administering Authority that, broadly speaking, the wider the functions the better. We hope that this body will be able to make recommendations on all aspects of the constitutional and political structure of the administration of Tanganyika.

(Mr. Lall, India)

Secondly, regarding this body we hope very much that it will be predominantly an African body, and that it will in that way seek to be representative of the wishes of the African people. I am not even going to mention parity in this connexion. I have no doubt whatsoever that the Administering Authority will not think in terms of parity in reference to this committee. Therefore, I shall not even mention that matter except in that oblique way.

Before I go on to another point in the constitutional field, may I say again with understanding of the difficulties and with respect for the position of the Administering Authority and of any Government which prepares its programme, if this committee can be appointed earlier rather than late in 1959, I think it would be a good thing. Far too often in the history of colonial administration, there has been this sad chorus of "too little, too late". This is something which has happened only too often, and a good idea can sometimes lose its value by being untimely in the sense that it comes too late. If one thing breathes through the pages of this report of the Visiting Mission, it is the fact that the people of this Territory -- not only the Africans, but even the members of the United Tanganyika Party who are Africans, Asians and Europeans -- want a dynamic programme of political development. What breathes through the pages of this report is the strong political wind in Tanganyika. That is the major impression that I get in reading this document.

Now feelings like these are important not only because one wants to set a timetable, ~~not~~ only because when there have been so many lunar months or sidereal months it is necessary -- there is no periodicity of that kind involved -- but there is a human importance involved. There are several races in Tanganyika. The impression I get from this report is that these races are anxious to come to terms with each other, are anxious to live together peacefully. This again is something which comes through very clearly in this report. There is a real desire to evolve a society in which people can respect each other no matter what their background and the colour of their skin or their religious persuasions. That is something in which Tanganyika can play a most important role, and these are the feelings which come through in this report.



(Mr. Lall, India)

It is in that context that I do express the hope of our delegation that the appointment of this legislative committee on reform can be expedited as far as possible. I know that the second half of the elections are planned for September 1959. Since the first half are taking place in September 1958, perhaps the second half could take place in December 1958. After all, the number of voters involved in either half of these elections will be of the magnitude of 30,000. The administrative arrangements, no doubt they are difficult and no doubt they require careful consideration, do not appear to be of a magnitude which would make it really impossible for the Administering Authority to move those elections forward somewhat, and thereby to accelerate the appointment of the committee which will look into these important constitutional matters. If that can be done, then the delegation of India will feel very much happier, for this reason: while there are things we feel that the Administering Authority might agree to do before then, there is undoubtedly a great deal of wisdom in waiting for the views of the elected members of the Council. If that committee is composed as I have suggested and hope that it might be composed, then those views, I shall freely say here, even though the electorate is a small one, expressed by the people of Tanganyika on their own development, are much more valuable than anything I can express in this Council. Therefore, I think it is very important that the Administering Authority should be good enough to pay some attention to this suggestion by bringing this committee into being as quickly as possible and taking the necessary steps to expedite somewhat the election to some of the seats in the Council.

(Mr. Lall, India)

There is the interesting picture in Tanganyika of its local Government affairs. If every one had the impression that the people or the institutions of a Trust Territory are simple or primitive, my advice to him is to study carefully the local government administration of Tanganyika and he will be forced to the conclusion that there is nothing simple or primitive about them; that there is a real basic complexity and, in my view, a complexity of the right kind. The problem of the Administering Authority, if I might be permitted to try and interpret it, in this matter of local Government in Tanganyika is this: that there is a basic indigenous tribal system and that connected with this tribal system, or rather the incidence of it, there is a form of local Government, there is undoubtedly some form of tribal authorities, of chiefs and so on, and consultation among the people with a view to taking decisions. I think that is why, incidentally, it is so easy in Tanganyika to establish co-operative societies much more easily than it is in many other parts of the world: because of the strong tribal co-operative feeling. I have been struck, in reading the Visiting Mission's report and in the Administrative Authority's reports, by the strength of the co-operative movement in Tanganyika, and I think it is related to this basic community structure in the Territory.

The Administering Authority comes from a country where there has been a long development of local government of a particular type -- not of the tribal type -- and it is quite natural -- and, mind you, I should say here the development has been highly successful -- and it had been an excellent development. It is quite obvious that in terms of the best experience of the British personnel in the Administering Authority, the sensible thing to do is to introduce district councils of an elective character, etc., and town councils into Tanganyika; I am not going to quarrel with that decision; I think, broadly, that it is the correct decision. Mind you, I am not a Tanganyikan and many Tanganyikans might differ, might hold a different view and say, "No, this Indian representative does not know what he is talking about, Tanganyika is a different kettle of fish". But the fact of the matter is that I can sympathize with the Administering Authority's decisions; they appear to me to be in the right direction. In fact, I only wish they went a little farther in that direction.

(Mr. Lall, India)

With due respect to the Administering Authority, I do not quite understand this dependence on the good feeling of the nominated members District Councils to proceed to the stage of election. But, however, human nature in Tanganyika seems to me to be extraordinarily generous, seems to be highly developed in this respect, much more highly developed than, I think, any of us could claim to be and, apparently, the Administering Authority can hope with some degree of certainty that they will proceed to elections and that many of these District Councils will in fact be constituted by elections. Well, excellent, that seems to me to be the right thing. But I would request the Administering Authority to help this Council by making, if possible, a special study of the local administration picture of Tanganyika. I have a suspicion that it is even more complicated than the Administering Authority knows at this point. I have a suspicion further and a hope -- perhaps one can be suspicious and hopeful at the same time; I hope one can -- that in this tribal organization in Tanganyika will be found the roots of a real system of indigenous democracy, and that a kind of village democracy will assert itself in Tanganyika which will be the best basis that there can exist in any country for a fully democratic self-respecting Government at the centre.

That is why I attach considerable importance to this. With the indulgence of the President, I should like to tell you how important this really is. A great British administrator in India records that, after having been in India thirty years and having reached the verge of retirement, someone told him that in the district which he had been administering, there was such a thing as the Panchayat. The Panchayat is the village council in India. Then this gentleman got on to his horse and rode out and really tried to find out about the Panchayat. He said, "To my surprise, I found that, while I had thought I was administering law and order in this district and settling all the disputes of a civil and criminal nature in the civil and criminal courts or seeing that they were settled" -- he did not literally settle them himself -- "in the civil and criminal courts with the evidence, acts and Civil Procedure Code and Criminal Procedure Code in the Indian Penal Code, a great deal of this work was being done without my knowledge, behind my back, by the village Panchayat and I have never heard of them. I have been here thirty years, and here they are settling village disputes, opening water courses, taking little action to improve village conditions, setting up a rest house and so on."

(Mr. Lall, India)

Those village Panchayats today are the basis of our whole Community Development Programme. They are the basis of our democracy, they are the basis of this modern State of India, these village Panchayats which have endured for thousands of years and of which one can find reference in a much more sophisticated form if one reads the policy texts of the Sixth Century before Christ of Northeastern India.

However, I really think that there is the smell in Tanganyika of that kind of basic village organization which is going to be of extreme value to this Territory, and I think that if there were a systematic study made of this matter it would be of value to us.

There is a gentleman who visited Tanganyika last year whose name is Mr. R.S. Hudson and there is some mention of him in the Governors' speech. He came and sat with the Provincial Commissioners, and I think he looked into the matter of decentralization from Dar es Salam and maybe he also knows something about this matter. I wonder whether I might specifically ask the Administering Authority, though this is not really the question period, whether they could not let us into the secret of what Mr. R.S. Hudson did in this Territory and what his interesting findings were -- at some stage perhaps, not now, we might be enlightened about this matter. I am sure it will be of value to us when we give more consideration to the development of local Government institutions in the Territory of Tanganyika.

We welcome these developments of district councils and of town councils. I gather that there are about nine or ten or twelve town councils in which election will soon have taken place and which will have been set up. We hope that they will progress, and we hope at the same time that this indigenous basis village or rural structure, tribal or whatever it is, will also continue to play its part in the life of Tanganyika.

I am not going to say very much about the Territorial Convention of Chiefs because my impression is that the Administering Authority itself was not able to tell us anything very specific about it because apparently the Chiefs are rather exclusive, even the Administering Authority does not really get a look in. We do not quite know what the Chiefs did, but I gather that they did excellent work.

(Mr. Lall, India)

I would just put it forward that territorial conventions of chiefs might perhaps be encouraged, though I say this with hesitation as I am not a Tanganyikan and I do not want to say anything which the Tanganyikans themselves would not wish to do. But perhaps they might be encouraged to take along to the next Territorial Convention of Chiefs some of the elected representatives from District Councils just to give it a flavour which was not entirely at the apex, as it were, of life in Tanganyika.



(Mr. Lall, India)

I should like to say that I am not trying to cover all aspects of the central and political and constitutional life of Tanganyika. I feel, for example -- as I am sure all of us feel, and I believe the Visiting Mission felt -- that the present franchise is too restrictive. I do not want to say this, because I do not want to embarrass the Administering Authority and to have my friend Sir Andrew Cohen and Mr. Fletcher-Cooke blush with shame or anything like it, but it is a sad fact, if I may say this in a whisper almost that in the matter of franchise, Tanganyika -- the biggest of the Trust Territories and the most important perhaps, and the Trust Territory which the Governor hopes will become a model State in Africa, and so on -- is behind every other Trust Territory in Africa.

I am sure that Sir Andrew Cohen can realize now why I said that I hoped that he would not blush with shame. I am advised that in the matter of the franchise Tanganyika is not as developed as any of the other Trust Territories. Supposing it is not as developed as one of the others, that is not a matter for satisfaction. Tanganyika ought to be right up in front in this matter. I am sure that Sir Andrew Cohen will agree with that. I am sure he would not wish me to say that the delegation of India is entirely satisfied and happy to note that in the matter of the franchise Tanganyika is well behind most other Trust Territories in Africa. Would he wish me to say that? I am sure he would not.

Therefore, there are all these other issues relating to the Trust Territory of Tanganyika at the centre which I am not going to touch upon because there are many members of this Council and I have no desire to monopolize the various issues which should be raised. I have the feeling that the Administering Authority -- to return to the point which I made at the opening of these remarks on the political and constitutional development in Tanganyika -- is progressing more rapidly than it itself acknowledges. All this talk of parity, as I pointed out, is so out of date, even on the basis of the actions being taken by the Administering Authority in almost every field, that I am sure I am right in saying that the Administering Authority is progressing faster perhaps than it would wish to acknowledge at this meeting of the Council, and I do not want to press them to come out and say, "Yes, we agree with the representative of India".

