



UNITED NATIONS
TRUSTEESHIP
COUNCIL



PROVISIONAL
T/PV.883
12 March 1958
ENGLISH

anganyika
Sen. d.s.c.
WHO
FAO
Reply of the
Representative of the
Appoint

Twenty-first Session

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE EIGHT HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 12 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.883 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/PET.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 (continued)

Mr. KOCIANCICH (Italy): The Council may have noted that my delegation's participation in the questioning of the special representative has been somewhat limited this year. This, of course, was not because of a lack of interest on our part, but because we found the answers to most of our questions in the replies given by the special representative and the representative of the United Kingdom to other members of the Council. We also found that the considerable amount of information which the Council had before it was sufficient to enable us to have a fairly complete picture of the situation. We have had ample opportunity to cover the most important aspects of life in the Territory, its problems and the aspirations of its people. Before proceeding to a very brief examination of the situation in the Territory of Tanganyika, I wish to point out that my delegation, for the sake of brevity, will refrain as far as possible from going back into questions and points which have already been covered by this Council during our last session.

May I say at the very outset that my delegation is fully aware of the extreme complexity of the problems related to the political advancement of the Territory. These problems, as we understand them, are to be considered in the perspective of the following two elements: first, the present situation as it results from the institutions which are now established or which the Administering Authority proposes to establish in the Territory; second, the prevailing opinion of the inhabitants of

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the Territory in respect of further development of such institutions. On the first point, this Council expressed its views during our discussions at the twentieth session when it was informed of the steps that the Administering Authority proposed to take with a view to furthering the constitutional development of the Territory. This was done, we learned, by increasing the participation of the population in the government of the Territory and by initiating the first test of opinion in the Territory by elections. These steps taken by the Administering Authority, as we understand them, are not final but just intermediary steps to further progress. No other conclusion is possible under the circumstances if we consider these steps in the light of the statement which was made last year by the Administering Authority and which was embodied in one of our resolutions. As may be recalled, the Council took note of the statement of the representative of the Administering Authority that

"the latter's whole policy, record and national outlook, as well as the terms of the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement, are a full and sufficient guarantee that the progressive development of the inhabitants of Tanganyika towards self-government or independence will be democratic;" --

I should like to lay particular stress on the sentence which follows --

"and that it is its policy to provide, in accordance with the Charter and the Agreement, for the full" -- I repeat, "full" -- "participation of all sections of the population in the progressive development of political institutions," --

Then the statement goes on to say:

"...as the vast majority of the population are Africans, and as their educational, social and economic progress continues, their participation in both the legislative and executive branches of government is bound to increase." (A/3595, Part II, paragraph 6)

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I have quoted this statement in full because it shows clearly that its principles are not and will not be a controversial point either in respect of the members of this Council or to the vast majority of public opinion in Tanganyika. If such dissent is possible this is in relation to the methods or to the rate at which these principles are brought into being. And this leads me to the second point. From the information available we have noted that public opinion in the Territory, or at least some sections of it, are pressing for a speedier rate of progress in the political field. They feel that the present arrangements do not reflect completely the aspirations of the African population to play a more important role in the institutional organs of the Territory. It is a fact that the existing political parties are developing their activities and gaining more and more support from the population. It is also a fact that the electoral law which is now being implemented does not meet with the general approval of all the population. We are sure that the Administering Authority will not turn a deaf ear to these requests. We know already that after completion of the elections it is proposed to appoint a constitutional committee to revise the present arrangement. It would therefore be unrealistic to "change horses in midstream". We think that the Council should therefore take note with interest of the statement of the Administering Authority that the present reform will be reconsidered, and my delegation is sure that due account will be taken of the demands of the African population which through the medium of the activity of the political parties is bound to play an ever-increasing role in the management of the affairs of the Territory.

I pass now to local government. The announcement made by the Administering Authority of the new law which provides for the establishment of district and town Councils which should take over a great part of the responsibilities now accruing to the native authorities we think will be received by the Council with much satisfaction. As we all know, the process of democratizing local government organs plays a very important role for the preparation and the participation of the inhabitants to higher institutions in the Territory. Some delegations have expressed their doubts in respect of the provision which contemplates that such a development should in each case be provoked by a request of the population concerned. I have to say very frankly that my delegation does not share such doubts. It is a fact that the creation of new

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institutions, if these institutions are going to live and operate, should be the result of an evolution which is to take place within, and not without, the population concerned. It is clear that should such a change be imposed on the population it would, no doubt, have very little meaning for it.

Before concluding our observations on political advancement, I should like to place on record the satisfaction of my delegation at the new emphasis laid by the Administering Authority on the training of African personnel for the senior posts in the administration. We are sure that the Council will note with satisfaction that by the end of this year there will be in the Territory seven African district officers and about forty assistant district officers.

I turn now to the economic advancement of the Territory. In this field, which naturally covers an almost unlimited number of subjects, we shall focus our attention on a few points which we think are fairly descriptive of the situation and of the progress achieved so far.

The budget, in spite of a temporary deficit, does not give rise to any major problem if we consider it per se. Revenue balances expenditures, the public debt is comparatively small, the present rate of taxation is not such as to represent a discouragement for investments. We are, in other words, in the presence of a generally sound fiscal policy for which I think the Council should commend the Administering Authority. The balance of trade is active, the movement of capital balances it. Of course, the problem of the investment of capital still remains as one of the major handicaps. But this problem, as we all know, is a very serious one and certainly not an easy one to cope with. We know what are the basic limiting factors with which the Administering Authority is confronted. I shall repeat them because I think they should always be present in our minds before commenting on what is done and what should be done. The special representative has already indicated them to us and, therefore, I ask the forbearance of the Council in repeating them once more: (a) the serious limitations of ground and surface water supplies; (b) the presence of the tsetse fly in large areas of land which affects nearly two-thirds of the Territory; (c) the problem of communications, which is accentuated by the fact that the population is unevenly distributed and that 99 per cent of it lives in one-third of the total area; and (d) the absence of mineral resources in large quantities.

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From the information in our possession we have the impression that the Administering Authority is, to the best of its ability, trying to face these problems. Water supply and irrigation schemes are now implemented, portions of land infected by tsetse fly are cleared, communications are developed, research for minerals is encouraged. Furthermore, we note that in the 1955-60 investment plan, provision is made to cover the cost of most projects which, being non-self-liquidating, have very little chance, if any, of attracting other than Government funds. The Council will also note with satisfaction that productivity both in the agricultural and the industrial field is developed and that Africans, through the development of co-operatives and other forms, are more and more participating in this development. The advice and assistance of international bodies and agencies is also being utilized in many of these projects.

We think that all these efforts of the Administering Authority will be acknowledged by the Council. Before concluding on this subject, we should like to refer to the problem of land tenure. If we consider land as an economic potentiality, we cannot dissociate the problem of alienation from the problem of utilization. This was rightly done by the General Assembly when it commended this problem to the attention of this Council and of those international bodies concerned.

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I am sure that our Committee on Rural Development will consider this problem in all its political, social and mainly economic implications. My delegation, therefore, reserves its right to comment on it at the appropriate time. I would only, for the time being, take this opportunity to thank the Administering Authority for the important information provided us on this subject.

I will now deal very briefly with the social and educational advances. Important developments are to be recorded in these fields. The steady expansion of hospital construction in Tanganyika, the improvement in health education, housing, sanitation and environment noted by WHO in its observations represent positive achievements which the Council will no doubt receive with gratification. The particular emphasis placed on the development of preventive medicine with the assistance of international organizations such as WHO and UNICEF, the new projects for yaws control, the surveys on eye diseases and poliomyelitis are an indication of the attention that the Administering Authority is devoting to the field of public health.

With regard to education, last year we had occasion to congratulate the Administering Authority on the successful completion of the first Ten-Year Plan. We are now informed that a new Five-Year Plan is being prepared. We are confident that the Administering Authority will proceed to its implementation without delay with a view to improving conditions in this field.

In conclusion, we would like to say that, after having considered conditions in the Territory of Tanganyika, the Council should commend the Administering Authority for its efforts and for the results achieved so far. In our opinion, 1957 has been a positive year. We are also aware that much of what remains to be done can and will be done by the Administering Authority, which will not fail to enlist for the purpose an ever-increasing participation and support of the African population of the Territory.

I cannot close this statement without warmly thanking the representative of the United Kingdom and the special representative for their invaluable contributions to our debate. Their assistance has, on many occasions, helped us to a better understanding of the problems and in a way to disentangle ourselves from the mass of documentation which otherwise would have threatened to overwhelm us on some occasions.

Dr. COIGNEY (World Health Organization) (interpretation from French):
Mr. President, I should like to thank you for being kind enough to call upon me.

I am very happy to reply to the question raised by the representative of India regarding trypanosomiasis and the control of the tsetse fly. The regions infested by the tsetse fly extend throughout the African continent and encompass an area of approximately 12 million square kilometres in which different environments obtain.

Trypanosomiasis which only yesterday was a very serious problem in Africa is on the decline, and we can foresee its gradual eradication from the continent. The infection is neither a continuing one nor a uniform one; the infested areas are separated by zones where the flies do not exist. Even in the infested areas there are enclaves where there are no tsetse flies, side by side with extensive areas where the tsetse fly spreads from permanent areas which are relatively small in number.

The nature of the vegetation has an influence on the density of the tsetse fly, their movements, their behaviour and their species. The topography of the country also has some influence on the various species. Consequently, measures have been taken to modify the environment, and these have made it possible for certain species to be greatly diminished or even eliminated.

The regrouping of populations, in modifying their density, also made it possible to modify the environment, but protection against the human form of the disease called trypanosomiasis remains the fundamental preliminary prerequisite. Two measures which have been used, the control of wild animals, on which the tsetse fly feeds, as well as the clearing of forests and brush, have not led to entirely satisfactory results and have not made it possible to control this disease.

These are some of the problems which derive from the environment. As is known, trypanosomiasis is caused by a small protozoa, of which there are two main species which cause slightly different types of disease in man and which affect domestic animals, in particular cattle. Many wild animals can carry the parasites which do not have any pathogenic effects on these animals but which provide an important reservoir of virus for man and for domestic animals.

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The tendency of populations to leave infested areas to settle in the relatively small unaffected areas has brought about an overpopulation of these areas. Other areas are infested by trypanosomiasis which, although without danger for man, does affect animals, thus depriving the population of the necessary proteins which they need, as well as of beasts of burden and fertilizer. The fly also has disastrous effects on the productivity of the rural populations and it constitutes one of the principal obstacles to the economic progress of certain African territories.

Thanks to public health measures and to the introduction of chemical prophylaxis in certain forms of the disease, trypanosomiasis has declined in certain areas of Africa where this disease is endemic. The utilization of insecticides, which has a lasting effect in limited areas, has contributed to a reduction in the density of the tsetse fly.

The provision of medical supplies is at present widespread, particularly with regard to one of the types of disease and prophylactic treatment has made great progress possible. This subject is, as a matter of fact, being carefully studied throughout Africa.

The problem of trypanosomiasis as a whole can be considered from two aspects: the struggle against the insect and the struggle against the disease, without overlooking the many other related problems which derive from the customs of African populations.

