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President:

Mr. DORSINVILLE

(Haiti)

Examinations of conditions in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika: (continued)

- (a) Annual report of the Administering Authority for the year 1957 (T/1405, 1425, 1428, 1429 and 1432; T/L.890) [4a]
- (b) Petitions raising general questions (T/PET.2/L/Add.1 and L.11) [5]

Note: The Official Record of this meeting, i.e., the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.951 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

## AGENDA ITEMS 4a and 5

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

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY FOR THE YEAR 1957 (T/1405, 1425, 1428, 1429 and 1432; T/L.890)
- (b) PETITIONS RAISING GENERAL QUESTIONS (T/PET.2/10/Add.1 and L.11)

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. JHA (India): During the past week the Council has been engaged in examining the report of the Administering Authority on Tanganyika for the year 1957. We have had the advantage of the able and lucid presentation by the special representative for Tanganyika, Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, which has helped us to understand the conditions in Tanganyika and to bring our knowledge up to date. My delegation would like to pay a special tribute to Mr. Fletcher-Cooke for his forthrightness and patience and for the wealth of information he has provided to the Council in answer to the many questions put to him.

For this Council, Tanganyika in many ways has special importance. It is the largest of the Territories which came under the Trusteeship System of the United Nations. It is one of the last remaining Trust Territories which have still to attain freedom of independence which is the goal of the Trusteeship System. More than these, it covers a considerable part of the great continent of Africa where the current of freedom, in spite of the suppressions, iniquities and discriminations prevailing in many parts of the continent against the indigenous and Asian populations, is more and more assuming the form of a mighty irresistible stream. The most significant fact of our times is the resurgence of Asia and Africa. Asia perhaps led the way in this resurgence. The continent of Africa is now on the march. The fact that Tanganyika is an African Territory inhabited predominantly by the African people is a fact of major significance of which the Trusteeship Council cannot afford to lose sight. It is at once the noble burden and privilege of the Government of the United Kingdom as the Administering Authority to prepare the peoples of Tanganyika to join in the procession of free countries in Africa.

(Mr. Jha, India)

I had the privilege of visiting Tanganyika over twelve years ago as a member of an Indian Mission to East Africa. We were impressed by the efficiency of the civil administration of Tanganyika. Even more than that, we got the feeling that, unlike many of its neighbouring territories at that time, Tanganyika had a largely congenial racial atmosphere. It seemed that Tanganyika might be able to achieve the harmonious adjustment of relations between the indigenous people, the Africans, and the Europeans and the Asians who had made Tanganyika their home. It seemed to us then that Tanganyika might well show the way to a solution of the most momentous question on the continent of Africa.

I am happy to say that, despite ups and downs which were inevitable in the intervening years, the latest report of the Administering Authority and the statement made by the special representative, by and large, confirm the impressions that I then formed in Tanganyika. The political situation, in so far as it concerns the development of relations between the Africans, Europeans and Asians, seems to be developing in a harmonious way. We are happy to note that the Tanganyika African National Union, which is now the largest African political party in the Territory, and its able President, Mr. Nyerere, are imbued with a broad and statesmanlike approach towards the peoples and political organizations of the other two races. Mr. Nyerere's statement on the Governor's address at the October meeting of the Legislative Council was, in our view, most appropriate in this connexion, namely, that once the onus of responsibility is thrown on the Africans, as indeed it should be theirs because of their overwhelming majority in Tanganyika, they should take the necessary responsible attitude towards other races. Likewise the Governor's statement, in his address to the October meeting of the Legislative Council, that "it is intended, and has always been intended, that the fact that when self-government is eventually attained, both the Legislature and the Government are likely to be predominantly African" is a significant step in the right direction. I will have more to say on this subject a little later in my statement, but here I would only like to express the approbation of my delegation to such statements on behalf of the Administering Authority and of the predominant element of the Tanganyika population. We hope that these ideas are further developed with speed and given practical shape, both by the Administering Authority and TANU and other African political organizations, since the true foundations of the future independent, democratic Tanganyika, progressing in inter-racial harmony, can only be laid on the basis of these principles.

(Mr. Jha, India)

We are also happy to note that the relations between the Government and the political parties in general are harmonious. The true function of an Administering Authority in a Trust Territory should be to help the people to reach the Trusteeship System's goal of independence -- in fact, to be the people's guide, philosopher and friend. We feel sure that in the coming years -- which in many ways will be the vital preparatory years for the Territory -- the Government will perform its role of facilitating the development of sound political organizations, of impartially dealing with such organizations and of helping public opinion to develop in the right direction.