(Mr. Lall, India)

Why should they agree with the representative of India? But their actions are what are important and certainly there are certain aspects of those actions with which the delegation of India is very pleased, and we are very pleased that the logic of parity has completely broken down.

With those remarks, I will proceed, if I might, to a few words on the economic situation in Tanganyika. The Administering Authority, through its representatives here, has, very properly, from time to time expressed some concern about the fact that the Administration of Tanganyika costs money, and that when people ask for more primary schools, and so on, all that costs money and where is the money to come from; the revenues of Tanganyika are falling. This is a very basic factor. We sympathize with the Government of Tanganyika. We have problems like this ourselves and they are problems which no Government can overlook.

I have been looking at the remarks made by the Governor on 17 September and there are some extraordinarily hopeful statistics which he gives us. I am not going to quote them, but I would suggest to members of the Council that they look at the figures of the production of sisal, coffee, cotton, tea, tobacco, cashew nuts, sugar, copra and cocoanut oil, and so on, for the year 1947 and the year 1956, and they will see a picture which by any standards is magnificent. There has been an annual increase in production of 7-1/2 per cent for the last ten years. This is excellent; there is no doubt about it. This is an excellent figure and I for one take note, very happily, of the Governor's confidence that during the next ten years there will be a steady increase of not less than 7-1/2 per cent per annum. This is truly something, I think, which speaks very well of the Administration and of the people of Tanganyika, whatever be their race. They are mostly Africans, of course.

It seems to me that when one remembers that this progress has been achieved at a time when the Administering Authority and the peoples of Tanganyika have deployed the resources of only one-third of the Territory, I think they give us great hope for the future and I think they are all the more magnificent. I believe I am right in saying that only one-third of the Territory is deployed. I think it was the very able special representative, Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, who himself told us in his statement that two-thirds of the Territory of Tanganyika



(Mr. Lall, India)

has not yet been put under use because of the fly. I must say that it is a magnificent record if in one-third of the Territory this can be done. That being the case, I am going to go straight to the problem of the fly.

I think it is a distressing and awful fact that two-third of Tanganyika is occupied by the fly and one-third by the Administering Authority and other human beings. Here is where I would like to turn to the participation of the specialized agencies. Some of them, as I say, are represented here in the Council chamber, but some of them have not come. The fact of the matter is this. It appears to me that there can be no better and no more appropriate field of activity for both FAO and WHO than an engagement with this wretched fly. Why is it that FAO and WHO have not been busily engaged in pushing away this fly? I have not understood this. I did ask some questions about it, but one does not want to ask too blunt questions from important organizations like FAO and WHO. But I really am nonplussed by this state of affairs.

Why is the fly being allowed to continue to reign over two-third of Tanganyika, with WHO and FAO normally sitting here -- they seem to have left -- and listening to us talking about Tanganyika? I do not understand this state of affairs. I think I have the answer to it though. The Administering Authority in Tanganyika has waited for the stouthearted entrepreneur to come along and say: Give me a hundred thousand acres of land and I will clear it of the fly. But let me settle down there and grow this, that and the other, and so on. And the Administering Authority has said: Well, the fly is a very wicked insect and we want to get the fly out of here, so right you are, here is a hundred thousand acres and go ahead and get the fly out of the place. Of course that is no business of FAO and WHO because a private individual has taken it upon himself to clear the fly out of this hundred thousand acres.

(Mr. Lall, India)

Here is my suggestion, both to the Administering Authority and to the absent representatives of WHO and FAO: Could not the co-operative societies of Tanganyika, which are indigenous and so vigorous, be encouraged to apply to FAO and WHO, through the Administering Authority, of course, for assistance in this battle with the fly. That is what I should like to see done.

One would like to see the indigenous co-operative societies look upon a fair prospect such as 100,000 acres, and say, "How wonderful it would be if we could only put that under for the cultivation of cashew nuts, coffee, cotton and wheat. We cannot do this because of this fly. We cannot do this individually because we do not have the resources individually. And even as a co-operative society we do not have the resources to clear this area of the fly. Therefore, we will apply to Mr. Fletcher-Cooke or the Administering Authority to get WHO to send us people, machines and guns -- or whatever is used in these engagements with the fly."

That is what should happen. That is the role that FAO and WHO should play. They should help these African co-operative societies with the machines, with the money etc. required to clear away the fly. Then we will have more prosperity in Tanganyika and we will not have to deploy only one-third of the Territory. That is what we would suggest to the Administering Authority and to the absent specialized agencies concerned.

With your permission, I should like to say a few more words, if I may, on economic matters. I think it is right to say that our friends from the United Kingdom, and the Governor also in his speech, have spoken of the fact that a very large proportion of the revenues of the Territory are derived from non-African sources. Now, I should like to enter a very small objection to this phrase, which, I know will not be misunderstood. A statement like that gives the impression that a great deal of wealth is pouring into Tanganyika. That is not the case. There is some, I do not gainsay that at all. But I think what is meant is that non-African people in Tanganyika are producing this wealth. But why I am bringing out this point is that these are not non-African sources, these are the sources of the soil of Africa: the minerals, the land, the sisal of Africa.

I am saying this for the very important reason that these are Tanganyika resources. These are resources which are happily Tanganyikan, and then the Administering Authority and this Council can look upon them as available

(Mr. Lall, India)

for the development of Tanganyika to her full statehood. That is the point I wanted to bring out.

Now, the delegation of India is very happy to see in this connexion that Sir Edward Twining said, "that the Government is anxious to redress this ill-balance by increasing as far as possible the wealth of the African people." We welcome this statement by Sir Edward Twining. And we take note in this connexion of the forty African productivity schemes. We regret a little bit that the 140 suddenly became forty. We hope that they might again expand from forty and become 140 or something like that, but forty is a good beginning. The schemes are of the value of something like \$2 million -- £750,000 -- if my mathematics is roughly correct.

In addition to that, the Government mentions that there is a capital programme of £25 1/2 million plus another £4 1/2 million from other resources. He said this all in connexion with redressing the ill-balance, in increasing the wealth of the African population. This is very heartening.

We are very glad to note and we welcome the fact that in the matter of sugar there is to be a new inter-racial mill, or something, of which there will be directors of all three races. And I think, perhaps as a result of this development that Tanganyika is going to be self-sufficient in the matter of sugar.

Now, since the Governor and the representatives of the Administering Authority here, and Sir Andrew Cohen, have all told us that it is their endeavour -- and Sir Andrew Cohen always likes to use these mild words such as, "utmost vigour", it is going to be their endeavour to promote with the utmost vigour the economic development of the African people in Tanganyika. He did not say that, but he does not mind my saying that for him, I hope.

Since that is the case, it seems to us logical and we hope acceptable for us to make certain suggestions in this connexion to the Administering Authority. As I said, we welcome their general position. Perhaps in this connexion they would be good enough to consider when it comes to the matter of licensing industrial ventures or commercial ventures in the Territory, to stipulate that the licensees will include arrangements for training of Africans in the branches of industry and commerce in which the licensee is engaged. And, of course, if the licensee is unwilling, then the Administering Authority could be a little coy and someone else will probably turn up and make a proposal which does include such possibility. In other words, this need not perhaps be done by regulation. It could be done by

(Mr. Lall, India)

very careful handling. We think there is scope for doing it that way. When it comes particularly to the mineral resources of Tanganyika, we very much hope that that will be done -- the training of Africans in those fields, so that they know what the resources of their Territory are -- and that is extremely important. It is something which will help the African and the indigenous population generally to realize the value of the Territory, to feel that this Territory is capable of delivering them by diversified economy and in due course a high standard of living.

In that connexion, I would remind the Administering Authority's representatives here, if I may, of my suggestions regarding the geological survey. We realize that there are a number of Africans in the geological survey, but I gather not any whom one would in professional circles call a geologist. Those are the kind of men whom we would like to see as soon as possible in the geological survey of Africa. We would request the Administering Authority to see that that happens and to see that these training schemes and association of indigenous population are matters which the Western Rift Company and another concern which is resorting to aerial photo geology etc., will not leave out of account.

I must comment on the question of land because it is connected with economic advancement to some extent. We were most grateful to the special representative for the statistics and the statement he made about land. These have given us a very full picture of the land alienation situation in Tanganyika.

Mr. Fletcher-Cooke was good enough to give us certain supplementary statistics. I believe he also gave them to the Council. Unfortunately I was absent, but I was later privileged to see them. My impression is -- and he can correct me if I am wrong -- that of the land at present being cultivated in Tanganyika about 5 per cent is being cultivated by people to whom land has been alienated. I will tell you how I arrived at this calculation because I think it is a little unfair to the representatives of the United Kingdom to face them with the result, which might even be inaccurate.

Arable land in use today is 20 million acres. The total alienated land amounts to about 2.35 million acres. Out of the 2.35 million acres, my calculation is that about 1.25 million acres are used for cultivation. I am willing to take a quarter of a million away from that figure and to arrive at the very round and approximate figure of 1 million. One million is 5 per cent of 20 million, which is the acreage of the arable land in use today. That is how I arrived at my figure, which I think is a conservative estimate. It might be 6.5 per cent. There is other land, of course, which is cultivable and which we hope will be cultivated once the specialized agencies get going with the co-operative societies in Africa and others, but that is the picture today. I have mentioned this fact because the figure of 5 per cent is not inconsiderable, taking into account the dimensions of the population involved.

That being so, we feel in all earnestness that we should appeal to the Administering Authority to give the most serious consideration to the suggestion that all land alienations now be brought under some such regulation as the following:

First, alienations in favour of public and semi-public bodies -- of course, after consultation with and due compensation to the people -- to go forward.

Secondly, alienations of land for plantation purposes to be offered first to African co-operative societies; then to indigenous farmers; and then to outsiders if there is no objection.



Thirdly, land for ranching to be offered on a similar basis;

Fourthly, land for ~~agricultural operations~~ no longer to be alienated except to the indigenous population.

These are our suggestions to the Administering Authority with regard to land alienations.

I now proceed to education. The problem of education in Tanganyika is very unusual in terms of my experience, and I say this for the following reason: facilities already exist in the Territory for elementary education for 40 per cent of the population of school-going age -- not the adult population. In another fifteen to twenty years -- that, I think, was the period mentioned by the Governor, and I am sure it was accurately stated by him -- there will be facilities for elementary education for all the school-going population. At the same time, we are constantly being told by the representatives of the Administering Authority -- and undoubtedly correctly -- that one of the obstacles to a more rapid development of constitutional, political and administrative reforms in Tanganyika is that there are not enough educated people.