The history of trypanosomiasis in Tanganyika is a lengthy one.

In 1952, a public health expert of WHO surveyed the health conditions in the Territory, and this survey included a study of this disease. He noted that there was a severe upswing in one of the types of the disease between 1927 and 1937, particularly in the Western Provinces. Intensive treatment and resettling of populations have made it possible to control epidemics. In 1943, the number of new diagnosed cases increased and then declined during the subsequent three years. In 1946 there was a new substantial upswing in the number of cases, particularly in the central provinces, the northern and western provinces also. This increase became even more evident in 1949, and the Government then took special measures, including the appointment of a physician and a special mission to study the steps which should be taken.

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A conference on the organization of the control of trypanosomiasis in East Africa is being convoked at the same time. Since that time, a doctor specialist in human trypanosomiasis has been charged with organizing this control and the treatment of the disease. Systematic surveys have been undertaken and methods for resettling or regrouping the population have been reintroduced.

The number of cases and deaths have since progressively declined and, as was stated in the annual report of WHO for 1956 on Tanganyika (T/1365), the number of cases in Tanganyika for 1956 was the lowest since 1952.

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On the whole, the pattern of the disease in the Territory shows very little change. The Western Province, where infection continues to be one of the main risks, provides the majority of cases of the disease. The WHO is co-operating with the International Scientific Committee on Trypanosomiasis Research which was established in 1947 to co-ordinate measures taken against this disease in Africa. The Headquarters of WHO and its regional office in Africa also maintains close liaison with the numerous national and international organizations which are engaged in research on the disease and in combatting the disease. So far this campaign and this research have been in the hands primarily of territorial and inter-territorial organizations and have been paid for by the metropolitan Governments.

The members of the Council will be aware that WHO provides assistance only upon the request of Governments. Since May 1955, WHO has contributed to the tsetse control plan in Bechuanaland. An advisor from WHO investigated the measures which were taken and recommended additional measures adapted to the special vector existing in that Territory. Another programme of the organization is under way in the Sudan. There, the organization has resorted to different measures due to the epidemiology of the disease in that country.

The World Health Organization would be happy to continue its co-operation with the governmental authorities, with the FAO and with the other specialized agencies expressing a wish for such co-operation, so as to intensify the struggle against the tsetse fly.

Since I have the floor, I should like also to reply to the question put by the representative of Guatemala regarding malaria in the Territory. As is stated in the Observations of WHO (T/1365), my organization is co-operating with the East African Malaria Institute in the pilot research project on the effects of malaria on man in the hyperendemic region of Pare-Taveta. This project represents a five-year effort. It was begun in 1954 and it is designed to study,

develop and demonstrate malaria control methods which can be used in intensive anti-malaria campaigns in British East African territories. Moreover, this pilot programme offers possibilities for the practical training of personnel throughout Africa and with regard to every aspect of malaria control.

We hope that the results of this programme will have an important impact on the struggle against malaria in the territories where similar problems arise. When the plans for campaigns against malaria were undertaken in Africa, the malaria eradication policy had not as yet been adopted for that continent. The struggle against malaria was supposed to bring about a saving in human life and this objective was attained if we bear in mind the improvement in health conditions which ensued. In 1955 the World Health Organization adopted a new policy, that of malaria eradication, which is to apply to all the areas where malaria eradication is today technically and economically feasible.

It was not, however, possible to include in these plans the part of Africa which is south of the Sahara and north of Southern Rhodesia. In this tropical part of Africa the nature of the vector, the intensity of transmission of the disease, which is greater than anywhere else in the world, and the customs of the population, make it necessary to take particularly efficacious measures.

The disappointing results obtained in Africa by various control projects demonstrated the need for a thorough study of the means employed. In 1957 the Director-General of WHO convened a group of experts to study this problem. They insisted that it was necessary to carry out experimental anti-malaria plans or programmes in Africa, and research was intensified. As a result, pilot zones or areas designed to make possible a comparison between various methods were selected, and we feel that the experience acquired will make it possible to develop an anti-malaria campaign for Africa.

I can advise the Council that the scheduled work, including a check on the effectiveness of the operations and of research are under way and we hope that we shall have important results during the year 1959.

Mr. ORR (Food and Agriculture Organization): First of all I would like to say how much I regret that urgent duties elsewhere in this house made it impossible for me to be present in this chamber when the representative of India made certain suggestions concerning possible FAO assistance in Tanganyika. I wish to assure him that I would never willingly forego an opportunity to listen to a statement by him.

As to the specific question of assistance in combatting the tsetse fly, I can only say that FAO is always happy to entertain any request from a Government for technical assistance which it considers to be technically feasible and economically sound. It is not, of course, within my personal competence to comment on the view that FAO might take of any specific project which, in any event, would have to be taken up by my Headquarters. The representative of India will no doubt have noticed from the observations submitted by FAO on Tanganyika that FAO is already furnishing a very considerable amount of technical assistance in that Territory and this, I trust, is sufficient evidence of FAO's willingness to be of assistance when called upon.

The suggestion is made, however, that money, machines and guns -- or whatever is used to combat the fly -- might be supplied by WHO and FAO. Speaking for FAO, I feel that I should make it clear that what it can furnish, from its present resources, is largely limited to technical assistance and advice. It cannot furnish money, and it can furnish equipment only in a very limited way, usually confined to relatively small amounts for experimental or demonstration purposes.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the Council I should like to thank the representative of WHO and the representative of FAO for the statements they have just made and which will certainly be borne in mind not only by the Council but by the Drafting Committee on this Territory.

We shall now listen to the final statements of the representatives of the Administering Authority.

Mr. FLETCHER-COCKE (Special Representative): I have listened with great interest to all the remarks that have been made in this general debate and where appropriate I will certainly convey the various suggestions put forward to the Government of Tanganyika. I conceive of my functions in this closing statement, not to comment on everything that every member has said but rather to give such additional information as may have been requested or as may be appropriate to remove misunderstandings. If I do not refer to the statements of every representative, this must not be taken to mean either that I necessarily accept what has been said where the remarks are perhaps a little critical, and still less that I do not appreciate them where they have been commendatory.

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, Special Representative)

Now, the question period on this occasion has been long. Indeed, I think it has lasted nearly twice as long as the similar period at our last session. This has had two results. In the first place, I have, I believe, given the Council a very great deal of supplementary information both in the shape of facts and figures, and by way of indicating the Government's intentions and views; and all that is duly recorded in the records of this Council. I can therefore see no particular advantage in repeating all this even though the final remarks of some delegations might suggest that they have not always taken any account of what I said.

This lengthy question period in fact has led to another result. We spent so much time on these discussions, and to me it seems a very long time since I made my opening address, that I might almost preface my remarks today by making yet another address reporting on all that has happened in Tanganyika since these discussions started. Indeed, quite a great deal has happened which I think will be of interest to the Council or certainly to various representatives who referred to particular points. I might perhaps mention three of these.

The representative of India, in his most interesting statement, made some comments about human nature in Tanganyika. If I understood him correctly he perhaps found it a little difficult to understand the number of, for example, town councils that are coming forward to the Government and asking for elections. Well, he will be glad to learn that only yesterday I learnt that yet another town, Tanga, one of the larger towns, has asked for elections to the town council, and these I understand will be held next January.

The representative of China exhibited some interest in consultative machinery between workers and employers. I have again just learnt two items of interest: first, that a Joint Industrial Council has been set up to cover matters affecting dock labour in Lindi and in Mtwara; that is between the employers and employees and of course is an addition to the existing Councils in Dar es Salaam and Tanga to which I referred earlier.

Furthermore, and I must confess that I learned this only at one o'clock, the Dar es Salaam Council has very recently been reconstituted under the title of the Dar es Salaam Industrial Relations Advisory Council, and it now replaces

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and indeed has a wider field than the original Dar es Salaam Joint Standing Industrial Relations Committee which was primarily concerned with labour in the docks.

There are other differences. The Chairman of the old out-going body was the Commissioner of Labour. But now the new body is entirely composed of representatives of the employers and the employees. In view of the various remarks which have been made in this Council about the importance of co-operation between employers and employees, particularly the Tanganyika Federation of Labour, it will be of interest to the Council to know that the Chairman of this new body, who is one of the employers, is supported as Vice-Chairman by Mr. Michael Kamaliza who is President of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour. Moreover, one representative of the Port Employers Association, Mr. A.C. Bailey, was elected one of the Joint Secretaries; and Mr. Kawawa, to whom reference has been made in these debates and who is of course the Secretary of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour, and also a member of the Legislative Council, has been elected the other Joint Secretary. There is thus evidence which has come to me recently, as I say, of a bringing together of the efforts to improve industrial relations on the part of employers and the trade unions.

These examples, together with the example that sometimes important publications are issued relating to Tanganyika without my being aware of them during the period since I left Tanganyika, show the speed with which matters are moving in Tanganyika. There is indeed no stagnation there. I find it difficult to agree with my friend, the representative of Burma, who I think used the term "snail-like" in describing some of the progress in Tanganyika. My belief is, and I submit this to the Council that it is in fact very rapid, and the situation is changing from day to day.

In the light then of all the information which I have already given the Council and of the additional documentation which we have this year in the shape of the Visiting Mission's report and the Administering Authority's observations thereon, I shall confine myself as far as possible to points not previously covered or points which may require amplification. Further, I would apologize, if my statement appears to be rather disjointed. But as members

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of the Council will be aware, the general debate has ended only a matter of minutes ago and I have not had the normal allotment of time to prepare my reply. Furthermore, it is a matter of regret to me that what I do have to say has not been recorded in a convenient form for the assistance of either the interpreters or the verbatim reporters.

Now, one of the subjects which has occupied a great deal of the time of this Council in the discussions has been this question of parity. I think there is considerable misunderstanding in the minds of many delegations on this question. I should like to make a number of points. In the first place I should like to remind the Council that it has never been the policy of the Government of Tanganyika to accept parity as an all-pervading principle which should govern every activity of Government and every institution in the Territory. The Governor of the Territory has in fact said this on many occasions publicly in Tanganyika. We have not, therefore, I would suggest, as the representative of India suggested, departed from the principle of parity in the executive branch of the Government or on the Government side of the Legislative Council or in local government, because that principle was never applied in those fields.

Let us take, for example, the executive branch of the Government. At the present time there are nine official Ministers and not eight as the representative of Guatemala suggested, all of whom are of course European Government Officers at the present time. There are seven unofficials -- three Africans, two Europeans and two Asians. In making all those appointments the Governor has chosen those individuals on the basis of their personal qualities and their ability to contribute to the work of the Council. The same principle has been followed as regards assistant Ministers. Perhaps I might interpolate a reference here to what the Governor said just before these assistant Ministers were appointed.

In his address to the Legislative Council on 30 April 1957, the Governor said:

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"In the very near future I shall be inviting certain individuals to accept appointments as assistant Ministers. The names of those who have agreed to accept, together with the subjects assigned to them will then be announced. It is proposed to make these selections on a non-racial basis" -- and these are the words that I would draw particular attention to -- "and no special significance may be attached to any racial balance which may emerge from those selected and prepared to serve as assistant Ministers in this interim measure in the development of the ministerial system."