We have to remember, however, that good government is no substitute for self-government, and it is self-government or independence which is the ultimate goal of the Trusteeship System. Policies and measures in a Trust Territory must be aimed at the speedy attainment of this goal. In our view, the speed of the attainment of independence is not to be determined on the basis of any narrow or static concepts: it has to be decided in the context of a variety of factors. The most significant of these are often not internal factors, important as they are, but external ones. It is these latter that have a powerful impact and usually stimulate political developments of a profound character. We mention this to draw attention again to the tremendous forces that are convulsing the African Continent today. We have no doubt that these are known to, and well understood by, the Administering Authority; but I think that it will bear repetition to say that, unless they are taken into account and the speed of preparation and development is attuned thereto, Tanganyika is likely to be left far behind -- out of tune and a straggler on the African Continent.

In view of the considerations which I have just stated, the objectives of the Trusteeship System and the obligations the Administering Authority has assumed thereunder, it should be the pre-eminent task of the Administering Authority to prepare the peoples of the Territory, in the shortest possible time, for the grave responsibilities which will be theirs when the Territory becomes independent. Such preparation has to be on a comprehensive basis -- namely, with a view to balanced and integrated development in the political, social and economic fields. There should be detailed planning of various measures and policies to enable a smooth and orderly transfer of power to the people of Tanganyika, whose privilege and responsibility it would be thereafter to carry the torch of freedom forward in conditions of social and economic progress.



(Mr. Jha, India)

The General Assembly, in its resolution 558 (VI) of 18 January 1952 and subsequent resolutions on the same subject, culminating in resolution 1274 (XIII), has time and again emphasized the importance of such planning, and has invited the Administering Authorities to fix early successive intermediate targets and dates in the fields of political, economic, social and educational development in Trust Territories so as to create, as soon as possible, the preconditions for the attainment of self-government or independence. My delegation feels that in the case of Tanganyika the time has come when the determination of such targets should no longer be postponed. We would recommend once again that, in consultation with the elected representatives of Tanganyika, the Administering Authority should proceed with the fixing of targets for the introduction of universal suffrage and the abolition of official representatives in the Legislature and the executive government, and in other spheres.

In 1957, when two African representatives made statements before the Trusteeship Council, they touched upon the question of the date when Tanganyika could become independent. Mr. Nyerere, President of the Tanganyika African National Union, said: "How long did I think our country was going to take to be independent? I said ten to twelve years. Is that not believing in gradualness? I could have said 'self-government now'". And Chief Marelle estimated the period as ten to fifteen years.

Though only two years have elapsed since then, events and ideas have moved fast -- and not only in Africa, where one territory after another has attained or is about to attain independence: if I may be permitted to refer to this, the world outside has moved from the atomic age into the new age of space. The estimates made in 1957 are already far out of date, and the period remaining before Tanganyika's attainment of independence has indeed to be very much shorter.

In the light of those general observations, I should like to make some comments on the Territory's political, economic and social conditions. There is no doubt that the elections to the Legislative Council, which took place in five constituencies last September and are due in another five today, represent a political advance; but it will be admitted that the measure of political progress represented by these elections is very small. It must be remembered that out of 6.5 million Africans and 123,000 non-Africans -- according to the 1957 census --

(Mr. Jha, India)

the total electorate was only about 58,000. This is indeed like a drop in the ocean, and no elective system in which the franchise is so limited as to confer voting rights on only .007 per cent of the total population can be viewed with any satisfaction. We are aware that large numbers of those who were eligible failed to register as voters. Nevertheless, the main conclusion is not affected thereby.

On another matter of detail, we should like to observe that the existing constituencies are too large; each of the ten provinces is a constituency. It is well known that these areas are not highly developed and lack adequate communications. In the circumstances, both contacts by candidates with the voters and the exercise of the vote by the electors must inevitably be difficult. The most satisfactory system, of course, is to have single-member constituencies, and the constituencies themselves should not be too large and unmanageable. In particular, the obligation on the voter to record his vote for all the seats, even if he does not know all the candidates, seems curious and somewhat anachronistic. It is important, in our view, if the democratic experiment which the Administering Authority has started is to have much meaning and substance, that these reforms should be seriously considered and introduced as early as possible.