When the British Government left India, there were school facilities for not more than 20 per cent of the school-going population. Of course, there was a fairly large number of people -- many millions -- who had the advantage not just in British times -- if the British gentlemen sitting here will not mind my saying so -- but for many thousands of years of higher education. Therefore, there was a lot of intellectual material lying around which one could use. Apparently that is not so in Tanganyika. Or is it not? I am not so sure. I wonder whether that is really the case. I have not had the privilege of meeting many Tanganyikans, but I met two who were petitioners here last year; and in terms of character and intellectual ability, I have not come across a better couple of men. Any country would be proud to have these men among its citizens. I am sure of that. Now, how many Tanganyikans like these are there -- scores, hundreds, hundreds of thousands? I wonder. If there are, then I am not sure that the over-all picture of education really is an obstacle to any degree of political development in Tanganyika right up to statehood. There are facilities for more school children than there were in most of the countries from

which Britain itself has retired, and there are men from Tanganyika that we have met who are of the highest calibre. Then what is this problem of education and politics? I do not understand it. So far as I can see there is no real difficulty on this ground.

Maybe I am overlooking some of the facts. If that is the case, I would be most grateful if the representatives of the Administering Authority would inform me of them. Because so far as I can see educationally Tanganyika is not backward compared with many parts of the world which are independent.

There are obvious gaps. One would like to see a situation in the services particularly where there were more Africans at the higher levels. One would like to see the day -- and we hope that literally it will dawn tomorrow -- when there will be an African District Commissioner, for example. I have been informed by Mr. Fletcher-Cooke that there will be about nine African District Officers by the end of 1959 out of a total of about 150. One would like to see a little less disparity between those two sets of figures. As I ventured to suggest to our colleagues from the United Kingdom, recruitment on a fifty-fifty basis would seem very desirable. That would be a sort of parity. I am sure that suggestion will be accepted. It has an authentic ring about it.



(Mr. Lall, India)

So, there are these gaps; and there are too few doctors. I think that there are nine African doctors in Tanganyika. That is far too few. But I gather that now one can get a very respectable degree at Makerere, and one does hope that this university -- and perhaps in these rather scattered thoughts on education it will not be objected to if I go straight on to the question of the university -- which is going to be set up, considering the fact that there is Makerere around the corner, should concentrate first of all on a medical college, on an engineering college, and so on. Let it start as a technical university. There is Makerere, and I gather that there are not enough Tanganyikans to fill the ordinary liberal arts college courses in Makerere. Would it not be an excellent innovation if what Uganda has done for Tanganyika in the liberal arts field by providing Makerere, Tanganyika would do for Uganda by providing university education in those branches where it is badly needed in East Africa. That is to say, let these two university colleges, to begin with at any rate, express the requirements of the territory of East Africa by giving priority to those fields of study and training which are lacking or which are not adequately available, perhaps because there are not enough seats at Makerere. That would be a wonderful way of starting this university, and I am sure that the Tanganyikans would not object to this sort of development. I am sure that Tanganyika scholars who are abroad in the world -- I do not know how many there are, and I am glad to see that out of approximately 1,500 foreign students whom we have in India, 16 come from Tanganyika -- are studying, many of them, technical courses, and I am sure that this kind of university is something which would be of real benefit to the Tanganyikans.

I do not think that they want elementary education; and, judging from Mr. Julian Nyerere and Chief Marelle, they do not need any education in elocution or anything like that -- they are past masters of these arts. They probably need technical education, and this is what I would suggest that the university might turn its attention to. And if this is what the university would turn its attention to, it could be expedited. It need not be planned on a broad basis by preparing people with the history of England, or of India, which are valuable subjects -- and, of course the history of Guatemala -- but they can begin by going into these technical subjects straightaway, and the nucleus of a university as a technical university can be set up, we hope, without delay.

(Mr. Lall, India)

I do not think that it is desirable for me to go on speaking because I do not know when I would stop unless I bring myself to a halt. But before I do so, I should like to say this about education. Having regard to the strong desire of the people of this Territory to live at peace and in co-operation with each other -- the various racial groups -- I would earnestly commend to the Administering Authority the suggestion which I have already made that, in the future, the Administering Authority should not establish any schools on a separate isolation basis; all schools in the future to be established by the Government should be schools for all citizens of the Territory. Indeed, I am not at all sure that a good lawyer -- such as I am not -- could not make out a case -- and I am not trying to prompt anyone in this room to do so -- that, in terms of the Trusteeship System, all government schools ought to be for all races. And, of course, in terms of article 12 of the Trusteeship Agreement, the Administering Authority does have a special responsibility in the field of education. And I am very much hoping that, apart from the legalities of this matter, but in view of their own objectives in Tanganyika -- the objectives of a democratic, self-governing State -- the day is over when the Administering Authority will set up segregated schools.

I have kept to the last a part of my statement which gives me, personally, very great pleasure, and I want most sincerely to thank Sir Andrew Cohen and Mr. Fletcher-Cooke for having made this series of meetings on Tanganyika a real search with a common purpose, a common endeavour. I have not for a moment had the impression that the Administering Authority was holding back on us or that it did not join with the most respectable and radical of us -- to use Sir Andrew Cohen's words -- in looking for those avenues of development which are most fruitful and which will be most fruitful for Tanganyika. I have truly been impressed by the way in which both our British colleagues have joined in these discussions, and I think that they have made these discussions Tanganyika a model for discussions in the Trusteeship Council. I am most grateful to them. I know that they will take the suggestions which the delegation of India has made in the spirit in which they have been made. We have no intention of trying to embarrass the Administering Authority. Far be it from us to have that sort of view -- we do not look at life that way. We want Tanganyika to develop as rapidly as possible to independent statehood --

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statehood within the Commonwealth, or without, if it prefers to be outside, but within if that is its wish. We want that development to take place in a manner in which there will be no lack of security for any of the peoples who have made their homes in Tanganyika, and we are fully convinced that it is the endeavour of the Administering Authority to obtain this objective. If we have different views from them regarding the speed at which events should go in Tanganyika, it is not because we have any quarrel with their intentions, but it is because our experience is different from theirs. They were at one end of a certain experience; we, at the other end of that experience. And we feel that we can give them advice based on our experience which they do not have, which we have. They can say things from a point of view which we do not share -- I do not mean do not share in the sense that we depart from their view, but which we have just not had -- and between these two sets of views there is no reason why there should not be common ground, and why there should not be the sort of common endeavour which is developed around this table, and why Tanganyika should not become the model State which the Governor of Tanganyika has promised, and why the Administering Authority should not, to quote Sir Andrew Cohen's words, pursue with the utmost vigour its efforts in this direction. And I know that the utmost vigour of the United Kingdom Government is no mean thing. And we expect to see Tanganyika a State and a member of the United Nations in the near future.

Mr. SALOMON (Haiti) (interpretation from French): In its examination of the situation in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, the Trusteeship Council had before it a large and important amount of documentation; this perhaps can be attributed to the vastness of the Territory, the high number of its population and the delicacy of the problems confronting it.

The report of the Visiting Mission which recently went to the Territory and the reactions to that report in the Trusteeship Council have placed the accent on a situation the gravity of which it would be dangerous to underestimate. However optimistic and cautious one may be, one cannot fail to have serious misgivings concerning the future of the Territory. The United Kingdom representative, Sir Andrew Cohen, and the special representative, Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, made sincere efforts to dispel those misgivings, and we are grateful to them for having done so. In all truth, we must say that their statements did indeed clarify the intentions of the Administering Authority and did reassure us somewhat. Nevertheless, they did not completely remove our doubts regarding the Territory's future. My delegation still cannot agree with certain questions of substance which have not been changed, with certain principles on which the Administering Authority continues to base its policy.

This applies first and foremost to what is known as the multi-racial policy -- this policy which it is sought to make synonymous with non-racialism and which is being transplanted into every field of activity in the Territory and, hence, will dominate the elections to take place in September of this year and during the course of next year. Under the system which has been established for these elections, electors in each district will have to vote for three candidates: one from each of the three principal ethnic groups -- European, Asian and African. If they do not so vote, their ballots will be declared invalid. Electors must have attained the age of twenty-one years and have resided in the district for three years. They must also fulfil one of the three following conditions: eight years of schooling beginning with the first year of primary school, an income of £150 a year, or experience in certain specified functions. These conditions are supposed to have the primary effect of ensuring that the future Legislative Council will have parity of representation, by race. The number of non-Africans in the Council, however, will be twice the number of Africans, who are to represent 98 per cent of the population.



(Mr. Salomon, Haiti)

Furthermore, the above-mentioned provisions will keep away from the polls the vast majority of the African population -- made up, for the most part, of peasants still at a subsistence level of economy and, thus, without any income or education.

The quasi-unanimity of the opposition to the electoral system now envisaged by the Administration was one of the most obvious conclusions drawn by the Visiting Mission. This opposition applies not only to the parity of representation of the three races, but also to the obligation to vote for representatives from each of the three races and to the conditions for voting, which limit the number of Africans who may vote.

The Administering Authority has told us that the multi-racial system should have the effect of reducing the racial ardour of each of the Territory's ethnic groups, that the system was prompted by a desire to take account of the extent of the economic contribution of the immigrant elements. Furthermore, we were told that these measures were in the nature of an experiment -- and thus were temporary -- and that they should be given a test, particularly since it was too late to change them without postponing the elections for two years at least.

While recognizing the persistence with which the Administering Authority is pursuing the implementation of these provisions -- dictated by the purest kind of empiricism -- I must say that my delegation has not been convinced by the arguments adduced. It seems to us that the system which has been adopted gives too much importance to the question of the economic contribution made by the various racial groups.

The Visiting Mission, without drawing any conclusions, attempted to submit the information which would enable us to see that the contribution of the African element to the Territory's economy, as compared to the contribution of the non-African element, could not justify tripartite representation in the Legislative Council. The present policy therefore seems to consecrate, under the cover of the dogma of multi-racialism or non-racialism, what my delegation has always regarded as the hierarchization of the races, resulting in the establishment of the supremacy of the Europeans and Asians and in the slowing down of the logical progress of the country. How, otherwise, can one explain

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the status of the other ethnic groups -- Arabs, Somalis, and so forth -- who make up a large part of the population, almost as large a part as the Europeans, and who have a considerable income? These ethnic groups are placed squarely among the indigenous inhabitants.