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Special Representative)

On the Government side of the Legislative Council, similarly, we now have thirty-four members. Twenty of these are Europeans, of whom fourteen are officials -- nine ministers and five others. As Government officials, of course, their position is essentially neutral and impartial. Thus, of the twenty unofficials on the Government side, eleven are Africans, six are Europeans and three are Asians. And, as will be seen immediately, the unofficial Africans outnumber by two the unofficial Europeans and Asians combined.

Similarly, parity has never been accepted as a principle or as a fact in local Government either now or in the past. The parity principle has been confined to the representative side of the Legislative Council. In order to put this matter in perspective, I feel I must give some explanation because I think the way in which this particular arrangement ever came about is frequently overlooked.

As recently as 1954 -- that was when the Visiting Mission before the 1957 Visiting Mission visited the Territory, that is, less than four years ago -- the representative side of the Legislative Council consisted of seven Europeans, four Africans and three Asians. The parity principle was accepted in the deliberations and recommendations of the Constitutional Committee which preceded the coming into force of the 1955 Legislative Council, having regard to all the circumstances prevailing in Tanganyika at that time, as a bridge, as a transitional stage and as a means of increasing African representation. All this was, in fact, based on the unanimous recommendation of the Constitutional Committee which contained representatives of all races.

As has been said on many occasions in the past, this particular arrangement was never intended to last forever. Indeed, as has been said more recently both by the Governor in his address to the Legislative Council on 17 September 1957 and in the observations, these arrangements will be reviewed next year.

Having regard to the history of this matter, to the fact that parity representation on the representative side of the Legislative Council was accepted as recently as 1955 as a means of increasing -- I underline the word "increasing" -- African representation and to the fact that it has been stated on many occasions that it was a transitional arrangement and that it is to be reviewed next year, I find it difficult to accept the suggestions put forward by some representatives -- and I recall in particular the reference to this by

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Special Representative)

the representative of Guatemala -- that there are indeed any Africans who are firmly persuaded that this is to be a permanent feature of the Legislative Council. Indeed, it just is not so, and I do not think that anyone in Tanganyika believes that.

The representative of Guatemala suggested that the Legislative Council was perhaps little more than "~~an advisory body~~", and I hope I have quoted him correctly. I can assure him and this Council that this is not so. Nor is there any reason why it should be so regarded, bearing in mind that out of a total of sixty-seven members, fifty-three are unofficials -- and of those fifty-three, twenty-two, which is considerably more than a third, are Africans. This Council may rest assured that the Legislative Council in Tanganyika is an extremely active and lively legislature and that no punches are pulled if the Government proposes a policy which is unacceptable to the fifty-three unofficials, who, as I have just indicated, are in a substantial majority. Moreover, it is in fact as well as in law the body which legislates for the Territory, the body which controls the finances of the Territory and the body in which Government policy is discussed, debated, approved or modified. In short, it is in no sense an advisory body.

The representative of India repeated the suggestion which he made, I think, during the questioning period that perhaps the 1959 elections could be put forward to an earlier date and that perhaps the Constitutional Committee could be established at some earlier time. I can only repeat what I have said on previous occasions, namely, that the whole of this electoral and constitutional programme leading up to the appointment of the Constitutional Committee next year -- and it is, after all, only next year -- has been very carefully worked out and reviewed on a number of occasions. The Government of Tanganyika is satisfied that any changes in these arrangements at this stage would give rise to serious difficulties for a very small gain in terms of time.

I listened, as always, with very great attention to the remarks of my friend, the representative of China. But, in replying to his many and varied questions, as I was able, I hope, to give him all the information which he required, I trust that he will forgive me if I do not comment in any great detail on his interesting statement. However, there is one point to which I should like to draw attention. If I understood him correctly, the representative

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Special Representative)

of China indicated that he appreciated that the various arrangements made for the forthcoming elections could not appropriately be changed at this stage. He went on to say that he hoped that, in the light of the result of those elections, Government would give serious consideration to the abandonment of the compulsory tripartite vote. In this connexion, I should like to invite his attention and that of the Council to paragraph 26 of the Administering Authority's observations. It is there stated that as the whole question of parity will come up for review before the Constitutional Committee, that review will, of necessity, include a review of the compulsory tripartite voting arrangements. I am sure that the representative of China will be glad to know that this will be done.

I was very interested in the remarks made by the representative of India on local government. Indeed, I was very interested in all of his remarks. But on local government, in particular, he is, I feel sure, perfectly correct when he indicates that the local government institutions at the lowest levels in Tanganyika are based on and stem from the very strong tribal organizations and traditions of the Africans in that Territory. He will also be aware that the elective principle pervades the 2,500 councils at this lowest level. I entirely agree with him that we have here in this system a most valuable grass-roots formula of local government, a series of institutions which augur well for the future of the Territory and which, even today, are of the greatest value in putting into practice development schemes of all kinds, whether they be agricultural or productivity schemes or, as the representative himself suggested, community development schemes.

I think the representative expressed the belief that village democracy in Tanganyika would assert itself. My reply to that must be that village democracy in Tanganyika has already asserted itself.

The representative of Guatemala, in discussing the question of District Councils, referred to the possibility of jurisdictional conflicts between the native authorities and the new District Councils. The Government of Tanganyika has every reason to believe that no such conflicts will occur because the native authorities themselves will provide the majority of the members of the District Councils.

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke,
Special Representative)

I wish to correct a very small error in the interesting contribution of the representative of Italy. If I heard him correctly, he suggested that "the new law", as he called it -- which is, of course, the law which was passed in December 1957 as an amendment to the Local Government Ordinance -- set up both District Councils and Town Councils. In fact, it only set up District Councils inasmuch as Town Councils had been in existence for some time and were set up previously under existing laws.

The representative of India made a reference to the part played by Mr. Hudson in the possible development of ~~further organs of government~~ at some level between the District Councils and the central Government. I believe that some other representatives have also referred to this matter. Mr. Hudson is a distinguished colonial administrative officer with nearly forty years' experience of African affairs, thirty years of which he has spent in Africa.

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke,
Special Representative)

He is at the present time head of the African Studies Branch in the Colonial Office, and as such, it is his task to encourage and collect and collate the various studies of African affairs covering a wide variety of matters, to some of which, I believe, the representatives of China and Burma referred: land matters, tribal organization, native law and custom, and so on. The representatives of China and Burma may rest assured that a great deal has been and is being done in this field.

A few years ago -- I believe in 1955 or 1956 -- Mr. Hudson made a special study of conditions in Northern Nigeria, with a view to ascertaining how far the powers of the Government of Northern Nigeria could appropriately be devolved on a regional basis in that vast territory. His report on this study has been published and there may well be a copy in the United Nations library.

I might mention here that, in preparing his proposals, Mr. Hudson took a great deal of account of a very interesting development in this field: the devolution of central government powers which he found in Italy in post-war years. The particular purpose of his visit to Tanganyika was to place his experience in this field at the disposal of the Government and, more particularly, at the disposal of the Provincial Commissioners, who were then considering whether some similar decentralization could be effected in Tanganyika. He did not write any report about this possibility, but he prepared a number of papers which were considered by the Government; and, as a result of this, it was decided to pursue these suggestions further.

As is indicated in the Administering Authority's observations, a senior Provincial Commissioner, who has in fact just been appointed Minister for Local Government Administration, devoted himself full time to a study of this matter for several months.

I cannot give the Council any further details of these proposals beyond those which I have already given in reply to questions, partly because this study had not been completed when I left Tanganyika, and partly because details of these proposals have not yet been laid before the Legislative Council where, of course, they will be fully debated. But I can give the Council an assurance that it will be kept fully informed of these matters as they progress.

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke,
Special Representative)

I turn now to some remarks by the representative of Burma. He inquired who had been appointed by the Governor to replace Mr. Nyerere as the African member for Dar es Salaam on the Legislative Council. The African chosen is Mr. Mirembo, who ~~was~~ recently elected by the Municipal Council of Dar es Salaam to be the first African Deputy Mayor of the city. It was felt that no better candidate could be chosen, since his recent election as Deputy Mayor, which was widely welcomed in Dar es Salaam, was an indication both of his ability and of the respect in which he is held.

While the representative of Burma is no doubt aware, both as a result of his visit to the Territory and through the documentation now before the Council, of the Administering Authority's views on many of the points raised by him and of the reasons for those views, there was one other point which he made in his interesting speech which, perhaps, calls for some comment. He suggested that the Government of Tanganyika should make it a condition that all Tanganyika Africans who receive higher education, scholarship or bursary education, at Makerere or outside East Africa, should be required, on their return to the Territory, to enter Government service.

I may perhaps be forgiven if I remind the representative of Burma that a similar suggestion was made in the Drafting Committee on Tanganyika at the last session of this Council by Mr. Dorsinville of Haiti. At that time, when this suggestion was made, the President of the Tanganyika African National Union, Mr. Nyerere, was in the conference room and I had an opportunity of seeking his views on this suggestion. He confirmed -- and, I might say, confirmed in no uncertain terms -- my own view, which is that of the Government of Tanganyika, that not only would this be undesirable, but it would be most unwelcome to and unpopular with the Africans concerned. It would be undesirable for the reasons which have already been given by the representative of the United Kingdom, namely, that if all, or almost all, educated Africans were in the Government service, there would be a grave risk of the development -- and I hope that the representative of China will forgive me for using this term -- of a mandarin class somewhat out of touch, perhaps, with the general life of the community. We firmly believe -- and this has been confirmed to me by Mr. Nyerere -- that the interests of the Territory and its peoples are best served by a balanced in-flow of educated

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke,
Special Representative)

Africans into all branches of the Territory's activities, including agriculture, commerce, mining, banking, etc., as well, of course, as the Government service. Moreover, as it is generally accepted in Tanganyika -- as it is in most other countries -- that civil servants should not participate in politics, the political life of the Territory would indeed be sadly impaired if all educated Africans were required to join the Government service.

The representative of Burma made another remark which caught my particular attention, and I believe that some other representatives -- including, I think, the representative of New Zealand -- also referred to this. It was the question of consumer co-operatives. He indicated, if I understood him correctly, that while the development of co-operative marketing and processing societies is a matter for commendation, he hoped that there would be further developments in the field of consumer co-operatives. This matter is dealt with in paragraph 132 of the Administering Authority's observations. But there is one further point, not referred to there, to which I should like to call the Council's attention.

In the past, the distributive system of the Territory, both wholesale and retail, which is largely in Asian hands, has been built up on the basis of a two-way traffic. That is to say, the local Asian merchant has been engaged both in buying local products and in selling consumer goods, and in many cases these transactions have been carried out with the same people.

(Mr. Fletcher-Corke, Special Representative)

This two-way traffic has meant that the Asian merchant has been able to charge his overheads very largely to that part of his undertaking which deals with the purchasing of local products, and, as a result, he has been able to sell consumer goods comparatively cheaply. Now that producer co-operative societies are making heavy inroads into this system by selling their products direct to the exporter, or even in some cases to the purchaser overseas, much of this purchasing of local products has passed out of the hands of the local shopkeeper. This means that his overheads have to be charged to the sale of consumer goods, which naturally tends to put up their prices.