(Mr. Jha, India)

We know by experience that the democratic system is expensive and the holding of nation-wide elections on the basis of universal adult franchise needs considerable organization. Experience elsewhere, however, shows that the exercise of universal adult suffrage has neither been administratively so difficult nor has it produced the consequences feared by those who have had to take a decision in that regard. On the other hand, the conferment of the exercise of universal adult franchise is the best means of creating political consciousness and political education of masses of people, which in the final resort are the cornerstones of a free democratic society. It is also the experience of many countries, including India, that illiteracy is no bar to intelligent voting. Indeed, if one were to wait for a high literacy rate before the introduction of adult suffrage, the development of real democracy in many countries would be postponed for many generations. We believe that it should not be administratively difficult to introduce adult suffrage immediately. On the basis that the adult voting population is usually a little under 50 per cent of the total, Tanganyika should have about 4 million voters, the average number of voters in each province being about 500,000, which the machinery of administration and elections in Tanganyika should, we feel, be easily able to handle. We would therefore urge the Administering Authority to give serious consideration to the question of introduction of adult suffrage.

I would now like to take up a somewhat larger question, namely the manner and pattern of race relations in Tanganyika. As I have observed earlier, the conditions for the evolution of a harmonious multi-racial society are favourable in the Trust Territory. The Administering Authority is itself showing commendable understanding of the problem despite criticism of detail that may sometimes be levelled against the administration of the Territory. It is, however, important to visualize the ultimate pattern and to work towards it with sincerity and singleness of purpose. In our view, the ultimate pattern should be, and indeed can be none other than, a society in which different racial elements in the Territory are bound together in a single Tanganyikan nationhood, an egalitarian society in which members of all races enjoy equal rights and privileges and have equal opportunities, without discrimination of any kind. It is only in that kind of society that freedom and democracy can grow and flourish. In the view of our delegation, as a natural corollary to this, the Africans who form an

overwhelming population of the Territory must have an overwhelming share in the government and administration of the Territory and in other spheres of national life. Any principle of parity of racial representation is inconsistent with the development of such a society and thus with the development of sound democratic institutions in a free Tanganyika. It is gratifying to note that the Administering Authority, as indicated in the speech of the Governor of the Territory before the Legislative Council in October, does not consider parity to be a permanent feature of the Tanganyika scene and that in the final picture both the legislature and the Government are likely to be predominantly African. This principle needs to be more categorically stated and applied in practice. At the same time, the minority races who have made their home in Tanganyika should have the feeling and assurance that they would enjoy equal rights under the law with the entire population. We are happy to see an implicit recognition of this in Mr. Nyerere's speech in the debate on the Governor's address. We feel that this principle also needs to be more explicitly stated and emphasized, especially by the representatives of the African political organizations. We hope that African leaders will recognize the need for orienting the people in these salutary principles.

Recently elections were held in the Territory for the Legislative Council for the first time, and, though the range of elections was unnecessarily restricted, we are happy to see that the results achieved have been entirely satisfactory. The largest political party, namely the Tanganyika African National Union, has now emerged on the constitutional scene of the Territory, and perhaps of greater significance is the fact that Tanganyika has now a leader in the person of Mr. Julius Nyerere, who is acclaimed by all to be endowed with vision, wisdom and moderation. This is a matter of great good fortune for the Territory. Nothing is more important for a newly emerging country than the calibre of its leaders. We hope that under leaders like Mr. Nyerere political life in Tanganyika will be moulded on lines which augur well for the future of the Territory and for inter-racial harmony.

My delegation hopes that, now that there will be thirty elected members in the Legislative Council, steps will be taken to have non-official Ministers chosen from the elected representatives. As the special representative has stated, things have moved rapidly since the time when well over eighteen months ago some non-officials



were brought into the Executive Council at the Assistant Ministers' level. We were glad to hear from the special representative that the Administering Authority was now thinking in terms of appointment of non-official Ministers.

We learn from the special representative that the best way of associating the Chiefs with the Central Government of the Territory was being considered through the establishment of a Territorial Council composed largely, but not exclusively, of Chiefs. We were glad to have the special representative's assurance that that body "would not be a second chamber in the accepted sense of the term" (T/PV.945, p. 61) but rather an advisory organ which would consider controversial questions without the authority to have the right of decision of the Legislative Council. We are aware of the important position occupied by Chiefs in African society, but we feel that the contemplated Territorial Council should be complementary and in no way an impediment to the development of parliamentary institutions and of a democratic society in Tanganyika.

My delegation is glad to note that the Administering Authority has taken substantial steps in the direction of organization of local government. At present there are 10 Town Councils, 1 Municipality, namely at Dar es Salaam, 9 District Councils and a Local Council at Newala. We welcome the setting up of these Councils as a political and administrative training ground for the Africans. Since these bodies are entrusted with many nation-building activities, they can also do much for the rural development of Tanganyika. All these will be useful preparations for the transfer of power at the time of the independence of the Territory. We note that there have been instances of some of these bodies not functioning satisfactorily. But this is no cause for discouragement. The Administering Authority can do much through advice, encouragement and assistance towards the healthy development of local self-governing institutions. The elective system has already been introduced in Town Councils. We see no reason why District Councils also should not be elective bodies.