Despite the unanimous opposition of all the political parties of the Territory, despite the recommendations of the Visiting Mission, the Administering Authority has not deemed it fit to adopt measures which might reconcile the African element of the population to the forthcoming elections. The Administering Authority has always stated that one of its principles is to subordinate the creation and orientation of the new institutions to the general wishes of the communities concerned and not to create these new institutions until public opinion is prepared to accept them. Nevertheless, the Administering Authority must recognize that we are faced here with a concrete case in which the will of the peoples concerned is being resolutely ignored. We are told that it is now too late to change any of the electoral provisions. We persist in believing, however, that changes could have been made last December when the Visiting Mission made the appropriate recommendation, without in any way disrupting the timetable for the elections.

As the Visiting Mission has suggested, an option should be given to vote for a candidate from any one of the three races, thereby rendering the conditions for voting less rigid. If that were done, the electors, in exercising their right under the law, would not be obliged to vote for persons whom they did not know, for persons absolutely foreign to their customs and their lives.

No doubt, what is feared is that the African electorate -- which is more numerous and less enlightened, which is not prepared for an electoral campaign and which might be imbued with partisan passions -- might elect a Legislative Council in which the African element would too clearly dominate, thus upsetting the sometimes subtle designs of those who are complicating and thus delaying the normal and logical process of democratic development in Tanganyika.

We have welcomed the plan to establish a constitutional committee of the next Legislative Council, which would meet towards the end of next year. However, we believe that, in order to overcome the disappointment of a large sector of the population, the Administering Authority should indicate immediately

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its intention of applying a system of universal suffrage by secret ballot, without distinctions of race, in the elections to follow those which will soon take place -- if, of course, the experience obtained makes this possible.

Since the elections to be held this year will be only experimental and provisional in nature, it is perhaps the Administering Authority's intention to organize following elections on a different basis. If that is the case, the people must be so informed. In this connexion, I would recall the Visiting Mission's recommendation that all possible measures should be taken to ensure as quickly as possible the widest dissemination of information on the official policy of the Administering Authority and of the principles of the Charter on which that policy is based; all the elements of the population must be informed of these things.

This leads us to the basic question of the final objective pursued by the Administering Authority. At the Trusteeship Council's 820 meeting, on 19 June 1957, the United Kingdom representative, Sir Andrew Cohen, said -- with that faith and conviction which have so often impressed us -- that the Africans must:

"have confidence in themselves and in their future. That confidence is justified, and Africans in Tanganyika need have no fears for their future or for the great and continually growing part which they will undoubtedly play in all aspects of the progress and life of the Territory."

(T/PV.820, p.32)

That was an excerpt from a very encouraging statement of which the Trusteeship Council decided to take special note.

But the problem is not one for the Trusteeship Council alone. It is also a problem for the Territory, whose population -- whether African or immigrant -- wishes to be reassured about its future.



(Mr. Salomon, Haiti)

The Visiting Mission recognized this when it said that the fact that in the Territory there is no precise idea of the final objective which is pursued by the Administering Authority, and which the Administering Authority has proclaimed in the United Nations as its own objective, means a risk of increasing distrust and strengthening antagonism between the various ethnical groups. This situation, the threatening symptoms of which were noted by the Visiting Mission, is becoming more clear-cut. Political parties have been constituted with ultra-nationalistic slogans. The Administering Authority is reacting, and restrictive measures are being taken against the TANU, several branches of which have been closed down. The Secretary of State for the Colonies has recognized this threatening situation. Notwithstanding this, the Administering Authority seems to be maintaining its imperialistic attitude, and meanwhile both the TANU and the UTP, the two principal parties, are in agreement at least on the fact that something must be made known immediately as to the future of the Territory.

Some relaxation is required, and this can be obtained only through a clearly articulated statement accessible to the greater part of the population and relating to the intentions of the Administration in every field. It may be that, as Sir Andrew Cohen has said, one can be sceptical as to the effectiveness of words in the presence of political situations. But it is necessary that those words be followed by liberal measures which will reassure all parties and do away with this state of nervousness which seems to prevail throughout the Territory.

Many sincere persons in the Territory desire such a relaxation which would preclude this collective hysteria or panic which ~~some seek to foment~~, either in order to provoke the exodus of capital or in order to prevent investment, or else to slow down the progressive and peaceful evolution of Tanganyika, as was the case with a neighbouring Territory.

While we must deplore the fact that certain elements of the TANU are not sufficiently educated and are showing themselves impatient or intemperate, it has to be asked whether those belonging to the other parties are free of suspicion or reproach. Do they sincerely desire to become citizens of Tanganyika without special privileges? Do they wish to work to bring the country to a state of real democracy?

(Mr. Salomon, Haiti)

If, in the present circumstances, the Administering Authority is not taking the steps which are expected of it, and if it persists in adopting measures of harassment in order to offset the honest efforts of certain parties, we are entitled to fear that certain elements may undertake extremist acts which might lead to brutal repression. I think that everybody will recognize that the African usually endorses those claims which are in accordance with his own earnest and sincere strivings. So long as the door remains open to liberal measures which the Administration may take, my delegation will not abandon its optimism.

In its report the Visiting Mission has carefully avoided an insistence upon racial discrimination, which allegedly exists in the Territory. The Administering Authority itself, in this Council or in the Territory, has always spoken of vestiges of a racial discrimination that are about to disappear. Is that so? My delegation feels some doubts about this when, time and again, reference is made to the three main races, to separate education for those three races and to the invidious position occupied by the African, however prosperous or however educated, in the social hierarchy as compared to the European or the Asian.

We know that many people of good faith recognize frankly that the behaviour of certain individuals reflects racial prejudice which is now being disguised by invoking a difference in the level of education, social standing, hygiene habits, nutritional standards, and so on. Those same persons have expressed the opinion that the Administration should act vigorously in order to do away with these outward manifestations of racial discrimination.

We do not wish to insist unduly on this question, but we should like to recall what was said by the United Kingdom Government in a sub-commission of the Commission on Human Rights. According to document E/CN.4/760, Add.2, dated 5 February 1958, the United Kingdom representative said that the most important measure to be taken to do away with discrimination, whether in the field of education or in other fields, was to ensure the disappearance of those prejudices which inspired it. He added that it would be necessary to seek, through an education campaign, to change the views of those who shared or tolerated those prejudices.

(Mr. Salomon, Haiti)

That is the education campaign which we believe the Administering Authority should undertake. All political parties, without exception, have proclaimed their hostility to all forms of racial discrimination. Therefore, the Administering Authority could act with their complete support. As UNESCO pointed out in a document submitted to the sub-commission to which I have just referred, the most important and most difficult phase of that campaign would be that relating to the prevention of discrimination in the field of education, and the organization points out that two books designed to give the teachers in the secondary and primary schools information and ideas which would help them to do away with racial prejudices were prepared some years ago by Professor Cyril Bibby of the United Kingdom and Professor Charles Hendry of Canada. This being so, we have no doubt that the future efforts of the Administering Authority will be directed towards this goal.

Before I finish with this chapter, I should like to dwell briefly on the conditions of the African in public administration. A big step forward was certainly made when ethnical considerations were ignored in connexion with the appointment and promotion of officials in the Territory's civil service. However, various complaints are still being lodged with regard to the conditions of the African in the civil service. Africans complain that they are not receiving equal pay for equal work when compared with non-Africans, particularly Asians, who, although born in Tanganyika, receive marginal benefits such as paid holidays in the town of their origin. Again, it is claimed that departmental heads appear to promote persons of their own race, however young even though they do not have the same experience as Africans. These are complaints which show a state of mind which I think the Administering Authority should watch carefully.

What is required is greater training of Africans, either in the course of employment or before they are employed. The measures that have been adopted to this end, however good, are still insufficient. The Administering Authority has stated that it needs more schools in order to train more Africans, and more money with which to build and maintain those schools, while, allegedly, the resources of the Territory are limited. We have there a vicious circle which is not, however, exclusive to Tanganyika. Other Territories face the same situation, the solution of which is the progressive training of African personnel.

(Mr. Salomon, Haiti)

We do not wish to take up in this statement all the points that are raised in the excellent report of the Visiting Mission, the conclusions of which my delegation has endorsed. However, certain questions in the economic field deserve to be mentioned, if only briefly, despite the fact that we have already had an interesting debate on them. And chief among these is the problem of land alienation, which is regarded as the most explosive issue in the Territory.

It is true that the vast land resources of Tanganyika can be better exploited through the combined efforts of the African, furnishing his labour, and the non-African element which brings capital and better methods of agriculture. No doubt, also, certain concessions to the benefit of non-indigenous inhabitants can bring increased revenues to the Territory, which needs such revenue in order to pay for its programmes of education, public health and public works.



(Mr. Salomon, Haiti)

However, it would seem that these operations were engaged in with perhaps too little caution. These leases should not be granted for more than thirty-three years, when they are indispensable at all. The ninety-nine year lease is actually a legal fiction. Even though the Administration is inquiring into the situation, the accent seems to be placed on the benefits of the concessionaire. The situation of the earlier holders who have obtained no legal title to the land but who have nevertheless cultivated it for generations is perhaps not sufficient to take into account. These people are losing their houses, their huts, their plantations and are being pushed back toward land which is less fertile. This is a source of many complaints which the Visiting Mission received. This should be carefully examined.

The fact is that even though the native may not have the technical or financial means to exploit the land, he is nevertheless aware of the profits which he can derive from it. He has the feeling that he has been cheated or that his indemnity has been insufficient. Large concessions on the best land have been granted to Europeans, and much of this land is too large for them to exploit. We believe that the Administration would be wise to end this system of concessions and to study the conditions in which earlier concessions were granted in order that full use can be made of them and in order that land which is still not exploited can be returned to the people who originally held it.

When we speak of mining concessions, we recognize that more care seems to be devoted to the needs of the population. Nevertheless, in view of the suspicions which prevail in the Territory, it might be wise to improve the situation still further, in other words to associate the native population of the area concerned with the profits that are derived from the mining exploitations. The compensation paid is usually infinitely small in comparison to the profits gained. The benefits cannot be offset by the loss of land. The whole population seems particularly bitter about this loss of land.