While that development should not be overstressed, and while it remains a fact that the importing and the local sale of consumer goods are a competitive business which requires a great deal of experience and knowledge of market conditions -- all of which have been acquired over many centuries by those who predominate in this trade in Tanganyika -- it would seem possible that conditions for the successful establishment of consumer co-operatives are improving. As is stated in the Administering Authority's Observations:

"The consumer co-operative in Bukoba, which has fifty branches and a monthly turnover of £7,000, is likely to provide a very fair test of the liability of consumer co-operatives in the conditions prevailing in Tanganyika". (T/1362, para. 132)

The representative of Burma also drew attention to a very important point when he urged that the Government should acquaint the people of Tanganyika with the reasons for and purposes behind its forest policy. I can assure the representative of Burma that this public relations aspect of the Government's forest policy is kept very much to the forefront, and that all possible means are used to bring to the notice of the local inhabitants what is being done and how and why the forests are being made use of as they are.

The representative of Burma, furthermore, made a specific reference to the strike which occurred in December 1956. He commented especially on the question of the reinstatement of those who had participated in that strike. In order that there may be no misunderstanding on this point, I think it would be helpful if I quoted the following passage from the Labour Commissioner's report on this matter:

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, Special Representative)

"After the domestic and hotel workers strike had been in progress for three days, it was noticed that there was a gradual return to work by domestic servants and after a week conditions had almost returned to normal.

"In the hotels, some employers, after a week or so, engaged new workers, as they had to do to keep hotels in operation.

"When the building workers returned to work, most of them were reinstated immediately in employment, but" --

and this is the point to which I should like to draw the particular attention of the representative of Burma --

"in the motor trade certain employers refused to reinstate strikers and these employers had given very clear warning to their employees prior to the strike that they might be compelled to take this course of action, since they did not consider that the dispute in the domestic and hotel workers unions concerned in any way the commercial and industrial workers Union and the motor trade employees."

It is therefore, I think, evident that the motor trade employees were clearly warned in advance that if they went out on strike in a matter which did not involve any differences of opinion between them and their own employers, they might well not be reinstated.

I turn now to some remarks made by the representative of Haiti. As I have already indicated, I regret that it was not possible for the Chairman of the Visiting Mission to participate in our discussions on this occasion, but of course I fully appreciate the reasons for that. I think it is fair to say that all the various points referred to by the representative of Haiti are in fact covered by the Administering Authority's Observations on the Visiting Mission's report and by such supplementary information as I have been able to give to the Trusteeship Council. If I do not comment in detail on his speech, I am sure that the representative of Haiti will understand that this is not because I did not listen to his remarks with great attention, but because it seems to me that those remarks have already been largely answered.

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, Special Representative)

More specifically, the representative of Haiti referred to the position of Africans in the public services. I think that this point is fully dealt with in paragraphs 41 to 52, inclusively, of the Administering Authority's Observations. I would also point out that some of the complaints made by the Tanganyika African Government Servants Association, to which reference is made in paragraph 112 of the Visiting Mission's report, were based on misunderstandings, as is brought out in paragraphs 113 and 114 of that report. The representative of Haiti repeated, in particular, the complaints concerning leave, but I think that he will see, on consulting the Administering Authority's Observations, that these were based on a misunderstanding.

The representative of Haiti also drew attention to the importance of teaching English at an early stage of the primary education course. As I have indicated in reply to various questions, this is being done; and the intention is that English should be taught in the future from Standard III. One of the difficulties, however, is the limited number of African teachers who are qualified to teach English in primary schools.

I have taken note of the suggestion by the representative of India that it should be made a condition of new commercial and mining undertakings in Tanganyika that those responsible for promoting such undertakings should be required to give due attention to the training of Africans to work in them. As I have already indicated, this is in fact being done to a limited extent, though there is no doubt room for improvement in this field. But, once again, I must repeat that every such enterprise is fully aware that it is in its own interests to employ Africans in responsible posts, and in posts which require professional qualifications, whenever this is possible. This development is limited at the present time only by the comparatively small number of Africans with basic educational qualifications, and with -- what is perhaps more important -- the necessary qualities of character and leadership, coming forward for such employment. Here, too, I would suggest that we must proceed cautiously. We cannot afford at the present time to turn away or discourage any enterprise whose efforts are likely to add to the Territory's revenue. Thus, while I entirely agree with the objective of the representative of India, the best results will probably be achieved -- as he himself, I think, suggested -- by an attitude of coyness on the part of the Government rather than by any hard and fast regulations. I shall try to persuade the Government of Tanganyika to be coy in this matter.

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke,
Special Representative)

I turn now to a consideration of the various references to the statement that non-African communities in Tanganyika contribute some 60 per cent of the revenues of the Territory. I might interpolate here that the representative of Burma suggested that by my answers to the various questions put on this point I had "exploded this myth". I must state that I am unable to accept this interpretation of my remarks. I am firmly persuaded, as is the Government of Tanganyika, that, even though it may be difficult to prove this by figures susceptible of complete accuracy, nevertheless this statement remains broadly true. The representative of India, in dealing with this point, drew attention to the fact that even if this statement is true, as I maintain it is, these contributions to the revenue by the non-African communities are, in fact, derived from what he described as "Tanganyika resources". That is, of course, perfectly true, but it must not, I suggest, be overlooked that those resources required enterprise, skill and capital for their development, and that until non-Africans provided that enterprise, skill and capital those resources in fact remained undeveloped. Nor would I wish to minimize the contribution made by the Africans themselves to this development. They have contributed in many ways to this process. But it must, I think, be admitted in all fairness that it was the non-Africans who acted as a catalyst in this matter and, by bringing together, through their enterprise, knowledge and capital, the Africans and these Tanganyika resources, produced as a result of their joint efforts the vast bulk of the Territory's revenue from which the greater part of the Government's income is derived.

I now come to the question of land alienation. In his observations on the land alienation figures the representative of India concentrated his attention on arable land only, and he reached the conclusion -- I have not done the sum myself, but I am quite sure that he is right -- that of the total area of the arable land in the Territory at present being worked some five per cent had been alienated under rights of occupancy. In addition to pointing out that a figure of five per cent can hardly be regarded as excessive in a new and developing territory -- particularly as it remains a fact that land under rights of occupancy, to which of necessity much greater quantities of capital and many skills are applied, produces far more revenue than land under subsistence cultivation, and

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Special Representative)

that Tanganyika at the present time needs all possible additional revenue -- I must say that I was a little puzzled by the fact that the representative of India had, apparently deliberately, limited his reference to arable land. But in point of fact some land in Tanganyika is suitable only for pastoral purposes, although nevertheless it does contribute to the revenues of the Territory by whomsoever it may be worked or occupied, and I therefore feel that a more correct picture would be obtained by considering pastoral as well as arable lands.

On 6 March I indicated that a total of 2,347,000 acres of land were in non-African and non-public hands. This total covers, of course, both arable and pastoral land. Now the total area of land at present utilized by Africans under native law and custom for both these purposes, again both arable and pastoral, is 58 million acres, and this figure, incidentally, ignores the 40 million acres of cleared land -- land which has already been cleared and which is, therefore, immediately available for agricultural and pastoral purposes, but which in fact is not being used for those purposes for the very good reason that there is no one to use it. This figure of 58 million acres, together with the figure of just over 2 million acres to which I referred a moment ago, gives a total of just over 60 million acres, and of this 2.3 million acres is in non-African hands. Thus the percentage figure of arable and pastoral land in non-African hands is just under four per cent of the total amount of land actually being used for both these purposes.

I hesitate, after the learned and interesting statement we heard from the representative of the World Health Organization, to say anything about the tsetse fly at all, but there are one or two remarks I would like to make following upon the interesting suggestions put forward by the representative of India. First of all, the statement which I have quoted here on a number of occasions is in fact derived from the Royal Commission on Land and Population in East Africa; I refer to the statement that some 99 per cent of the population of Tanganyika lives on approximately one-third of the land area, leaving about one per cent inhabiting the remaining two-thirds. It is therefore virtually true to say that two-thirds of the area of Tanganyika is at the present time uninhabited and, indeed, virtually uninhabitable. But I think it would be a mistake to suggest, as did apparently the representative of India, that this is

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due solely to the presence of the tsetse fly. While it is true that the tsetse fly persists over far too large a part of Tanganyika, there is another important reason why this two-thirds of the territory is virtually uninhabited, namely, the serious limitations of the water supplies in those areas.

However, both these problems -- the eradication of the tsetse fly and the development of water supplies in these areas -- are undoubtedly problems which present a great challenge, and the Government of Tanganyika would certainly welcome any assistance which WHO and FAO could give in this matter.

The representative of India referred more specifically to the possibility that co-operative societies might apply through the Government of Tanganyika to the specialized agencies for assistance in eradicating the tsetse fly from these large areas of the Territory. This is obviously a suggestion with which I can have no possible quarrel, but I must point out that almost all the co-operative societies in Tanganyika are marketing societies, and included in the term "marketing" must be understood the undertaking of certain processing techniques. I am not aware that any land is held or worked co-operatively by Africans. As I indicated in replies to various questions, the African farmer, like so many of his counterparts in other parts of the world, is essentially an individualist, and there are no signs of any co-operative or communal development in the field of working the land or of agricultural undertakings generally. Land held under native law and custom is made available for cultivation to individual Africans and their families, and is not in fact cultivated co-operatively.

I mention these facts not because the suggestion of the representative of India does not appeal to me, for it certainly does, but because I must record that until and unless there are signs among the Africans of the co-operative working of land I doubt whether it would be possible to pursue this idea quite in the form suggested by him. There is, however, so far as I am aware, no reason why a native authority should not form a co-operative society for this specific purpose, but once again we must not minimize the difficulties. The clearing of land so as to eradicate the tsetse fly, if undertaken over areas of any substantial expanse, requires an enormous sum of capital, and unless this is forthcoming from the outside agencies to which the representative of India

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Special Representative)

made reference -- and from their observations today I gather that it will not be -- I doubt whether those tribes who live in the neighbourhood of the tsetse infested areas could possibly raise the capital required. However, I can assure the representative of India that these suggestions of his will be most carefully considered in Tanganyika.

Before leaving this point, it is perhaps worth mentioning that to a limited extent -- and it is, of course, only to a limited extent -- native authorities in those areas which border tsetse infected country do, with the assistance and encouragement of the Government, already make attempts to push back the boundary between the tsetse infested and the tsetse free land. Such reclamation, undertaken annually on a communal basis, opens up new land for settlement by both human beings and stock. In 1956, for example, in the Kondoa District of the Central Province some 24 square miles of clearing resulted in over 100 square miles being made available for settlement and grazing, and in the same year, in the Mbulu District of the Northern Province, 165,000 man days were employed by the Iraqw tribe in opening up about 115 square miles for grazing and agriculture.

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I mention these as but examples of many to demonstrate the continuing anti-tsetse operations undertaken by Africans who wish to press forward into the tsetse-infested land. I do not wish to labour this point, but I think it is perhaps of some interest, and there is one other aspect to which I should like to draw attention.