It is unnecessary for me to emphasize that the backbone of any administration of government must be the civil services. Efficiency in the civil services is necessary not only for the purpose of administering Tanganyika but for giving the Territory the right start when it becomes independent. In recent times many newly independent States have found themselves in serious difficulties owing to the inadequacy of their trained civil cadres. We note that the Administering Authority

is aware of this and is increasing the number of Africans in the higher services. The increase, however, is not fast enough, even though we may recognize practical difficulties. We cannot too strongly emphasize that Africanization of the services should proceed at an accelerated pace and that the aim should be to have all posts of District Officers and below manned by the inhabitants of the Territory in the next two or three years. To say that no qualified Africans were available for a particular post or that there are only nine African doctors in Tanganyika is hardly complimentary to the Administering Authority after so many decades of mandate or trusteeship for Tanganyika. While we note with satisfaction the availability of bursaries and other training facilities, we would like the Administering Authority to engage in a determined and more extensive programme for training more and more Africans for the higher ranks of the civil services. The Administering Authority should, in this connexion, also avail itself of such training facilities in public administration as may be available from the United Nations.

Finally, while I am dealing with the political developments in the Territory, I should like to express the hope, on behalf of my delegation, that there will be no avoidable delay in the formation of the Committee on Constitutional Reforms. We attach the greatest importance to the task before this Committee. The time is now appropriate for the Constitutional Committee to go into the whole question of the future of Tanganyika, lay down sound future lines of political development, for example, by giving up the principle of parity, revising the machinery of government so as to give just and adequate African representation thereon, introduction of adult suffrage, etc.

It would be well to remember that freedom itself is of illusory value if it is accompanied by economic weakness. If, therefore, Tanganyika is to be prepared for independence, it is obvious that its economic strength should be developed to the fullest extent. Experience shows that the development of the economic strength of an under-developed country is a tremendous task. It is now generally accepted that integrated and long-range economic planning are necessary. In our view, the Administering Authority should devote the greatest efforts to this end. Balanced schemes of development of agriculture and industry are necessary and the industrial potential of the Territory needs to be developed. It is also necessary that in these developments the Africans should have full and adequate share. The Administering Authority appear to be fully aware of the need for economic development and have a revised five-year development plan 1955-61 totalling over £32 million. Planning, however, seems at present to be compartmental. Integrated planning with priorities carefully laid down in full co-operation and discussion with the main political parties and associations seems called for.

The foundation of such a plan must be a careful survey of the resources of the Territory. It is understood that some occasional surveys have been made, but it is desirable to have more comprehensive and integrated surveys than hitherto. It would be appropriate for the Administering Authority to increasingly call upon the assistance of the United Nations bodies and specialized agencies to help them in such surveys. We are happy to note the assistance given by the FAO in regard to the Rufiji basin scheme, and we are sure that more such assistance will be forthcoming from them and from other United Nations agencies.

The availability of finance for development is, of course, a matter of great difficulty. The Administering Authority appears already to have made a good beginning by instituting a development plan reserve into which moneys from revenue and other sources are credited for development purposes. It is also satisfactory to note that the Administering Authority have been able to raise money on the commercial market for financing development projects. We trust that they will find ways and means of augmenting the development funds both at the Central Government and the local authority level. It is of the utmost importance that in the financial stringency caused by the fall in commodity prices, which we hope is only temporary, development expenditure will not be curtailed.

The report of the Administering Authority shows a healthy expansion of the co-operative movement. At the end of 1957, there were 474 Registered Societies with a total membership of 300,279. Co-operative Societies now operate in all the eight provinces and their services include bulk marketing facilities, bulk purchase of trade goods, distribution of consumer goods, seeds and planting material, agricultural requisites, loans, finance saving facilities and education. It is of the utmost importance that the co-operative societies movement should be expanded and that not merely marketing societies but multi-purpose co-operative societies be established throughout the country. In our view, in an under-developed country with inefficient agriculture, village co-operatives can play the most important part in building up the economy and in preparing the people for their economic responsibilities as a free nation.

It seems necessary that immediate steps should be taken to encourage capital-formation, to whatever extent possible, through the accumulation of co-operative capital, development loans and compulsory and voluntary savings, both small and big. The Administering Authority's efforts towards the establishment of co-operatives have been sufficiently successful to justify more accelerated progress in that direction. The large majority of existing co-operatives seem to be functioning well. We wish to suggest that the Government should further encourage, to the maximum extent, the inhabitants of the Territory to organize themselves freely into co-operative societies of various kinds.