My delegation does not propose to dwell at great length upon the economic situation in the Territory. We appreciate the documents submitted and the statements made by the special representative regarding the difficulties and limitations which the Administration is encountering. If prospects are still uncertain, it is good to note with the Administering Authority that the possibilities are great both because of the increased awareness of the population,



(Mr. Salomon, Haiti)

which expects to play a greater part in the Territory, and also because of the new projects which are being planned. The one thing lacking more than anything else is capital. In this connexion, we are looking forward to the visit to the Territory of the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. We have no doubt that after this timely visit the Bank will be able to send a mission to Tanganyika so as to study development possibilities and to advise on means of financing projects either through importing capital or through the better use of local resources, as recommended by the Visiting Mission. Pending that action, we are convinced that the Administering Authority will continue with its patient and diligent efforts to find financial and industrial groups which, despite great difficulties, might be willing to help in the exploitation of the vast resources which exist in the southern area and which we are sure will offer a major contribution to the economy of the Territory.

What can I say about education which has not already been said by the Visiting Mission or by UNESCO or which has not already been recommended by the Council in the course of its previous debates? I might stress that, notwithstanding the arguments advanced by the Administering Authority to justify the present educational system in the Territory, which is based on European, Asian and African educational systems, the very principle of this system is fallacious. We believe that it is a mistake to make these arbitrary divisions and that the fruits of this system will be bitter for the African. In practice he acquires an inferiority complex. The advantages of the educational and cultural privileges of Europeans and Asians are becoming consolidated to the detriment of the native. The education which is given to Europeans and Asians reaches a level which is clearly superior to that of the Africans. Their education is given in English from the very first year of schooling. There are no district or higher schools in this type of education. The pupils pass straight from the primary level to the secondary level and then to the higher educational level. The African receives four years of primary education, two years of high school education and finally higher education. In the first four years of primary education the courses are held in Swahili, a language which is well known in the Territory but which does not and cannot promote one's cultural position. If we bear in mind the fact that

(Mr. Salomon, Haiti)

90 per cent of these children will leave school at the age of eleven or twelve, they will not be able to pursue their training outside these schools. This is an absurd situation and the Africans find no future for their children and are denouncing this system as a delusion. Primary education should be given to all Africans and a larger number of African children must be admitted to higher school levels without lower standards of education. Official figures show that only one-tenth of African pupils go on to secondary schools and only one-tenth of this latter figure go on from secondary schools to higher educational institutions. Higher education thus becomes the privilege of only a few who have received some special benefit from heaven.

If the number of Africans at the three levels of education is arithmetically higher than it was in 1947, the disproportion between the various sections remains as high or higher than it was before. I believe that the Administering Authority must review the whole educational system. It must allocate its subsidies more fairly and broaden the basis of African education. It must improve African schools, which present a very unpleasant contrast when compared to Asian and European schools.

(Mr. Salomon, Haiti)

After all, education is not the privilege of one race or one colour. Opportunity must be open to all, according to the individual capacity of the pupil. It is this high level which characterizes the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter.

We have completed our comments in the field of education. We are convinced that the Drafting Committee, which will work on the report on Tanganyika, will be able to reflect in its recommendations the different points of view which have been expressed here, and that they will take into account also the recommendations of the Visiting Mission. If I may make one more suggestion, I would say that this Drafting Committee should have, over and above the usual working documents, a special document which would contain a summary of the recommendations of the Visiting Mission. If this is not yet the practice of the Council, I am sure that the Secretariat might prepare such a document, and I hope that the other delegations will not object to this suggestion.

The Administering Authority has told us that the report as a whole shows a sense of fairness and of balance in its examination of the situation and that it can be considered as a model in this field.

My delegation is particularly glad to hear this. We hope that the Administering Authority will, therefore, not object to the wide distribution in the Territory of all the conclusions of the Visiting Mission, even those which are not favourable to the policy of the Administering Authority.

In conclusion, my delegation takes this opportunity to express the hope that the appointment of the new Governor may constitute a radical departure in the policy of the Administering Authority in the Territory. My delegation wishes him good luck in his work.

In conclusion, we should like to tell the representative of the United Kingdom and the special representative how much we appreciate the kindness and the courtesy with which they have replied to the many questions we put to them. We are convinced that they will see in this a token of the interest which all members of the Council, and my delegation specifically, have in the prompt improvement in the situation in the Territory of Tanganyika.

The meeting was suspended at 4.35 p.m. and resumed at 4.50 p.m.

Mr. KIANG (China): I think we had an impressive and stimulating introduction to our examination of conditions in Tanganyika: the two full opening statements and the splendid films on Tanganyika.

The representative of the United Kingdom began his opening statement by telling us not to expect the situation in Tanganyika to have been radically transformed in the short period of a little over seven months since the Council completed its last examination of the Territory. With our knowledge, inadequate though it may be, of the philosophy, policy and old-world experiences of the Administering, we do not expect things to come too quickly in Tanganyika, although we hope for it. But the rising spirit of Africanism, as someone has put it, may one day force the pace of political advancement in Tanganyika contrary to our expectations.

The magnificent report of the 1957 Visiting Mission on Tanganyika has greatly assisted our appraisal of the situation in the Territory. We only regret that the Council, in its deliberations, did not have the benefit of the active participation of the Chairman of the Visiting Mission, Ambassador Dorsinville, whose experience and wise counsel we always value.

It is most satisfying to hear the representative of the United Kingdom tell the Council that the findings of the Visiting Mission are constructive in criticism, objective in analysis and realistic in approach to the problems of the Territory and the needs of the people. As he said so convincingly, the report is a challenge to the Administering Authority to pursue with the utmost vigour its efforts towards the objectives of the Trusteeship System.

(Mr. Kiang, China)

In offering a few observations of my delegation on certain salient aspects of the developments in the Territory, I would suggest we follow the example I set for myself last year and begin with the social and educational fields.

In the labour situation, the emergence of a vigorous trade union movement is an encouraging development. With good leadership and proper guidance, the movement can exercise enormous influence to the advantage of the social and economic development in the Territory. For the propagation of the principles and methods of trade unionism through training programmes, the Labour Department is expected to exert its vigorous efforts. We agree with the Visiting Mission that it is highly desirable to establish joint consultative machinery wherever labour has attained a sufficient degree of organization. In this connexion, it is gratifying to learn from the special representative that the Federation of Labour has agreed or almost agreed, to submit a panel of names for the formal constitution of the Labour Advisory Board, the effective functioning of which will bring relief to problems affecting employment and assist the much needed review of the Trade Union Ordinance. For the improvement of the instability of the labour force in the Territory, we commend to the Administering Authority the recommendation of the Visiting Mission for the close co-operation between the government and private industry to provide instruction in basic techniques to the unskilled labour.

In education, the efforts of the Administering Authority in the past ten years deserve the Council's commendation. We have also noted with satisfaction the gradual improvement in the education of African girls and the assurance of the Administering Authority to continue to lay stress on this development. So far as the development of African education is concerned, my delegation shares the view of the Visiting Mission that greater efforts have to be made to increase the primary school facilities and to close the gap between primary school and middle school school education. As regards higher education, we are glad to know that a Higher Education Trust Fund has been established and a site for a University College has been provisionally chosen.

I need hardly add that both TANU and UPT have strongly urged for the creation of a Tanganyika University as soon as possible. The special representative may still remember that last year I had tried to present to the Council the picture of



(Mr. Kiang, China)

higher education in both East and West Africa on the basis of the British Inter-University Council Reports. With populations much smaller than Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda have in fact more university students, both male and female. How important it is for Tanganyika to have a sufficiently large class of well-educated people to be able to manage their own affairs, when it attains its independence.

In the economic development, the Administering Authority deserves the Council's commendation for its efforts in the matter of co-operatives, loan funds, water development and, very recently, mineral exploration. As recognized by the Visiting Mission, the Administering Authority has done much to finance development in the public sector and to encourage investment in the private sector of the Territory's economy. In the light of the Visiting Mission's suggestion that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development be invited to send a mission to Tanganyika to study further development possibilities and the question of financing, it is interesting to note that the President of the International Bank would be paying a visit to the Territory.

My delegation has noted with special interest the formation of the Tanganyika Sugar Company for the growing of sugar in certain parts of the Kilombero Valley. Bearing in mind little African participation in the established industries, we naturally hope that this new sugar enterprise with which Africans are said to be associated at all stages, will offer not only full participation for Africans but also a real partnership in Tanganyika.

(Mr. Kiang, China)

As the official policy is that political advance in Tanganyika can only be built upon the increased economic progress, it is all the more important to remove the great barrier to economic progress in the Territory -- the customary system of land tenure. Its removal means the breakdown of tribal divisions, suspicions and land reserves. Its continuance prevents the Africans from turning their energies to the pursuit of wealth and improvement through their own individual efforts and profits. Until there is individual ownership of land, no capital that is so much needed for the Territory's economic progress, can be raised from the land.

As the success of a new land tenure policy depends largely upon the changes in the attitude of many Africans, it is most encouraging to hear that Mr. Makwaia, the Assistant Minister of Lands, has brought his great influence to bear upon the minds of many Africans. We shall now look forward to the publication of the Administration's policy statement on individual African tenure of land as a positive step to remove the barrier to the Territory's prosperity.

When the time comes to effect a change in the land tenure, the Administering Authority will have to apply all its prior knowledge of the existing customs and practices -- certainly not what Lord Salisbury once called the archeological arguments, I do not mean the present Viscount, Lord Salisbury, but his grandfather -- in order that the change will be evolutionary and command the acceptance of the people most closely affected. The past experiences in other parts of Africa have shown how vital such prior knowledge is to the success of land reforms of this nature.

Let me now turn to the political development in the Territory.

While we have noted with satisfaction that a sincere effort is being made to develop the civil service on a non-racial basis, we deem it essential to institute and pursue vigorously a programme of technical training and general education in order to enable more Africans to occupy senior positions in the public administration at a rapid rate.

In the field of local government, we see an important development in the establishment of District Councils. We hope the Administering Authority will take the initiative to accelerate the process of establishing District Councils as rapidly as possible in all the districts of Tanganyika.

(Mr. Kiang, China)

When the Council discussed last year the Elections Ordinance and the appointment of six Assistant Ministers, we considered these two significant steps of political advancement as reflecting the full play of the principle of parity representation. The common roll was introduced with clear safeguards for minority representation. At that time, we asked ourselves whether this controversial parity formula would be acceptable to the Africans who are 98 per cent of the population as against one per cent Asian and one-third of one per cent European. We also asked whether such a parity representation constitutes a sound foundation for the political development of the Territory.

In asking ourselves those questions, we were fully cognizant of the meaning of this compromise parity formula which was based on the contribution each race could make to the development of Tanganyika. We also knew the formula had its meaning transcending the boundaries of Tanganyika. But since Tanganyika should be developed primarily as an African State, we feel that this temporary arrangement is not fit for a society which is not a plural one but predominately African. Today, we are, therefore, not at all surprised at such unanimous African opposition to this parity representation as reported by the Visiting Mission.