Although there are some areas in the Territory in which there are signs of a pressure on land, for the most part there is no land hunger in Tanganyika. This is due, of course, to the vast size of the Territory and the comparatively small population, the great majority of which are Africans. But as I indicated the other day, and I have repeated it again today, there are at the present time no less than 40 million acres of land which have already been cleared which are not at the moment being used for agricultural or pastoral purposes, for the very good reason that there is no one to work them. The population of Tanganyika will, of course, grow, and gradually over the years this land will all be required for agricultural or pastoral purposes. But there would obviously be no point in spending vast sums for clearing huge areas if there was no one to settle them. The tsetse fly would soon return and the whole operation would have to be undertaken at a later stage when there was somebody available to settle there. It is for this reason that the Government policy is that, generally speaking, the land should be cleared only when there are people ready and willing to settle it. This accounts for the two types of clearing which I have referred to in these discussions: (1) the limited clearing by native authorities, to which I have just referred, where the land is immediately available for allocation by the tribal authorities to individuals who settle there, and (2) the grant of rights of occupancy over limited areas of tsetse-infested land where non-Africans are prepared to clear the land and, which is just as important, to settle it. As I mentioned previously, this has been done in one particular area at the request of the neighbouring Africans themselves.

I feel, therefore, that the suggestion of the representative of India, which has certainly interested me, could perhaps only be of limited application at the present time owing to the lack of population to settle on any land which might be thus opened up.

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, Special Representative)

I turn now to a consideration of the statement made by the representative of the Soviet Union. For the past one and one-half sessions, the representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Lobanov, has been my neighbour, and I think we have been on very good terms. But whether it is as a result of the divorce which has now overtaken us, I do not know, but I must say I listened to his remarks yesterday with the same patient attention which I have given to the contributions of all members of this Council, but with a number of reservations.

In the first place, I think I am right in saying that all other members of this Council, however reluctant they may have been in some instances to associate themselves with certain aspects of our policy, have all found some fields of governmental activity which they were able to welcome and in which they found much to commend. But I listened in vain for a single word of appreciation from the representative of the Soviet Union. The very fact that he used only one colour, namely, black, to paint his picture of Tanganyika, may perhaps suggest to the Council that it bears little relation to reality. Indeed, during parts of his intervention I must confess that I wondered whether we both had the same Territory in mind.

Mr. President, I am here as the representative of the Government of Tanganyika, and I am prepared to explain any figures published by that Government and, if necessary, to obtain such further statistical information from the same source as I can. I cannot, however, be expected to explain or comment on figures quoted in the press, or indeed in works of reference which may well be out of date, however eminent these sources may be. Perhaps I may be permitted to amplify this point.

In the first place, the representative of the Soviet Union, by his reference to the African Survey -- he did not give the exact date of the publication or the edition from which he was quoting -- while not denying the figures which I gave relating to the proportion of agricultural exports from Tanganyika which are produced by Africans, seemed at least disposed to cast doubt upon them. I can only repeat what I have already told the Council: that I have had confirmation by telegram from Dar es Salaam that African production accounts for 60 per cent of the agricultural products of the Territory. If these figures do not appear to be reconcilable with those in the possession of the representative of the Soviet Union, I can only say that his figures are out of date and take no account of the recent very large increases in both the volume and the prices of such export crops as

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coffee, cotton and cashew nuts, which are largely, and in some cases exclusively, produced by Africans in Tanganyika.

In several other respects I think the representative showed that he was somewhat out of touch with the present situation in Tanganyika. He made great play with the balance-sheet, the statement of the profits made by an undertaking called Tanganyika Concessions Ltd. He may be unaware that although in the past this company had very limited interests in Tanganyika, it has ceased to operate there for some time past, and all the facts and figures which he quoted relate to operations in other parts of Africa and not in any sense to the Trust Territory which we are now discussing. He may possibly have been misled, as many others have been, by the name of this undertaking, but he may also have overlooked that the waters of Lake Tanganyika wash the shores of other parts of Africa besides those of the Trust Territory.

He also suggested, when he criticized the lack of efforts made to develop the coal deposits which, as I indicated to the Council at the last session, are unfortunately situated in a very remote part of the Territory many hundreds of miles from the nearest railway, that large amounts of capital were pouring into Tanganyika to exploit the development of fissionable materials.

I have no idea on what information the representative bases this fantasy. I can assure both him and the Council that the facts are as follows: In the first place, no fissionable materials have so far been found in any workable quantities, and we are not even certain that they will be found in workable quantities, although, of course, we very much hope that they will be. Secondly, no companies have come into Tanganyika bringing large quantities of capital with them to exploit these as yet unproven fissionable materials. In short, there are no firms engaged in the exploitation of these materials. Thirdly, all that exists at the present time is an office -- and I repeat, an office -- of the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority which has been set up to encourage the search for such materials.

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Representative)

The representative of the Soviet Union also made great play about the Williamson Diamond Mine. The late Dr. Williamson, in fact, led a very simple and retiring life and although, as the Council is aware, the Government of Tanganyika has derived a not inconsiderable amount of revenue by way of royalties from the export of diamonds, almost all, and I quote the representative's own words "enormous profits" derived from this mine have been put back into the mine so as to ensure that it was properly capitalized. Of course the diamonds which were presented by the late Dr. Williamson to members of the Royal Family were not purchased by him, but were among the finest stones which he discovered at the mine.

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Special Representative)

I trust that the differences between the representative's picture of Tanganyika and the reality of the situation are sufficiently brought out in the remarks which I have made to indicate why I do not propose to deal in any detail with the various misstatements which he has put forward. But I cannot avoid a reference to two remarks which he made on the subject of land. In the first place, the representative made the wholly unwarrantable assertion that the table and figures with which I furnished the Council were supplied, and I quote the representative "to explain and justify the continuing alienation of land". I am sure the Council as a whole will appreciate that this table and these figures were not designed to explain or justify anything. They were in fact prepared on the basis of facts in response to the Council's request for specific information in this matter.

The representative also made another misstatement about land when he said, or quoted from some journal which did say it, that non-Africans own one-fifth of the land under cultivation. From the figures that have been given by me during the course of this discussion, it will be appreciated that this assertion, from whatever source the information may have come, is wholly without foundation. As I have indicated, the total amount of alienated land represents something less than 1.1 per cent of the total land area of the Territory; it represents some 1.6 per cent of the total land available and suitable for agricultural and pastoral purposes; it represents just under 4 per cent of the total amount of land being used for both arable and pastoral purposes and, if I may again borrow the calculations of the representative of India, the alienated arable land represents about 5 per cent of the total land being used for arable purposes at the present time. All these figures, whichever ones you wish to take, are all very different from the figure of 20 per cent quoted by the representative of the Soviet Union.

The representative suggested that the economic development of the Territory is very lop-sided and that it takes into account mainly the interests of foreign companies -- the small group of non-African inhabitants. This again is not in accordance with the facts.

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Special Representative)

Between 1947 and 1956, the following remarkable progress may be recorded in the production of crops which are either wholly or almost wholly produced by Africans.

Cotton production has increased by no less than 232 per cent and the value of the exported crop has increased from £780,000 to £7,480,000. Almost all of that -- indeed all of that -- is produced by Africans.

Coffee production has increased by 31 per cent and the value of the exported crop has increased from £980,000 to £9,220,000.

The exports of tea, castor seed, cashew nuts and groundnuts have increased in value from £260,000 to £3,160,000, and with the exception of tea by far the greater part of these crops are produced by Africans.

The value of the produce handled by the African co-operatives during the same period has increased ten-fold.

All these facts and figures clearly indicate the immense progress which the African production of cash crops has made during the past decade and shows clearly, I hope, that the economic development of the Territory does not take into account mainly the interests of foreign companies as the representative of the USSR suggests.

I will now turn to one or two other matters. I was very interested in another remark of the representative of India. He paid a tribute, with which I entirely agree, to the education, culture and powers of expression of the two petitioners from Tanganyika who appeared at the Trusteeship Council last summer. There is, of course, a number of other educated Tanganyika Africans who match up to these high standards but regrettably this number, though increasing yearly, is at present very limited. As I mentioned in reply to an earlier question, I would estimate that there are not more than a few hundred Tanganyika Africans who have attained graduate status or who have completed higher education of one form or another, and this total of course includes all those from Tanganyika who graduated at Makerere. The total African population of Tanganyika is of the order of 8.5 millions. I do not, I think, need to labour that point. Moreover, while the representative of India quite properly referred to the great centres of learning in his own country which existed there for centuries before the British connexion with India was

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established, the picture was very different in Tanganyika where, prior to the comparatively recent arrival of emissaries from the Western world, the Territory and its peoples were living in very primitive conditions and literacy in any language was virtually non-existent. The conditions are, I suggest, so different that they are hardly susceptible of comparison.

There have been a number of references by various delegations to the desirability or otherwise of including practical training alongside academic instruction taught in the primary and secondary schools. The Visiting Mission recorded that there was some opposition to this among Africans in Tanganyika and the Administering Authority's comments on this point are set out in the Observations. But I noticed that during the final debate, the representatives of Australia and Belgium, and indeed, I believe, some other representatives, supported the policy of associating training in practical subjects with a more academic education. These representatives were in fact, or so it seemed to me, expressing exactly the same approach as the representative of India who made a strong plea that the proposed new University College in Tanganyika, when it is established, should concentrate on the practical sciences rather than perhaps on the liberal arts.

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke,
Special Representative)

I feel sure myself that all these representatives are right in emphasizing the need for practical education in Tanganyika, whether it be at the primary or University levels.

I listened with interest to the speech of the representative of the United Arab Republic. Most of the points which he raised have, I think, been covered either in the course of these present remarks or in previous discussions, or in the Observations of the Administering Authority. But there was one point of interest which he made which seems to me to call for particular comment, namely his suggestion, if I understood him correctly, that African nationalism in Tanganyika might in some way be prejudiced unless it could form itself, group itself around an African language.

As the Council is well aware, there are some 120 different tribes in Tanganyika who, prior to European contact with Tanganyika, were virtually independent entities with little or no common ground between them. This plethora of tribes, and consequently of languages and dialects, has resulted in Swahili becoming the normally accepted lingua franca.

But we would be deceiving ourselves if we regarded Swahili as an indigenous African language. As the representative of the Arab Republic is no doubt aware, the Swahili language derives much of its inspiration from the great Arab traditions of the past, but essentially it is as alien to Tanganyika as the English language itself. And it is generally accepted -- and I have had occasion to refer to this in reply to questions -- that the English language is far more likely to give form to nascent African nationalism in Tanganyika than many of the many African languages there, or than Swahili. I believe that this point was fully appreciated by the Visiting Mission when they recommended that English should be taught at an early stage in the primary schools.

The representative of Australia, in his admirable speech, had some most interesting remarks to make on this point. However, Swahili undoubtedly has a place in Tanganyika and, as the representative of New Zealand pointed out, the East African Literature Bureau is engaged on the task of studying the Swahili language and of preserving and encouraging literature in that language.

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke,
Special Representative)

But as the representative of the United Arab Republic will no doubt be aware, a great independent nation on the West coast of Africa, about whom we have been thinking recently, emerged to statehood and found the English language perfectly adequate for that emergence.

I must apologize for taking up so much of the time of the Council in these my final remarks, but it appeared to me that it might be of assistance if I gave this supplementary information.