Tanganyika is an agricultural country with but few industries. Agriculture forms the principal wealth and occupation of the people. Therefore, if the national wealth of Tanganyika is to be increased, its agriculture must needs be improved. For the improvement of agriculture, the first essential condition is the establishment of a satisfactory system of land tenure. The best guarantee for maximum agricultural production is that the farmer must have security of tenure and occupancy, should be free from impositions by the State or by the landlord, and should have all the incentives in the world to increase production. We note that the Tanganyika Government has the formulation of a new land tenure policy under consideration.

The Administering Authority's report deals with a subject of land alienation. This is an important subject in a Territory where there is perpetual land hunger among the Africans and there have been allegations -- and with justice -- of mal-distribution of land as between the various races. Members of the Trusteeship Council also have commented on this subject at previous meetings of the Council. We note that out of ten new grants during 1958 six went to Africans and two to public or semi-public bodies. We take note with satisfaction of this improvement which meets to some extent the criticism that has been made in the past. We hope that this trend will continue.

The statistical appendices to the Report reveal a chronic food deficit which has persisted over the last four or five years. Consequently, food worth over £2 million has been imported annually, and to that extent the Territory's financial resources continue to suffer a set back. The formation of capital for development purposes in agricultural countries depends to a large extent on the availability or otherwise of exportable surpluses of food. The elimination of this food deficit should, therefore, receive the highest priority, and the burden of the attack should fall on the tsetse fly. Attention should then be paid to the development of water resources. Rainfall in the Territory seems somewhat haphazard and unpredictable. Large dams of high capacity are, of course, the final answer to this problem, but a profitable beginning could be made with the building of small dams, water collecting artificial lakes and pools

in the villages. In our view, adequate attention has not been paid in the past to the development of the Territory's agriculture, which should receive priority attention. On the average, expenditure on agriculture has amounted to less than 5 per cent of the total annual expenditure.

Nearly two-thirds of land in Tanganyika is said to be covered with bushes infested with the tsetse fly. If the land at present under the tsetse menace was made available for cultivation, that would mean a vast increase in the agricultural wealth of the Territory. According to the special representative the average holding of an African farmer in the moderately to intensively cultivated areas is no more than two acres. This indeed explains his poverty. If more land were available to him, if more working capital were at his disposal, if arrangements could be made for supply of water to his fields, if the farmer could get better seeds and if possible fertilizers, he would no doubt emerge from his abject state of poverty -- the average per capita income per year is said to be not more than £18 to £20 -- to a state of comparative wealth and prosperity. He would then himself find the means for his social and educational advancement and the burden on the State would be correspondingly diminished. We are of course fully aware that these conditions are difficult of attainment without a great deal of finance and capital and many years of organization, which at present are not at the disposal of the Government of Tanganyika. Nevertheless, the goal of planned and extensive as well as intensive agricultural development should, in our view, be kept in mind, and, to start with, the campaign against the tsetse fly should be intensified. We feel sure that in any project towards this end, the Administering Authority can count on the help of the United Nations organs and its specialized agencies and of charitable foundations.

(Mr. Jha, India)

We are happy to note that considerable progress has been made during the last year in the development of natural resources in the field of agriculture. Coming from a country with some of the most expensive irrigation systems in the world and where many large schemes of irrigation are now in progress, we view with great satisfaction and hope the Rufiji Basin Scheme, in respect of which surveys have already been completed and initial work started. This scheme is expected to confer benefits to an area of several hundred square miles. This certainly is imaginative planning, and it is planning such as this that is needed for under-developed areas. We wish this scheme every success and we hope that similar imaginative schemes will be undertaken in other areas and in other fields, too, with the help of international organizations.

Side by side with agricultural development, industrial development should not be neglected if Tanganyika is to be prepared adequately for its future responsibilities as an independent nation. It is obvious that the Territory at present cannot afford the capital and the financial resources to build up organized industries on a large scale. But a start has to be made. Conditions have to be created in the Territory to facilitate investment from outside on a non-political basis. In this direction African national organizations can play a very useful part. It is they who will have to extend the assurances of fair treatment so as to attract foreign capital and investment in the Territory.

The special representative has given us detailed information about the financial situation in the Territory. While we appreciate the difficulties caused by the fall in prices of the primary commodities which are exported from Tanganyika, namely, sisal, coffee, etc., it is our view that the probable deficit of nearly over a million and a half sterling for the current financial year should not be allowed to deter the Administering Authority from economic and social planning. We hope, as the special representative envisages, that much of the deficit, which indeed is not of a very high order, will be eliminated through economies in departmental expenditure.