Whatever franchise you may devise in the meaning of this parity formula, it is bound to be quickly antiquated under the impact of the rapid developments in other parts of Africa. It will, therefore, be politically unwise to let this parity representation be perpetuated in one form or another. Its preservation will seriously impair the confidence and understanding now existing between the Africans and the immigrant minority. Its preservation may foreclose the future partnership in Tanganyika.

In the light of the popular demand for the removal of the parity formula, my delegation naturally attaches great importance to the composition and terms of reference of the Constitutional Committee to be appointed in 1959. So far as its membership is concerned, we feel the Africans should be placed in a greater moral position in such a Constitutional Committee. We also hope that the Constitutional Committee will exercise its collective wisdom by recommending the early institution of universal adult suffrage in Tanganyika.

(Mr. Kiang, China)

2. As regards the compulsory tripartite voting system, to which both TANU and UTP have raised objections for the forthcoming two rounds of elections to be held in the ten constituencies, we see that it is not possible to change the election regulations or to postpone such elections altogether; but if the results of the elections do not turn out to be a success, I am sure that the Administering Authority will consider abandoning the tripartite vote and, at the same time, expediting the appointment of the Constitutional Committee.

Before I close, I wish to say how sorry we are that Mr. Nyerere had to resign so soon after he joined the Legislative Council. The nomination of Mr. Nyerere to the Council was, in our opinion, itself a commendable act on the part of the Administering Authority. We are now glad to know that the Tanganyika African National Union is prepared to contest the forthcoming elections in the Territory.

May I now thank the representative of the United Kingdom and the special representative for their unfailing and valuable assistance in our examination of conditions in Tanganyika. We also wish to express our appreciation to the representatives of the specialized agencies for their contribution to our discussions in this Council.

U TIN MAUNG (Burma): Members of the Council will recall that when conditions in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika were examined last summer, with the same prescribed ritual of an obligation to hearken to the opening -- I shall not call them sermons -- statements of the representatives of the Administering Authority, the question and answer exercise, the general debate and the closing statements, those who had had the privilege, and indeed the pleasure, of listening to or reading the statements made by the two leaders of Tanganyika -- Chief Mwaere II and Mr. Nyerere -- were overwhelmed by the community of interests and the intensity of the nationalist aspirations of the people of the Trust Territory, aspirations which were so ably espoused by those two gentlemen. This year, the pattern of our ritual is somewhat changed. The Council has not had the privilege of having these leaders in our midst, but the spirit of nationalism which was embodied or enshrined in the petitions which they



made last year is still present in this chamber today. That spirit of nationalism, so characteristic of so many parts of the great continent of Africa, finds expression in unmistakable terms in the relevant portions of the report of the Visiting Mission and in the letter of resignation of Mr. Julius K. Nyerere, President of the Tanganyika African National Union.

The opening statements of the representatives of the Administering Authority and the vast amount of documentation to which members of the Council have religiously to devote their time and energy, to study, examine and digest, and the deliberations which preceded this morning's debate have shed some light and given us a clearer picture of Tanganyika today.

In their journey towards self-government or independence, Tanganyika and its sons of the soil have reached the stage which claims the closest attention and the most sympathetic consideration on the part of all those responsible for the successful functioning of the Trusteeship System. In giving a brief historical background of the Territory, one is obliged to place on record that, during the past ten years, Tanganyika had experienced a process of rapid political advancement, but this period of development was preceded by one of stagnation brought about by the two World Wars.

The effects of the retarded pace of development for which the previous period of history was mainly responsible are still apparent in the absence of a body of qualified and experienced Africans who should, if things had been otherwise, now be in a position to play a much wider and more responsible part in managing the affairs of their country.

Another devastating effect of the aftermath of the wars is the wide gap which still separates, in the economic and social fields, the great African majority from the European and Asian minorities. After the Second World War, many Africans felt the impact of world events, stirring and stimulating to a great degree, and inevitably were made aware of their striking capacity to adapt themselves to modern forms and norms of economic and social progress. The Africans, naturally, made demands, and more demands, for change and reform, but it must in fairness be admitted that the authorities were not incapable of coping with increased agitation. I am, of course, not using the word "agitation" in a derogatory sense.



This, coupled with the impact of events elsewhere in the world, notably in Africa, and exemplified in the independence of Libya, the Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia and Ghana, naturally gave rise to an upsurge of African nationalism which affects a large segment of the indigenous population. This politically conscious, intellectually mature segment has become increasingly impatient and, naturally, feels furiously frustrated by the slow -- I shall not say snail-like -- pace of political development.

On the other hand, European and Asian immigrants, who entered the country after the fortunes and misfortunes of the two wars, are made increasingly aware of the rapid rate of African capacity to play an impressive part in the political life of the country. With vested interests in the country at stake, the non-Africans, in their anxiety for security, demand understandably that the territorial authorities should safeguard their interests and that the Africans should not be granted an increasing share in the management of the affairs of the territory. This has given rise to tensions between the Africans, on the one side, and the non-Africans, on the other.

Until very recently, the Administering Authority was not able to cope with the situation. The fact that tensions have been kept to a minimum may be attributed to a desire, on the part of the most of the influential leaders of all races, to work together with great zeal for the commonweal. This desire to work for the common good is reinforced, so to speak, by Mr. Nyerere himself when, in his letter of resignation, he speaks of the desirability of avoiding unnecessary irritations. The Administering Authority is faced with the basic problem of devising -- and I must admit here that the Administering Authorities are second to none in inventing such ingenious devices -- progressive measures of constitutional reform which will satisfy the aspirations of African nationalists while providing reassurance to the non-African minorities, the "myth" of whose contribution -- I think it is 60 per cent of the total territorial financial capacity -- to economic development was formally exploded only a few days ago, on his own admission, by the special representative of the Administering Authority.

(U Tin Maung, Burma)

This is merely a short historical chapter on Tanganyika today. If the Council will bear with me, I shall now attempt to make a sort of running commentary on the replies given to the various penetrating questions posed by members of the Trusteeship Council.

I must heartily commend the representatives of the Administering Authority for sincerely admitting that the repeatedly-regretted resignation of Mr. Nyerere -- though not tragic -- leaves a certain vacuum in the Legislative Council. In this connexion, I would remark in passing that, if I am not mistaken, no one in the Council has asked who was nominated in Mr. Nyerere's place by the Governor of Tanganyika.

I am also glad to be able to note that the United Kingdom representative does not think that "the political situation is unhealthy". The Trusteeship Council will wish to say: so be it. I do not wish for a moment to be either optimistic or pessimistic, modestly optimistic or cautiously optimistic. One should and must stay neutral in these matters. One can thus avoid disappointments later on. But the emergence of splinter groups and the uncontrolled and undisciplined feelings of impatience and frustration which have found expression -- undignified though they may be -- in the outbursts of certain individuals against the minority races do not augur very well for the Territory's future. Such outbursts -- irresponsible and irritating -- do no one any good, least of all the authorities in the Trust Territory.

The Trusteeship Council will wish to take comfort from the assurance given by the United Kingdom representative that the atmosphere in the Territory will be healthy. And, in view of the forthcoming elections -- the launching of which has been described as a bold experiment -- the bolder action, in my delegation's view, would be the creation of conditions conducive to the free exercise of democratic principles such as freedom of the Press, freedom of speech, freedom of peaceful assembly, and the right to form parties, societies, associations and unions. My delegation has no doubt that the Administering Authority, conscious of its obligations under the principles of the Charter and the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement, will not only create conditions favourable to the holding of elections, but will also consider restoring normal political rights to many of the banned

political organizations, so that they may be able to avail themselves of the opportunity of contesting the elections.

Having taken comfort in the assurance given by the United Kingdom representative that the Trust Territory will move rapidly towards the objectives of the Trusteeship System -- namely, self-government or independence -- my delegation expresses the hope that an early opportunity will be seized by the Administering Authority to declare that its policy is dedicated to and directed towards the creation of a democratic State with equal rights for all citizens, and that in a given period of time the Territory will reach its goal. Such a declaration, in clear terms and widely publicized in the Territory and elsewhere, would greatly enhance the chances and strengthen the hands of moderate nationalist elements in the Territory as regards counteracting irresponsible activities, outbursts and extremist manifestations, which have and must become a source of great worry and embarrassment to the authorities and to all those who wish to see racial accord and harmony firmly established in Tanganyika.

In the course of the Trusteeship Council's deliberations during the past few days, certain misgivings have been aired by many delegations -- including, of course, my own -- about the constitutional reforms and electoral arrangements already made by the Administering Authority. That these arrangements are objected to and opposed by the Africans and influential political parties has been frankly admitted by the representatives of the Administering Authority. These electoral arrangements -- with so-called respectable objectives -- will be put to a test and given a fair trial six months from now in Tanganyika. While not wishing to prejudge the ultimate outcome of the forthcoming elections, my delegation earnestly expresses the hope that the Administering Authority will be spared the embarrassment of having to admit that the trial has become an error.

"Tanganyika is going to the polls in September this year for the first time": if such a headline could have been used, it could well have captured the imagination of many people and evoked the admiration and won the sympathy of democratically-minded peoples throughout the world. But could any reporter use such a banner headline in any newspaper, in any language, without qualms of conscience? We, who know and are directly concerned with the affairs and conditions in the Trust Territory, intimately know -- as do the people of

Tanganyika -- that the elections which are going to be held in September of this year and of next year will return only a very limited number of candidates to the Legislative Council, bearing in mind a "Territory the size of Tanganyika": a phrase which we have heard repeated so often in this Council. There is no telling what surprise packages will emerge out of the rather ingenious and novel compulsory tripartite voting magic box. The element of compulsion inherent in this strange balloting system which is envisaged is hardly compatible with the democratic principle of free choice and volition. The denial to the people of Tanganyika of their right freely to choose their own representatives on the basis of universal adult suffrage -- as is done in some parts of Africa the development of which is comparable to that of Tanganyika -- cannot but give just cause for suspecting that the Tanganyika Government is not prepared, even in the distant future, to abandon the idea of multiracial government.