The meeting was suspended at 4.20 p.m. and resumed at 4.40 p.m.

Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom): It may seem to members of the Council that after the most interesting speech which we have just heard there cannot possibly be anything further to say on the subject of Tanganyika. But I shall speak briefly and mainly on political questions. I hope, in the words of my friend from Italy, that I shall be able to disentangle myself from the mass of paper which seems to have collected around me, and if not, I hope you will treat me with indulgence.

If I may be allowed to say so, we have had a most useful debate on the subject of Tanganyika. I think that certainly we can claim to have considered this Territory thoroughly. My delegation has been greatly impressed by the constructive and friendly speeches which have been made by many members, indeed virtually all members of the Council, even when they felt disposed to criticize us over this question or that question. We were also greatly impressed by the questions which we were asked over a protracted period. We have benefitted I think very greatly from this debate.

If I may be allowed at this stage to address a word to my friend from the Soviet Union, it is not to go into detail concerning his speech but simply to say this, following to some extent what my friend the special representative has said. In our friend from the Soviet Union we have one who has always taken a close interest in the matters debated and one whom we have all come to know as a friend. Why is it that he feels it necessary always to speak as if nothing good were ever done by an Administering Authority? I do not want to labour this point. I somehow cannot believe that this is really a true picture of the situation. I can only say that in my country, at any rate, the remarks made here by the representatives of the Soviet Union would carry greater weight if occasionally they found it possible to find something good which had been done by one of the Administering Authorities.

(Sir Andrew Cohen,
United Kingdom)

The only other observation which I should like to make, if I may be allowed to do so at this stage, is to refer to something which my friend from the Soviet Union said about what he described -- at any rate, in the translation-- as the empirical methods which we British employ in dealing with political matters in Tanganyika and elsewhere. He contrasted it with the scientific development which, he said, quite likely "is speeding up human progress". Well, it is a number of years since I studied the Greek language, but, if I am not mistaken, the Greek verb empeirein means "to test" or "to carry out experiments", which, indeed, is the whole basis of scientific progress. Therefore, I somehow cannot feel that this contrast is wholly justified.

May I go on to say how very much, indeed, my delegation has appreciated the tributes paid by the representatives of India and the United States to Sir Edward Twining, who will shortly be retiring from the Governorship of Tanganyika. I would not have felt it appropriate, as the representative of the United Kingdom, to initiate any comments on this subject but since such kind things have been said, I cannot refrain from saying a word myself on this occasion, which is the last occasion on which we shall discuss Tanganyika in this Council before Sir Edward retires.

I knew Sir Edward in Africa for five years as a close colleague, and I have known him for many more years as a friend. If I may say so, his vigour, his imagination, his untiring devotion to Tanganyika and his love of its people will always, I venture to suggest, be remembered by the people of the Territory. He has visited every part of this great Territory, with its difficult communications, as no Governor ever had done before. For the last nine years he has not only led and inspired the people in a great and constructive period in their history but he has been their friend, and will, I believe, always be thought of as their friend. He has contributed, I believe, more than anyone to the progress of Tanganyika and I think that members of the Council would agree with me that he has made a most significant contribution towards the achievement of the objectives of the Trusteeship System generally.

(Sir Andrew Cohen,
United Kingdom)

May I also express the appreciation of my delegation for the good wishes which have been expressed towards the new Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Richard Turnbull. His intellectual ability, his skill both in administration and political matters, his wit and learning, and his long experience of working closely with Africans -- all these qualities fit him to be Sir Edward Twining's successor. I should like to join other representatives in wishing him all success in Tanganyika.

Now I had proposed at this stage to descend from what is perhaps the sublime to, if not the ridiculous, at any rate the miniscule, and talk about the tsetse fly, but we have heard so much about the tsetse fly this afternoon that I have suppressed this part of my statement and I shall go on to speak about land.

The special representative has also dealt fully with this subject but there are some questions of policy about which I must speak. First of all, the essential point, I think, is that less than 2 per cent has been alienated out of the land now in use, or usable, for farming or pasture.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

The special representative has explained that the 20 per cent figure of cultivated land mentioned by the representative of the Soviet Union is wholly incorrect. This, of course, is only partly attributable to the delegation of the Soviet Union. The figure was taken from The Economist, a journal which is published in London and for which I have the highest respect. But even Honar nods on occasions, and this was not a correct figure. I only hope that the representative of the Soviet Union will study articles in his journals which sometimes appear about his own country as closely as he seems to study articles when the journalist writes about Tanganyika.

This figure of less than 2 per cent of land alienated to people who are not indigenous is one which I believe many countries in the world cannot boast of. I should like in this connexion, because the subject is so important, to call attention to paragraphs 73 and 77 of the observations of the Administering Authority on the Visiting Mission's report. I will not lengthen my statement by reading out these paragraphs in full, but I should like particularly to stress the emphasis which the United Kingdom Government has placed on the seriousness with which it has carried out, now carries out and will continue to carry out its obligations under the Trusteeship Agreement and the Charter for safeguarding the rights of Africans to land.

I feel, however, that I must refer in some detail to something that I said during the last session of the Council held on Tanganyika about the system used in connexion with the alienation of land. I then explained that

"...land is only alienated if such alienation can be shown to be in the general interests of the Territory and its people... the most scrupulous attention is paid to African rights in land and the present and future needs of the population of the area. There is invariably consultation at public meetings... by the District Commissioner with the people. After such consultation, and invariably before land alienation can even be considered, the Chiefs and Elders ... have to give a certificate that they agree, and this is not simply a certificate of the Chief himself, but it is a certificate representing the views of the people. The District Commissioner himself has to certify in writing that the people have been properly consulted, that he supports the alienation and that no improper pressure has been brought upon the people. Only at that stage the matter is considered by the Government... Land alienation is in fact something which is only allowed

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

where there is a special justification for it and then only subject to the most careful safeguards." (T/PV.882 page 106-110)

It is against this background that I should like to ask the Council to consider the very interesting suggestions made the other day by the representative of India, Ambassador Lall, whose statement was so much appreciated by all members of the Council. The objective which the representative of India is aiming to secure is in fact secured perfectly well by the procedure which is now followed in the Territory and indeed has been followed for a considerable time. I believe that this procedure is a more effective way of carrying out our obligations and is more likely to conduce to the benefit of the Territory and the progress of its people.

Perhaps I should turn aside here to recall that the points which were made by the representative of India were that whereas no new restrictions should be placed in future on the alienation of land to public or semi-public bodies, land alienation for ranching and plantation purposes should be allowed only after the land in question had been offered to African co-operative societies or to other indigenous persons; and that in the case of land for agricultural operations -- I assume for farming by individual farmers -- alienations should not be allowed in future.

With regard to the first point, I suggest that the process of consultation which we follow as an invariable practice will normally ensure that if there were Africans, whether individuals, companies or co-operatives -- and we have heard from the special representative that at the moment there are no farming co-operatives -- willing and with the capital to operate plantations or ranches in any particular area, who expressed a wish to carry on such operations, land would not in practice be alienated to others.

I am not attempting here to give any formal pledge or commitment because there might be a case where it was not suitable to follow this exact procedure. I am saying that the normal process of consultation and consideration which is invariably carried out should ensure that the first of the objectives that the representative of India put forward would be achieved.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

I am also bound to say that I do not see why farming by individual farmers should be treated in a different way from farming by plantations or ranching. It seems to me that there might be cases in which individual farming is more suitable than plantations, and there may be cases, of course, where ranching is not suitable at all. The very stringent safeguards which exist should certainly avoid prejudicing in any way the present or future rights of the African inhabitants, and this also provides an opportunity for them, in my opinion, to take part in such enterprises where they are willing and able to do so. These safeguards also protect the interests of the Territory and provide for desirable development to take place without prejudice to African rights. I, for my part, do not see any reason why the present procedure requires to be modified.

Speaking more generally, may I say that I entirely refuse to come before this Council in any sense in a white sheet with regard to our land policy. Figures which have been given show that we have carried out our obligation with a most scrupulous care and indeed with the greatest possible caution.

It seems to me that suggestions that alienation other than for public purposes should be stopped or subjected to new restrictions are not entirely consistent with the pressure which is put on us, and quite rightly, from all quarters to speed up the extension of education, medical services and all the other necessary services. The Visiting Mission's report and our own observations, have made it clear that we will press on with the utmost vigour with schemes and plans for the expansion of productivity and the improvement of the efficiency of African farming and other economic activities by Africans. This, of course, is of the utmost importance, and nothing is more urgent, as the Visiting Mission so pertinently said.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

But we cannot afford, in our present situation in Tanganyika -- and I would repeat: we cannot afford -- to ignore any reasonable source of new wealth and economic activity which does not prejudice the interest of the Territory. Sisal, tea and other agricultural industries have contributed much in the past, and are doing so now, and can certainly continue to do so in the future. Why should we deny the people of Tanganyika, the African and other people, the benefits of the increase of national wealth and all the other benefits which come from these increases of economic activity in this great and widespread Territory which, generally speaking, is not subject to over-crowding?

Now may I say a word on the subject of the integration of schools and about inter-racial education. I fully recognize the importance of this subject and we appreciate the interest which is taken in it by many members of the Council. We believe -- and I have explained why -- that the right method of securing the objective of integrated schools is to proceed carefully -- never, of course, a popular thing in this Council except when it is in relation to land alienation. We believe that we should proceed carefully and carry all sections of public opinion with us, as the representative of Australia said yesterday. We will, of course, take careful note of what has been said here in the Council on this subject, and I venture to think that we can profit by the experience of others. The Council may rest assured that this objective will not be lost sight of. But I wonder whether the suggestion that no more Government schools should be opened except on an inter-racial basis is realistic in relation to the present actual position in Tanganyika. Also I wonder very much whether to introduce this arrangement now would in practice be in the interest of the advancement of African education. I do not want to dilate on my own experience, but I recall very well being faced with just such a situation in another Territory: did we pursue this policy, or did we concentrate all our energies on getting more and more and higher and higher schools for Africans? If we were to apply such a rule rigidly now, it might well interfere with the process of educational expansion for Africans, at any rate in some cases; and I am sure that the process of educational expansion and improvement must be our first task in the educational field because nothing is more important in this field than pressing forward with more and better education for Africans.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

But I would not like it to be thought for a moment in this Council that my delegation does not attach great importance to this subject which, clearly, is one which must be kept under close review.

I shall say just a brief word about finance. I welcome the support which has been expressed by a number of delegations for our actions and the efforts which we are making in the financial field. If I may venture to say so, with some hesitation, I should have liked to have seen a little more attention devoted to this subject by some delegations which were inclined to be rather more critical of our actions and policies than others. This is a difficult subject and, in some respects, an intractable subject, but it is a subject which has got to be tackled vigorously and which, as I explained at some length to the Council when I spoke the other day, we are doing all in our power to tackle in a vigorous way. I was very glad indeed that the Visiting Mission, having studied the Territory and seen its problems on the spot, devoted so much attention, in such a sympathetic and comprehensive way, to this subject of the financing of development. Our great hope is that a mission sent by the International Bank will visit Tanganyika following on the most welcome visit to Tanganyika which Mr. Black is going to make and, following such a mission, I very much hope that we shall receive really valuable recommendations; and I am sure that these will greatly contribute to the economic progress and the general progress of the Territory.