We feel that the economy of the Territory is basically sound and that if persistent and well-thought-out measures are taken it should be possible to raise higher revenues. Sources of income tax revenue can perhaps be tapped

(Mr. Jha, India)

afresh, and a more extensive exploration and exploitation of the Territory's mineral wealth offers attractive prospects.

We believe that Government has not so far offered adequate facilities to Asian and African prospectors. It should also be possible for Government to set up industries utilising the sisal, cotton, etc. which are grown in the Territory as raw materials. In any case, we feel that there should be no inroads into the social services on account of the expected budgetary deficit.

To put it in a nutshell, the vast gap between the per capita income of the more advanced countries and that of the Africans has to be substantially bridged. For no free and democratic institutions can flourish in the soil of poverty, illiteracy and disease. The Administering Authority should give attention to this all-important task and tap all resources not only within the Territory but also all sources of international finance and capital. We believe that since Tanganyika is a Trust Territory and it is the noble aim of the Trusteeship System to prepare the peoples of Tanganyika for independence the Administering Authority will find a great deal of sympathy in many quarters for its economic plans.

I should now like to touch on the question of education. It is obvious that there is a great urge for education among the Africans. We are glad to note the progress that has been made during the last two years. The special representative's statement, in which he gives details of students at the various higher technical and other institutions in Makerere, Nairobi and outside Africa, is impressive. It is also satisfactory to know that large numbers of teachers are being systematically trained at the teacher-training centres and that facilities for vocational and technical training are being expanded. However, the Administering Authority will, we hope, take careful note of the comments made by UNESCO. It is obvious that even though efforts have been intensified during the last few years the problem of education, especially African education, is a vast one and requires a large organization and financial expenditure. UNESCO has commented on the low percentage of appropriations from general revenues for recurrent educational expenditure. We hope that it will be possible to increase the appropriations.



(Mr. Jha, India)

It was disquieting to learn from the special representative's statement that in spite of the appalling illiteracy in the Territory there were 14,000 places unfilled in Standard I in primary schools and more than 91,000 unfilled places in Standards II, III and IV of the same schools. In the middle schools, likewise, there were 5,000 unfilled places. We realize that part of the apathy or inability to utilize the vacancies is probably traceable to economic reasons, that is to say, the need for a family to draft their children to work at a very early age to aid in the income of the family. But it is important, if education is to make progress in the Territory, that this initial formidable obstacle should be overcome. We trust that the Administering Authority will give its earnest consideration to this problem and popularize education through local government bodies and social welfare organizations among the people. In this connexion, adult education, the beginnings of which have already been undertaken in the Territory, is of great importance. If parents themselves become literate and acquire the keenness to learn, they are better able to appreciate the need for their children's education. Thus, measures for adult education, apart from being intrinsically important, may also assist in removing the apathy towards elementary and secondary education of children.

There are two other aspects of education in the Territory on which my delegation would like to comment. First, there is the question of integration of schools. This, as we know, is a burning question not only in Tanganyika, but in many other parts of the world where this problem of education of children of different races exists. The intensity of the problem and its potentialities for causing racial tension are now admitted on all hands. It is our view that there should be no separate schools for racial or religious groups. Education should be integrated at all levels as a fundamental policy.

We note that the Administering Authority has shown awareness of the problem by appointing a committee to go into the whole question of integration of schools. We trust that the committee will make significant recommendations.

In a Territory, especially in a Trust Territory, the population of which comprises groups of different religious faiths and beliefs, it is appropriate and desirable that Government should develop an educational policy which is completely secular. We are not opposed to denominational education but we feel that this should be left to the organizations and the communities. In

Tanganyika, as the special representative has pointed out, there are financial difficulties, and funds available for the promotion of education are limited. It is therefore necessary that public funds should be devoted to the spread of education which will benefit the community as a whole and not for any theological or denominational education.

I am sorry to have spoken at such length. My reason for doing so is that my delegation has always followed developments in Tanganyika with great interest. I hope my remarks, even if critical, will be taken in the constructive spirit in which they were made. Any comments we have made do not detract from our appreciation of the work which is being done in Tanganyika. The United Kingdom has a tradition of good government, and the recent history of Africa and of many countries in Asia bears testimony to its statesmanship and farsightedness. Under its trusteeship, we look forward to the emergence of Tanganyika in the near future as an independent country taking an honoured place at the United Nations.

Mr. YANG (China): In offering my delegation's few observations on the United Kingdom's administration of the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, I wish to say at the outset that we of the Chinese delegation are impressed by a series of significant events which took place in Tanganyika during the past six or seven months in the political and constitutional fields. The propitious trend which these events have helped to create in Dar es Salaam not only speaks eloquently for the statesmanship of the African leaders and for the moderation of their attitude, but also attests to the wisdom and good faith with which the Administering Authority brought about or helped to bring about these happy events.