We are told that these electoral arrangements have been made by the Administering Authority with the best of intentions and for many respectable reasons. But we also know that, though they may be good and bold experiments, they are unpopular in the sense that they are opposed and objected to almost unanimously by the Africans for whom, of course, the elections in the Territory are to be held. The Administering Authority does not deny the existence of strong opposition to these electoral arrangements and proposed constitutional reforms. We are asked to look forward to and count on the collective wisdom of the constitutional committee which will be appointed in 1959, after the second round of elections. Since the Administering Authority is not prepared to alter the constitutional arrangements now, my delegation merely wishes to record here that all constitutional matters and issues which emerge from the elections in 1958 and 1959 will be carefully considered and changes suggested for the future Constitution of the Territory.



(U Tin Maung, Burma)

We also wish to express our earnest hope that, although consideration of these problems of constitutional development may take up much more time than will be devoted to the work of other committees of the Legislative Council, the importance and urgency of the issues involved will be considered to warrant most thorough examination and also the expeditious dispatch of the work. And, as suggested by the special representative the other day, interim reports will be quite in order to allay the fears that may well be entertained that the Constitutional Committee, howsoever constituted and whatever its terms of reference, will outlive the present Legislative Council.

The representative of the United Kingdom, in reply to my question on the subject, told me the other day that at the last session the Trusteeship Council fully endorsed the plan of having a Constitutional Committee after the elections. My delegation is unable to accept the view that the Administering Authority in this particular case would be disregarding, and, if I may say so, disrespecting what was, after all, the Council's formal approval of the desirability of establishing a Constitutional Committee if the authorities, in good faith, had advanced the time for establishing the Constitutional Committee. My delegation is quite convinced that the Trusteeship Council will be only too pleased and will commend the Administering Authority in glowing terms if any progressive constitutional measure has been initiated and introduced at an early date without awaiting any prodding from any quarter, seen or unseen.

My delegation is gratified to note that the Administering Authority is exercising its efforts to accelerate the pace of development of local government in the Territory, and warmly welcomes the emergence of progressive legislation in that direction, but it would like to emphasize that unless the indigenous population is prepared to allow the participation of non-indigenous inhabitants in the management of its local affairs the Administering Authority will be well advised to proceed with patience, caution and tact. My delegation also strongly supports the Visiting Mission's recommendation that urgent attention should be given to the establishment of additional organs whose functions would relate to areas substantially greater than those of districts.



(U Tin Maung, Burma)

My delegation was also gratified to note that there had been considerable activity in urban local government, and hopes that the greater African participation through elections in the management of affairs in urban areas will be the order of the day, and that in the near future more Africans will aspire to and indeed attain chairmanship of the town councils. Nothing adds to and enhances the prestige of any community with greater force and significance than the stewardship of State. My delegation attaches great importance to the training and preparation of Africans for posts of responsibility in the Administration, and expresses the hope that measures taken by the Administering Authority to increase the number of trained Africans who are prepared to take up positions of responsibility in the Administration will bear fruitful results in the near future.

My delegation, however, is unable to endorse the view held by the Administering Authority that "it would not be in the best interests of the Territory if all educated and qualified Africans were to be employed by the Government". Tanganyika at present needs the services of a greater number of Africans who have intelligence, integrity and leadership potential. The civil service of Tanganyika, as at present manned mostly by non-indigenous personnel, is to my delegation unsatisfactory and unbalanced. It is hardly necessary for me to emphasize here that more energetic measures should be taken to train Africans for positions of responsibility in the Administration. Although a certain number of qualified Africans may, in the interests of the economic development of the country, be permitted to be absorbed in the service of commercial firms, the Government of Tanganyika, in my delegation's opinion, should take effective measures to see that African students who have returned from abroad on government scholarships are employed in the Government service.

Turning to economic conditions in the Territory, my delegation is glad to note that "the objective of the Administering Authority's economic policy is to raise living standards generally throughout the country, without regard to race, as fast as resources and opportunities permit". But the present economic conditions in Tanganyika are such that the Administering Authority will have to have boundless energy, initiative and imagination in order to be able to raise the low standard of living of indigenous inhabitants to the high level of living of the non-indigenous inhabitants in the Territory. In this connexion, my delegation wishes the Administering Authority the best of luck.

(U Tin Maung, Burma)

Apart from the observations of the Administering Authority in the economic sphere, my delegation's own observations in the light of the Visiting Mission's report and other important documents are as follows. The most notable contribution that the Africans have made towards the economic problems of their country is the initiative -- which should be highly commended -- taken by the African members of the Legislative Council for the formulation of a plan for increased agricultural productivity. The capacity of the African to adapt himself to changed conditions cannot escape the attention of the Administering Authority, which is, therefore, obliged to give support to this plan. My delegation hopes that ways and means will be sought and found to enable the Administering Authority to finance its schemes.

The lack of finance should not be used as a convenient excuse, and in this connexion, if I may venture to say so, the theme of the new song to be sung by the Administering Authority should be something less pathetic than the world-famous, "Yes, we have no bananas, we have no bananas today".

It would be tragic if the African's initiative to increase his productivity on lines of modern technology should suffer as the result of the lack of imagination and the incapacity to find financial means to bring the plans into fruition. In my delegation's view the plans submitted under the African agricultural productivity scheme which are now under review should be disposed of as expeditiously as any other scheme which had been initiated by and had emanated from the Administering Authority.

(U Tin Maung, Burma)

The Visiting Mission had seen signs of considerable economic activity and expansion in certain areas of the Territory. In urban areas building construction has been very active, but I have noticed that it is through private enterprise that such housing projects are undertaken. The contractors have been mostly Asians. Signs of economic growth and vitality are, however, marked by lack of uniformity. As reported by the Visiting Mission, this economic development varies geographically, industrially and racially. The economic development of the Territory cannot be otherwise, bearing in mind the size of the country and the four points --the four basic factors -- mentioned by the special representative in his opening statement. My delegation hopes that the Administering Authority will be able to take measures so that he will be in a position to report that he has to mention only one or two basic factors when the Council meets at the next winter session.

I should now like to refer very briefly to the question of land. The African peasant, like his counterpart everywhere in the world, is greatly attached to his land sentimentally, culturally and socially. Many Africans whom the Visiting Mission had the privilege of meeting in the Territory had expressed the opinion that land was more or less the only means of subsistence for the African peasant. The land is something which they hope they will be able to cling to. The African peasant, unable to avail himself of opportunities for a more extended participation in the political field, clings tenaciously to traditional norms provided by native law and custom. That is the only means of ensuring his economic security.

My delegation, however, is glad to note that the Administering Authority is very much alive to the explosive nature of the problem of land. On the other hand, the proposals and plans recommended by the East African Royal Commission of 1953-55, which considered the important questions of land tenure, policy and land alienation, are sound and laudable, but the Administration will have to be very patient and cautious if it desires to obtain the understanding and support of the African peoples concerned in launching out land reforms.

There is no doubt a growing realization among many politically conscious Africans that the tribal structure of land rights should ultimately give way to a more progressive and productive system of land tenure. Given assistance, co-operation, confidence, encouragement and inspiration, those African leaders

(U Tin Maung, Burma)

could very well win over many conservative elements to a more realistic attitude towards land reform.

A few brief words about the co-operative movement in Tanganyika. My delegation is gratified to learn that there is continued and impressive progress in the development of the co-operative movement. My delegation endorses the Visiting Mission's view that it looks forward with interest to the further extension of co-operative principles into such fields as the distribution of consumer goods. African co-operatives are the outcome of the African zeal to work collectively for the common need. Africans take to co-operatives as the duck takes to water, the hippopotamus takes to the river. What advice and assistance they receive for the development of the co-operative movement come unstintingly from the administrative and co-operative officers, some of whom are deeply dedicated to the work for which they are extensively trained and expensively paid.

The forest policy of Tanganyika appears to my delegation to be sound. Although European forest officers display high technical competence and a considerable dedication to duty, my delegation endorses FAO's observation in document T/1364 that the African forest rangers lack professional training, and expresses the hope that the number of professionally trained rangers will be increased.

There is also an increasing need for acquainting the indigenous population with the forest policy of Government and for reassuring them that if at all some lands have to be reserved for afforestation and reforestation they will be adequately compensated. The Southern Highlands Province has great potentialities for the development of timber industry and my delegation is of the opinion that, in addition to the Bena Wattle Scheme, other plans in which the Wabena and other tribes will be directly interested should now be considered.

My delegation is particularly interested in the preservation of game, and awaits with interest the report of the Committee of Inquiry appointed to consider the future of the Serengeti National Park and the decision of the Administering Authority and the Government of Tanganyika, which will be arrived at in the matter of dispute between the Masai and the Park authorities.



(U Tin Maung, Burma)

I shall now turn to the social aspects of the Territory. In discussing the problems of social advancement, my delegation would like to take into account certain factors: (1) the general social conditions and the forces conditioning the social life of the Territory; (2) the social services provided by the non-governmental and governmental agencies to meet the needs of the general public; and (3) some of the factors in the social field which my delegation considers to be problems for adjustment.

As to the first point, much has been mentioned in the annual reports, and I do not propose to take up much of our time by undue repetitions. There is only one point which we cannot leave untouched as being an essential factor conditioning the socio-politico-economic developments of the Territory, that is the existence of the three racial communities. Of these three, the Africans, as is well known to everybody, are the majority, and their socio-economic conditions appear to call for more attention, care and help. It is obvious that these Africans themselves realize their unsatisfactory conditions and are clamouring for more facilities to promote their welfare in all spheres of life. In all fairness, my delegation agrees that the lower status of their general socio-economic conditions really justifies their demand. On the other hand, my delegation is much disappointed to note that the general conditions of the Territory do not allow us to dismiss the theory that the Africans are being discriminated against in all spheres of life. My delegation, therefore, wishes to ask the Administering Authority to take all possible steps in order to eliminate such conditions. This, we are sure, will not only bring social harmony among the three major racial communities, but will also remove the stigma which is attached to the Territory to the effect that racial discrimination is being practiced against the Africans, the sons of the soil.

Secondly, my delegation would like to make some comments on the social welfare activities undertaken by the non-governmental agencies and the Administering Authority. After reading the reports which contained the humanitarian efforts and contributions made by the non-governmental agencies in order to meet the welfare needs of the Territory, My delegation feels obliged to pay a tribute to the members of these agencies.

(U Tin Maung, Burma)

Similarly, my delegation is happy to note that the Administering Authority has made great advances in the field of social, medical and labour welfare. On the other hand, my delegation feels strongly that there is still large scope for the Administering Authority to expand its functions in these fields, in order to keep pace with the developments made by the non-governmental agencies. As an illustration, I wish to cite the medical services provided by the Mission and Government. In this connexion, reference is invited to paragraphs 389 and 390 of the Visiting Mission's report, wherein it is stated that there were at the end of 1956, forty-six government general hospitals, seven special hospitals and twenty dispensaries as against thirty-three hospitals, one special hospital and sixty-nine dispensaries run by the Missions.