Now I must turn to politics and, first of all, I must talk about the matter which has been described in this Council as "compulsory tripartite voting". A great deal of attention has been devoted to this subject, and perhaps the most colourful remark on it was by the representative of Burma, who said: "There is no telling what surprise packages will emerge out of the rather ingenious and novel compulsory tripartite voting magic box." I am inclined to agree.

The Visiting Mission --- or the majority of it --- has suggested that we ought to alter this arrangement straight away, even in advance of the elections. We, for reasons which are explained in our written observations and also in my opening statement, have not found ourselves in agreement with this particular recommendation of the Visiting Mission, but, as I made clear the other day, we recognize fully that two opinions on this question are possible -- a point which has been made absolutely clear by the course of this debate. We only ask one

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

thing. We have come to this conclusion -- and I am sure that every member of this Council will recognize our sincerity in this matter -- that this admittedly experimental detail -- and I repeat "detail" -- of the general electoral scheme is worth trying in order to test by experience whether it does in fact conduce to the harmonious working together of the different sections of the community. We think that, to give it a trial, we must try it out in the elections all over the Territory; that is, those to be held in 1959, as well as those in 1958. And, in any case, I cannot think that it would be very satisfactory for members of the new Legislative Council for one part of the Territory to be elected in a different way from those in the rest of the Territory. Therefore, as all members of the Council know, what we propose to do is to try the experiment for these 1958-1959 elections, and then to review the experiment. The Trusteeship Council itself, at its last session, said that this novel system could only be tested by experience and that it would await with interest the results of its practical operation.

I believe that the majority of the Council accepts this position now and regards the position as reasonable. I cannot think that any member of the Council would wish to oppose our intention of giving a trial to something which, we believe, has a chance of being useful. It is only in this way that it can be shown in practice whether we are right in our view, as I think the representative of Burma himself said, in rather more colourful words, the other day.

May I turn now to what I believe is a very much more important subject than this tripartite voting, although connected with it, namely, the word "parity". This, as the special representative has just said, will be reviewed by the 1958 Committee -- the Committee appointed after the elections are complete. I believe that the recommendation made by the Trusteeship Council at its last session that this Committee should be given the opportunity of reviewing the parity arrangement was regarded at the time by the Council as its most important recommendation in the constitutional sphere. Certainly I was pressed at the time to go further than I was in a position to go at that time, and I think that this recommendation was something to which the Council attached very considerable importance.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

Now, what has happened since then? The Governor, in his policy statement of 17 September to the Legislative Council -- a statement made in the presence of the Visiting Mission -- went further and said: "We do accept that parity should be among the subjects discussed by this committee". That position was accepted by the Visiting Mission. I am sure, if I may venture to say so, that the Trusteeship Council will wish to express satisfaction that the Administering Authority has acted so promptly in accordance with this particular recommendation.

I should now like to turn to the constitutional committee itself. The special representative has said a good deal on this subject, and I really need add only the following. The Trusteeship Council can rest assured that the work of the constitutional committee will be pursued as quickly as possible after the elections have been completed. When we are pressed as to a definite date -- whether it will be one month or another month -- I must say that I am reminded of the fable of the hare and the tortoise. It is, I venture to suggest, the end result that matters. The great merit of the arrangement of convening the constitutional committee after the elections is that newly-elected members of the Legislative Council will be able to participate in this important work.

As regards the composition and terms of reference of the committee, I believe it will be wiser at this time not to try to be precise. Obviously, the new Governor must have an opportunity of considering these matters. The general objective, of course, is to get from the committee representative views -- that is, views which represent public opinion in the Territory. Equally, when in due time the matters to be covered by the committee are precisely determined -- in so far as they have not been determined already -- we want to make sure of laying down a solid foundation for the next stage of political advance.

May I say a word now on the subject of local government and the training of African personnel. We welcome the Trusteeship Council's interest in these two matters. What we have said before and what has been said on this occasion shows how much importance we attach to both matters and how much importance all members of the Council attach to them. I should like particularly to refer to the following statement on this subject made the other day by the representative of Burma:

"My delegation is gratified to note that the Administering Authority is exercising its efforts to accelerate the pace of local

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

government in the Territory, and warmly welcomes the emergence of progressive legislation in that direction". (T/PV.881, page 76)

We were very glad to hear the representative of Burma say that.

I turn now to the subject of elections. The representative of India has remarked that Tanganyika is behind every other Trust Territory in Africa in the franchise. I think I am right in saying that he is talking about the franchise for elections to the central legislature. I venture to doubt whether such comparisons are in fact definitive. If I may say so, what we are concerned with is not whether this or that Territory is ahead of some other Territory, but whether the political development of this or that Territory at any given time is right in relation to the Territory's circumstances and the needs of its people at that time. I would illustrate this as follows. I do not think that anyone in the Trusteeship Council would suggest that the political development of, for example, New Guinea should at the present time be as advanced as that of Togoland under French administration. And I do not think that anyone would criticize the Australian administration because New Guinea is not in fact so advanced, any more than we would be criticized because there are many tsetse flies in Tanganyika. Similarly, I would suggest that comparisons between Tanganyika and the West African Trust Territories, or for that matter Somaliland, are not really very relevant. Nor can one compare direct elections to the Legislative Council in Tanganyika with elections to Sub-Chiefdom Councils in Ruanda-Urundi; for good reasons, I believe, Ruanda-Urundi at the present time has no central legislature. Therefore -- and perhaps I have laboured this point too long -- I cannot accept that Tanganyika is behind all other Trust Territories.

It will be remembered that the representative of India said that I was given to understatement. I wish everyone agreed with him: I have heard the opposite view. But I would say that I cannot think that we need blush about the position in Tanganyika as regards the franchise. Indeed -- with all due understatement -- I think that we might modestly throw our caps in the air. After all, for many years there has been pressure to bring direct elections on a common roll into force in East Africa. And what Territory starts this? Tanganyika. This is, I venture to suggest, a matter of first-class importance, far transcending any of the details of the electoral arrangements.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

After that -- perhaps unnecessary -- defence, I think that I must refer to this matter a little more seriously. I would merely mention what I said last summer on the subject of these electoral arrangements; namely, that the arrangements clearly:

"will, at the appropriate time, be subject to change in the light of experience of their working. The Committee which recommended the arrangements ... stated that 'experience would dictate if and where any modification of them is desirable or necessary'". (T/PV.820, page 27)

It will be recalled that, in its last report, the Trusteeship Council remarked that:

"the introduction of the elective principle is in itself a significant forward step and one which should have an important effect on the political development of the Territory". (Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 4, page 32)

In relation to the British Cameroons, I had to say that I had been unable to find any passage in the speech by the Soviet Union representative about which I could say something nice. But I am glad to say that on this occasion I am not in that position. I see that, yesterday, the Soviet Union representative said that:

"a final appreciation of these elections can be undertaken only after they are held". (T/PV.882, page 77)

I thank him for that remark. I believe that the Trusteeship Council will feel it wise to adhere to the position taken before -- namely, that, since every member of the Council knows that we are prepared to re-examine the details of the electoral arrangements in the light of the experience of their working, it would be premature to go into details now as to what changes might be made in the future or when would be the right moment to make them.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

I feel that I cannot end this statement without dealing with the question of the objective of policy about which a number of delegations have spoken. As the Council knows, we believe that we have already adequately stated our policy and objective, and that this has also been made manifestly clear by our action. For this reason, we were very much encouraged by the statement by the representative of India that his delegation is fully satisfied that the objectives of the Trusteeship System will be fully implemented by the Administering Authority, and also by his statement that his delegation is satisfied that progress in Tanganyika is going in the right direction and that there is every indication that Tanganyika should become an independent or self-governing State in accordance with the desire of the people.

The representative of Haiti said -- and I believe that Mr. Dorsinville said the same last time -- that he had been partly but not wholly reassured by the statements which the special representative and I made in the earlier part of our discussions. I do not know whether I can reassure him further, but I feel that I should try my best. We recognize, of course, that there have been a number of demands for a further statement from the Territory itself, and particularly from the political parties. Due weight must obviously be given, as indeed it is given by the Administering Authority and the Tanganyika Government, to the views expressed by political parties. But, if I may venture to say so, we in this Council were not born yesterday. I think that the Council will agree that it is in the nature of political parties to make demands of Governments, to make political capital out of what Governments do or say or do not do or do not say, and to express on occasion dissatisfaction with what Governments have said or done or not said or not done. If they do not do this their function as political parties would to a considerable extent disappear. But what I think the Council is concerned with is not simply what political parties have asked for but the merits of the case, and on this I would say that we believe that we have in fact made satisfactory statements.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

I should like to turn a little to the course of this debate in discussing this matter, and first of all I would refer to the statement made yesterday by the representative of Australia, Mr. Walker, whose wise remarks were, if I may say so, very much appreciated by my delegation and indeed, I believe, by the whole Council. Mr. Walker made this point very well when he said that one of the major tasks of the Administering Authority is to develop the political consciousness of the people of Tanganyika and to bring about the emergence of a national sentiment and some more complete conception of the problems and prospects of nationhood in the Territory. The problem, as the representative of Australia made clear, is that of helping the people of the Territory to promote not only harmony between the races but also harmony between the many different tribes which make up the population of the Territory. The representative of Australia quoted from paragraph 75 of the Visiting Mission's report where it is said:

"Political organization in Tanganyika is still at a very early stage of development and the supporters of the two Territory-wide parties probably account for a small minority of the population. The mass of the African population is still organized in tribal or local groupings, which, although very influential, are, in many cases, primarily concerned with local problems."

It may well turn out in the long run that the problem of tribal adjustment is an even more important one than that of racial adjustment. Such things have happened in other comparable areas. Our actions and our policies in the constitutional, educational and economic spheres are all designed, and must be designed, to secure the emergence of a sense of Tanganyika nationhood. But of course I do not want in any way to play down the importance of racial harmony, an importance which was very much emphasized by the representative of India in his statement.

A similar point relating to harmony between the races was made by the representative of the United States, who emphasized the interest of his delegation particularly in the smoothness rather than the speed of political growth in Tanganyika. He said that the smoothness of progress would depend upon racial goodwill and upon the ability of all sides to foresee and prepare for the human adjustment which must be made if the Trusteeship is to end in harmony.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

Mr. Sears quoted from a speech made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies last June in the House of Commons in London. There is much, if I may say so, worth studying in that speech apart from the passage which Mr. Sears quoted. Mr. Lennox-Boyd referred, for example, to the importance of non-African skills and capital, explaining that non-African skills and capital are needed not because they are non-African but because they are skills and capital. He went on to say that we have to do everything we can to make it easy for those comparatively few Africans who are qualified today to take their full place in a modern economy and modern political organization, and that we have to increase their number over the years by expanding education and by giving every possible encouragement to the emergence of more and more Africans with qualities of individual responsibility.

Here I should like to refer to another statement which was made by the representative of India during his speech. It was towards the end of his remarks, where he said:

"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."