I am sure that the Council will agree with me if I say, here and now, that this trend, when nurtured in a congenial atmosphere of mutual understanding and close co-operation, cannot but augur well for Tanganyika's future peaceful and orderly political and constitutional development. But I must hasten to add that in fixing our eyes on the bright side of the Tanganyika scene, we have not in any way lost sight of some of the "disturbing features" or, in the words of the special representative, "some clouds on the horizon".

In this debate, I do not propose to go into details. I shall focus my attention on a few of such important events and facts that seem to have linked up with the Territory's major developments as we see them, and I shall, if I can, confine my observations to matters at the policy level.

My delegation has carefully studied the 1957 annual report, the summary report of main events during 1958, the special representative's detailed opening statement and the additional information elicited from him during the question and answer period. We are grateful to Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, the Minister for Constitutional Affairs, for the enlightenment his rich and intimate knowledge of the Territory has brought to us and for the patient and courteous manner in which he has ably assisted in our proceedings. We are, indeed, much indebted to him.

As members of the Council will recall, when conditions of Tanganyika were examined by the Council last March, there was, rightly or wrongly, sincere concern over the state of affairs developing in the wake of the resignation of Mr. Julius Nyerere, on 13 December 1957, from the Legislative Council as a nominated representative member for Dar es Salaam. Undoubtedly, doubts persisted in the minds of many Africans and their leaders in Tanganyika as to the real intentions of the Administering Authority with respect to its parity formula

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and the related multi-racial or non-racial policy. A number of the branches of the Tanganyika African National Union were refused recognition. Some of them were declared unlawful. Moreover, the President of TANU, Mr. Nyerere, had been charged with criminal libel for which he was later fined a total of £150. In short, up to last July there seemed to have developed in the whole Tanganyika complex a degree of uncertainty. Somehow or other, it was argued, something must be done.

But things that have developed since last July are not what they were six or seven months ago. There are quite different in the sense that, from the information that has been made available to the Council during the present session, we see quite a different picture and, if I may say so, a rather bright picture. Instead of confusion, misunderstanding, frustration and fears working together as a vicious circle inevitably to aggravate the situation, we now see, in the political and constitutional fields, hopeful signs of progress and stability, and my delegation for one is encouraged to think of the future of the Territory in terms of, to borrow an expression of Sir Edward Twining, "a model state in Africa."

Members of the Council must have noted that Sir Richard Turnbull was sworn in on 15 July 1958 as Governor of Tanganyika. Thirty-six days later, the new Governor, who was well known to the people in East Africa but whose high qualities of guardianship had yet to be more fully appreciated in Tanganyika, was able to pronounce, on 20 August, that:

"he had decided to advance the date of the ~~second round of the elections from September to February 1959.~~"

This was indeed a very significant pronouncement. The decision so made was, in the view of my delegation, made in the best tradition of the United Kingdom.

By a single act of his, the Governor has certainly succeeded in breaking the vicious cycle. On the positive side, it was a confidence-inspiring decision. It meant, among other things, good faith and sincere efforts on the part of the Administering Authority to meet the wishes of the African leaders half way concerning the political and constitutional developments of their country.

"To get others to come into our ways of thinking", wrote William Hazlitt in 1828, "we must go over to theirs; and it is necessary to follow, in order to lead."

My delegation wishes here to commend the Administering Authority, most sincerely, for the wise and timely decision it took, nineteen days before the



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holding of the first round of the elections, to advance the date of the second round of the elections by no less than seven months.

As a result of this decision and in the light of what has taken place during and after the first round of the elections, I am convinced that the Council is doing the right thing when it displays its interest, during this session, more as to the composition and terms of reference of the new Constitutional or Post-Elections Committee than in the organization and results of the second round of the elections.

In this connexion, my delegation is glad to have the assurance of the special representative that the composition and terms of reference of the Constitutional Committee will be announced during the month of March 1959. May I suggest that the Council take note of this assurance with satisfaction.

While it is not my intention to repeat at this juncture everything that has been said previously on the composition and terms of reference of the Constitutional Committee, I do wish, in view of the great importance we attach to them, to reiterate the hope that the projected committee will be given the broadest possible terms of reference, that its composition will be as representative as possible and that substantial African representation will be ensured.

My delegation is confident that the prevailing spirit of co-operation and understanding, inspired by a high sense of responsibility, will continue to permeate the deliberations of the Constitutional Committee and that every effort will be bent towards eventual positive measures designed to bring about inter alia early introduction of a system of universal adult suffrage, liberalization of the present voting procedure, based on the theory of parity representation and a sense of direction, to which this greatest of the Trust Territories is being led.