While we are most gratified to note the contributions of the voluntary organizations such as the missions, we are of the opinion that the Administering Authority should take steps to see to it that the public agencies be established to provide sufficient facilities to meet the welfare needs of the public. In our view, this practice is not only in keeping with modern trends in the field of social welfare in many parts of the world, but also the condition of the Territory obviously call for such steps.

Thirdly, my delegation would like to discuss some factors which, in our view, are the areas calling for immediate attention and adjustment.

First of all, we should like to reiterate our agreement with the Administering Authority for the organization of a welfare structure in line with the character of society and the expansion of welfare services in accordance with local needs. In this connexion we are looking forward to reading the report which, according to the statement of the special representative, is being prepared. We are glad that the problems arising out of urbanization, which is becoming a special feature of social change on the African continent, have been brought to the attention of the Administering Authority.

I should now like to touch upon briefly some points concerning labour. As a member of the Visiting Mission, my delegation is happy to note the welcome extended by the Administering Authority to the various suggestions made by the Mission. We should like, however, to clarify our position in connexion with some

(U Tin Maung, Burma)

observations of the Administering Authority. Referring to paragraph 149 of the Observations of the Administering Authority, my delegation wishes to make it clear that the emphasis on the need for responsible trade union leaders possessing the necessary training and personal qualities to undertake the delicate tasks of negotiation and conciliation and on the need for the education of members of trade unions does by no means imply our doubts about the efficiency of trade union leaders who have been responsible for the sudden emergence and rapid growth of the trade union movement, which has been a necessity in the Territory.

With regard to the explanation furnished by the special representative concerning the reinstatement of the workers who went on strike, as referred to by the Visiting Mission, my delegation feels that it is very unfortunate for those workers who did not obtain their reinstatement because they were not the original strikers. In our view, they are also entitled to receive the assistance of the Government unless it was clearly mentioned at the time of the agreement that they would be excluded from getting such assistance.

The last point I would like to touch upon in the field of labour concerns the statement made by the special representative implying that a large number of Africans without any qualifications, in many cases without any education, tend to flock into Dar es Salaam and other urban areas; in our view, such people must have been very unfortunate people who flock to the cities innocently or under misleading impressions and who thus deserve the welfare services of the Government. I hope that we will be able to see in the annual report the action taken by the Administering Authority in regard to the position of these unfortunate people.

I am very glad to note that the Administering Authority in Tanganyika, in regard to the three Swahili newspapers which were previously issued by the Department of Public Relations, is seeing to it that these papers will be taken over by a Board of Independent Trustees. As you all know, the Press plays a very vital part in the dissemination of news and in the organization and development of public opinion in any country. I wish them the best of luck, and my congratulations go to those who are going to run those newspapers.

(U Tin Maung, Burma)

In the educational field, I will briefly record my delegation's views. My delegation wishes to reaffirm its agreement with the recommendations made by the Visiting Mission in the field of education. My next

My next point relates to the budgetary provisions for 1956-1957 and 1957-1958. I think I pointed out the other day that, according to the budgetary provisions for these two financial years, it is noted that 3 pounds, 6 shillings were used for Africans whereas 7 pounds, 2 shillings were used for Europeans. Since I stated that the situation is true as concerns the figures for 1957-1958, my delegation cannot accept the statement of the special representative to the effect that the figures are more than a year old. It is also stated but not true that the contribution paid by the Education Department includes the fees paid by the Europeans patients. In a question I put to the special representative, I clearly pointed out that the relative figures were the contributions from the territorial revenue, which is entirely different from the education tax paid by the Europeans or the school fees. As a result, my delegation regrets that it cannot accept the explanation of the special representative.

In conclusion, my delegation expresses its warmest appreciation of the valuable contributions made by the representatives of FAO, WHO, ILO and UNESCO to our deliberations. Their observations on conditions in the Trust Territories based on annual reports have lightened the task of my delegation.

My delegation also wishes to express its deepest gratitude to the representatives of the Administering Authority who, with their usual courtesy, patience and kindness, have made the Council's work in the past few days not only pleasant but also profitable, and I am quite confident that their closing statements, which we will all hear in a few days, will be equally pleasant and profitable.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.



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Trusteeship Council  
21st Session  
34th Meeting (PM)

Press Release TR/1370  
10 March 1958

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 1

The Trusteeship Council this afternoon began general debate on conditions in Tanganyika under British administration. The Council had before it the 1956 annual report of the administering authority on the territory and the report of the 1957 UN visiting mission to Tanganyika.

ARTHUR S. LALL (India) declared that Tanganyika had undoubtedly progressed politically and constitutionally. This progress, he added, had been made in peace and with increasing cooperation among the territory's various racial groups.

India, he said, had no differences with the administering authority as regards the constitutional and political objectives for the territory. Quoting from the policy statements by the Governor of Tanganyika on this subject, Mr. LALL said his delegation was satisfied that the objectives of the trusteeship system would be fully implemented by the administering authority.

The Governor, he noted, had stated that Tanganyika could become a "model state" in Africa. No time should be lost, Mr. LALL declared, if that was to be the case.

As regards the future steps to be taken in the constitutional and political fields, Mr. LALL suggested that the parity principle of representation was "out of date." Difficult though it was for a government to reconsider a decision, he hoped the administering authority would consider further this principle.

He had the impression, from reading the reports, he said, that there was a "strong political wind" in Tanganyika and that the political parties there were agreed upon a "dynamic program" for development.

During the past 10 years, he went on, there had been a steady annual increase of about 7.5 per cent in production. This, in his view, was "a magnificent record," particularly when one considered that it was achieved by use of only one-third of the land, the remaining two-thirds being infested by the tsetse fly. He suggested that the cooperative societies might be encouraged to apply, through the administering authority, to the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization for aid in battling the tsetse fly.

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He also suggested that, before granting new licenses for commercial and industrial activities, consideration should be given to associating Africans in such enterprises. In the training of Africans, he emphasized the importance of their knowing the resources of the territory.

As regards land, Mr. LALL suggested that in the case of future alienations for purposes of plantations or ranching, African cooperative societies should be given a first chance to apply. Next would be indigenous farmers and, lastly, "outsiders."

He also emphasized the importance of technical education and of racial integration in government schools.

GEORGES SALOMON (Haiti) declared that the administering authority had not completely reassured his delegation as regards the future of the territory. The unanimous opposition of the political parties against the obligatory tripartite voting system for the forthcoming elections, he said, had been noted by the UN visiting mission. He feared the parity system would establish a hierarchy among the races, dominated by the Europeans and Asians in a territory where 98 per cent of the population was African.

While noting that the administering authority had not considered it timely to change the tripartite system of voting for the forthcoming elections, he considered it appropriate nevertheless for the administering authority to indicate now that universal suffrage would be applied in future elections.

Mr. SALOMON also drew attention to the fears and suspicions of the Africans as regards the final objective envisaged for the territory.

The question of racial discrimination, he went on, had been referred to in the report of the visiting mission. All the political parties, he noted, favored the development of harmonious race relations. He hoped the administration would strengthen its efforts in this field, particularly as regards education.

The visiting mission, he continued, had characterized the land problem as an "explosive" issue. No doubt, he said, certain of the concessions would benefit the territory. They would bring revenue needed to pay for the cost of education, health and social services. However, the population had been bitter about their loss of land. In the granting of concessions which were indispensable to the territory, he believed that a 33-year lease should be a maximum. He labeled the 99-year lease as a "legal fiction."

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Trusteeship Council  
21st Session  
34th Meeting (PM)

Press Release TR/1370  
10 March 1958

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 2

CHIPING H.C. KIANG (China) declared that in the labor field the emergence of a vigorous trade union movement had been encouraging. The movement, he said, could exercise enormous influence to the advantage of the social and economic development in the territory.

The efforts of the administering authority in the field of education during the past 10 years deserved commendation, in his view. He suggested a greater effort in increasing the primary school facilities and in closing the gaps between primary and secondary education. He also supported the suggestion for the establishment of a university in the territory.

Commendable, too, he said, were the efforts of the administration in the fields of cooperatives, water development and mineral exploration. The introduction of individual ownership of land, as envisaged in the new land policy, he thought, would remove a basic obstacle to the fuller utilization of land. The success of the policy would depend upon a change of attitude on the part of the Africans.

Last year, he said, his delegation had doubts as to whether the compromise parity system of representation was fit for a territory such as Tanganyika, which was not a plural society but one primarily African. Today, he was not surprised therefore at the unanimous opposition of the Africans to this system.

Mr. KIANG considered it "politically unwise" to continue the parity principle. To do so, he feared, would "seriously impair" the existing understanding between the African and immigrant societies, and might jeopardize future partnership between them.

U TIN MAUNG (Burma) declared that it was evident from the visiting mission's report that the spirit of nationalism, which was characteristic of Africa, was finding expression in unmistakable terms in Tanganyika.

It was natural for Africans, he said, to make additional demands for change. Africans were becoming increasingly impatient with the pace of developments, while the non-African groups were becoming more aware of African demands for a larger

(more)

role, and were seeking protection of their vested interests. The fact that tension had been kept to a minimum, he thought, should be attributed to the determination of all political leaders to work for the common good.

He hoped that the administering authority would publicly declare that its policy was dedicated to the creation of a democratic state in Tanganyika with equal rights for all its citizens, and that this goal would be achieved within a specific time limit. Such a goal, stated in clear terms, he believed, would greatly enhance the strength of the moderate elements in the territory.

While the administering authority had characterized the tripartite system of elections as bold measures, he observed that this system had been unanimously opposed by the Africans. Since the administering authority had stated that the system could not be changed for the forthcoming elections, he hoped all necessary changes in the constitutional arrangements would be carefully considered by the constitutional committee to be established by the Legislative Council.

The Burmese delegation, he said, was glad to note that the objective of the administration's economic policy was to raise standards of living, irrespective of race. In view of the wide gap between the standards of the African and non-African communities, and the vast effort needed to bridge this gap, he wished the administering authority luck in this regard.

He hoped that the schemes designed for increasing African productivity, now under consideration, would be quickly expedited.

He also touched upon social, medical, labor and educational matters.

The debate on Tanganyika will be continued by the Council at 2 p.m. tomorrow, 11 March.

(END OF TAKE 2 AND OF PRESS RELEASE TR/1370)