(T/PV.881, page 38-40)

The representative of the United Arab Republic made a similar point and, if I may say so, I much appreciated what he said in this respect when he referred to the three problems to which he said we ought to pay special attention: first, discouraging and opposing racial extremism; second, ironing out disparities among various regions of the Territory in economic development; and, third, helping the people of the country through the psychological upheaval which may result from the impact of Western culture and technology. Let me assure the representative of the United Arab Republic that we do indeed take all three problems most seriously. I think all members of the Council appreciated the spirit in which he made his speech. Certainly my delegation did. He will not expect me to say that I agree with every word of what he said. In fact, for reasons which will have been clear

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

from what I have said already, I do not think that he did justice to the attitude to the great majority at any rate of the European population of Tanganyika. But I can certainly join with him in putting peace and harmony as among the most important human objectives of our policy for Tanganyika.

(Sir Andrew Cohen,
United Kingdom)

The same theme of promoting racial harmony was in fact the theme of the Economist article of last June, quoted by the representative of the Soviet Union. Now he was no doubt perfectly justified in quoting only a part of it, because if we quoted whole articles we should sit here all night. But I would venture to say that a rather fuller quotation from the article -- which I have studied again most closely -- would perhaps have given a less gloomy and possibly fairer picture of the general state of affairs in the Territory.

May I, since I have been talking about statements made or referred to by members of this Council, refer to the end of Sir Edward Twining's speech of 17 September, which was mentioned by the representative of India. He finished his speech, after paying a tribute to the contribution to the Territory of the Europeans and Asians, by saying:

"I hope that non-African communities will give sympathetic understanding to African aspirations, particularly those of the rising generation. One of our most important problems, in fact, is that of human relations. So far we have been fortunate in these, and it is more than ever important today that they should not only be maintained, but improved. Perhaps one of our greatest needs is that of sound and responsible leadership."

I shall not go on any further. But even at the risk of slightly lengthening what I have to say, I feel that I must refer again, because I think it sums up the matter, to what I said on this subject when I addressed the Council in June last year. I said: "We believe that as regards our general objectives we can safely rely on the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement and the Charter. Under these solemn documents, our task in the political sphere is clear. It is to promote the political advancement of the inhabitants of Tanganyika and their progressive development towards self-government or independence." I stated: "Tanganyika has inhabitants of more races than one genuinely belonging to the Territory and all are entitled to the rights assured by the Trusteeship Agreement and the Charter." (T/PV.820, p. 31)

In another statement in the same debate I said: "We recognize as a Government, and so do the immigrant communities, that the vast majority of the people of Tanganyika are Africans. We not only recognize this fact, but we recognize its implications. Equally we know that the African people, generally speaking, recognize the value of the immigrant communities to the development and welfare of the Territory..." (T/PV.822, p. 106)

(Sir Andrew Cohen,
United Kingdom)

Turning to the original speech, I stated:

"It is the policy of the United Kingdom Government in relation to Tanganyika, in accordance with the Agreement and the Charter, to provide for the full participation of all sections of the population in the progressive development of political institutions. But the vast majority of the population of Tanganyika are Africans, and as the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs said to the General Assembly last February, 'as the educational, social and economic progress of the African community in Tanganyika continues, the participation of Africans in both the legislative and the executive branches of government is bound to increase'." (T/PV.820, p. 31)

I went on to say:

"We have heard during our discussion about the steps being taken to expand and improve African education and to promote the economic wealth of Africans. Who can doubt that, as a result of their own efforts and of Government policy, Africans will steadily and progressively increase the part they play in the public life of the country in all its different fields?" (Ibid. pp. 31-32)

I do not think I need go on. The sentiments have been reflected by what others have said in this Council. I believe that this is generally known in Tanganyika. I know that some people say they want more, but I am not sure that this is because they really need it. I think it is because it is necessary for political parties to ask for more from governments, and that is a natural and healthy process. I believe we have done our part in this respect and I believe that the course of events will show that we have done our part.

I have spoken rather longer than I intended. I shall conclude by repeating what I said before, and it was the representative of India who laid some emphasis on this: We intend to pursue our policy in Tanganyika in all fields in face of many practical difficulties with the utmost vigour.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to thank the representative of the United Kingdom and the special representative for their statements, which unquestionably will prove most valuable to the Drafting Committee on this Territory.

The Council is now called upon to elect a Drafting Committee to prepare a report on the situation in Tanganyika. I suggest that the membership of the Drafting Committee be as follows: Burma, Guatemala, New Zealand and the United States.

If there is no objection to this proposed membership of the Drafting Committee, I shall consider it as accepted by the Council.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): It has been suggested that the next meeting of the Council, which will be on the complex question of the examination of petitions and the subsequent items of the agenda, should be held on Friday, 14 March, at 2.30 p.m. If there is no objection to this procedure, I shall consider it as accepted by the Council.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS
Department of Public Information
Press and Publications Division
United Nations, N. Y.

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Trusteeship Council
21st Session
36th Meeting (PM)

Press Release TR/1372
12 March 1958

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 1

The Trusteeship Council this afternoon continued general debate on conditions in Tanganyika under British administration.

SERGIO KOCIANCICH (Italy) said his delegation was fully aware of the "extreme complexity" of the problems facing the territory in its political development.

He took note of the statements of policy made by the administering authority concerning the development of the territory. The policy, he noted, gave assurance that this development would be democratic; it also provided for the full participation of all segments of the population.

If there had been some dissent, he observed, it had concerned the question of method and pace of progress.

Public opinion in the territory, at least among some sections of it, he said, was pressing for speedier progress in the political field and a wider participation for the African population. He was sure the administering authority would not turn a deaf ear to such requests.

Already, he said, the Council had been told that a special committee would be set up to study further constitutional changes. The Council, he felt, should take note of the assurance that the present reforms would be further considered.

In the economic field, Mr. KOCIANCICH continued, the administering authority was doing its best to tackle the various problems confronting the territory. The water supply and irrigation schemes were being pushed, as were programs in tsetse fly clearance, communications development and minerals exploration. There was also increasing African participation in the territory's economic life. These efforts, he said, should be acknowledged by the Council.

Important developments in the social and educational fields, he went on, had also been recorded in the steady expansion of hospitals; improvement of health, housing and sanitation; and the particular emphasis placed on preventive medical and disease control, with the help of specialized agencies and other international aid.

Last year, he recalled, the Council had noted the successful completion of the 10-year education plan. This year, it had been told of a new 5-year plan.

(more)

The Council, he concluded, should commend the administering authority for its efforts and for the results achieved so far. The year under review, he said, had been a "positive year."

The Council then heard the closing statements by the administering authority.

JOHN FLETCHER-COOKE, the United Kingdom's special representative, replying to various points raised in the general debate, said that where appropriate he would convey the comments made to the government of Tanganyika.

Taking up specific points, he thought that there was considerable misunderstanding in the minds of some delegates concerning the parity principle of representation. Parity, he said, had never been accepted as an all-prevailing principle in all branches of the government.

The parity principle, he said, applied only to the representative side of the Legislative Council. The principle was introduced as a transitional measure and as a means of increasing African representation. It was based on the unanimous recommendation of the constitutional committee, on which all races were represented.

The arrangements, Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE said, were never intended to last forever. Quoting from statements of the Governor of Tanganyika, he said that the whole question of parity representation would be reviewed next year by the constitutional committee.

The special representative then replied to points raised by various delegates concerning such matters as district and town government, consumer cooperatives, education of Africans, publicity of forest policy, specific labor strikes which had occurred in the territory, teaching of English in primary schools, and training of Africans in new commercial and mining enterprises.

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE maintained that the contribution of the non-African communities to the revenue of the territory was 60 per cent.

He conceded that the resources exploited were Tanganyikan. However, outside skill, capital and enterprise had acted as a catalyst for their exploitation.

Replying to the statement of the Soviet representative, Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE said that, when listening to him, he wondered whether they were both talking about the same territory.

The total amount of alienated land, the special representative said, represented less than 1.1 per cent of the total land area. The figure was "very different" from the figure of 20 per cent quoted by the Soviet representative.

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE also refuted the Soviet representative's assertion that the economy of the territory was being developed in a "lopsided" manner, favoring mainly the interests of foreign companies. All the facts and figures, the special representative said, showed the "immense" increase in the production of cash crops by Africans.

(END OF TAKE 1)

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Trusteeship Council
21st Session
36th Meeting (PM)

Press Release TR/1372
12 March 1958

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 2

Sir ANDREW COHEN (United Kingdom) said his delegation was impressed by the "constructive" and "friendly" comments made by virtually all members of the Council.

He underlined the fact that only less than 2 per cent of the arable land had been alienated to non-indigenous people. The figure of 20 per cent quoted by the Soviet representative was "wholly incorrect."

Land, he said, was only alienated if it could be shown that such alienation was in the general interest of the territory and its people. The "most scrupulous care," he added, was taken to safeguard the present and future rights of the African inhabitants.

The administering authority, he said, would press on vigorously with schemes and plans for the expansion of production and the improvement of the efficiency of African farming and other economic activities by Africans. However, it could not afford, in the present circumstances, to ignore any reasonable sources of new wealth and economic activity which did not prejudice the interests of Africans.

The right method of achieving school integration, he went on, was to proceed carefully and to gain support of all sectors of public opinion at each stage.

As regards finance, Sir ANDREW said he appreciated the attention given to this problem by the UN visiting mission. Their great hope was, he said, that a mission from the International Bank would visit Tanganyika after the forthcoming visit to the territory by Eugene R. Black, President of the International Bank. He hoped that this mission would make valuable recommendations which would contribute to the territory's economic development.

As regards the tripartite voting arrangements for the elections scheduled for this year and next year to the Legislative Council, he said there were naturally two sides to the argument. Their view, which had been approved by the Trusteeship Council last year, was that this "novel" arrangement was an experiment which should be tried. The arrangement would then be reviewed by a constitutional committee to be established by the Legislative Council.

(more)

This constitutional committee, he said, would be established following the conclusion of the elections in 1959. He did not think it would be wise at this stage to try to be too precise about its composition and terms of reference. The committee, he said, would be representative of public opinion in the territory.

The Council, he suggested, would be wise to adhere to its previous decision regarding the elections. The policy and objective of the administering authority, he said, had been made "manifestly clear" by its statements and actions.

The administering authority, he said, was aware of the demands for further statements from the territory itself and from the political parties. Due weight, he said, would be given to the views of political parties. However, it was in the nature of political parties to make demands on the government and to make capital out of what was done or not done by the government.

What the Council should be concerned with, he suggested, was not only the demands of political parties but the merits of those demands. In his belief, the administering authority had already made satisfactory statements.

The actions and policies of the administering authority, he declared, were all designed to secure the emergence of Tanganyika's nationhood.

With these statements, the debate on Tanganyika was declared concluded. The Council then appointed a drafting committee, composed of Burma, Guatemala, New Zealand and the United States, to prepare a report on the territory in the light of the debate.

The Council will meet again at 2:30 p.m. on Friday, 14 March, to take up other items on its agenda. These include several reports of the Standing Committee on Petitions, the question of rural economic development of the trust territories, and offers of scholarships for study abroad, made by member states for students of trust territories.

(END OF TAKE 2 AND OF PRESS RELEASE TR/1372)