I am making these observations not because I had to. In making them, I know full well the responsibilities of a member of the Trusteeship Council and my thoughts are very much with the Tanganyikans and their problems, with their legitimate political aspirations as well as with their manifold financial and economic difficulties.

It is my submission that at this important stage of their political and constitutional developments, the people of Tanganyika; must, first of all, be infused with a sense of direction prerequisite for a measure of unity of purpose or of action badly needed for a rapid and balanced development of the Territory in all fields.

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As to the policy regarding the pattern which the future development of the Territory will take, the point at issue, in the view of my delegation, is not so much of a semantic nature as it is of the intentions that are behind it, and the word used to describe the policy that is being pursued -- non-racial -- is perhaps preferable to the word multi-racial. But having regard to the intentions that have been explained time and again concerning that policy, and also to the statement that the actions and policies which the Administering Authority has taken and followed in all fields are "designed to secure the emergence of a sense of Tanganyikan nationhood, with special emphasis on the development of racial harmony", it is obvious that what is actually needed is that all concerned should demonstrate by deeds the advantage of harmonious race relations and promote by deeds what is called by one of the recently elected and TANU-backed members of the Legislative Council, "a true Tanganyika nationalism embracing anyone of any race who has his home here and whose first loyalty is to the Territory".

Of course, all this, as has been suggested, can mean an arduous undertaking; the task involved is Herculean and the difficulties to be overcome are legion. But the fact is that the whole concept of the sacred trust is an arduous undertaking, constituting a challenge. In the present instance the challenge is a challenge to all concerned: to the Administering Authority, to all Tanganyikans living in the Territory, particularly their leaders, and to the United Nations. As far as the United Nations is concerned, the least it can do is to refrain from giving countenance, consciously or unconsciously to extremist practices likely to endanger rather than to promote racial harmony or Tanganyikan nationalism.

In this connexion my delegation notes with great satisfaction the statement which the new Governor made last October before the Legislative Council that he was "confident that all the elected members would put the interests of Tanganyika above sectional or racial interests".

Two important points in Sir Richard's statement, in the view of my delegation, deserve the closest attention of this Council. The first is his clarification of the Government's intentions for the future of the Territory. The Governor wondered why, in view of the many statements that had been made about the Administering Authority's intentions on the matter, there should still be persistent misunderstanding about the the Government's non-racial policy

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as if it were something likely to "prevent the Africans of Tanganyika from reaching their full political stature and from playing their proper part in the government of this country". He said that this was not so. To make the official position on this point even clearer, the Governor continued:

"In terms of population the Africans always will be an overwhelming majority in Tanganyika, and, as the country progresses, it is right and proper, as indeed it is natural and inevitable, that African participation both in the legislative and in the executive should steadily increase. It is not intended, and never has been intended, that parity should be a permanent feature of the Tanganyika scene."

The second point, which is of equal importance, relates to the non-African minority groups in Tanganyika. Assurances were given to these minority communities who have made their homes in Tanganyika that the security of their rights and interests should in no way be affected by the fact that "when self-government is eventually attained, both the legislature and the government are likely to be predominantly African".

Indeed, my delegation is most encouraged to observe that the Governor said, in the same statement, that he was glad to note "that the responsible leaders of major political parties in the Territory are in complete agreement on this important matter and that there is, therefore, a good prospect that, in due course, there will exist in Tanganyika a government to which her Majesty's Government will be able to devolve their trust as being a government under which responsible peoples of all races would feel secure."

My delegation is deeply impressed by the warm reception which was accorded by the responsible African leaders in the Legislative Council to the Governor's statement. Indeed, it gives us great satisfaction to note what Mr. Nyerere had to say regarding Sir Richard's statement. This is what the illustrious TANU leader said:

"This statement we have been waiting for for a long time because it has implications, because once you have made this statement, you remove the fears of the Africans; you throw a responsibility to them, and it is important that the Africans should feel that responsibility and take the necessary responsible attitude that is expected of them, but that cannot be expected of them unless the position is made clear by the Government of the



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country ... I recommend this statement to all sections of the community in this country. It means a great deal for our future."

Mr. Nyerere was also reported to have said, in commenting on the Governor's statement, that he felt that Sir Richard Turnbull was the Governor whom Tanganyika needed to guide it towards independence. These are indeed welcome words, and I am positive that nothing could give the Council more satisfaction than the fact that the most responsible African leaders in Tanganyika have placed their confidence in the Administering Authority and that they are now ready and willing to work hand in hand with the Government for the peaceful and orderly development of their country towards the goal that has been provided for both in the Charter and in the Trusteeship Agreement.

If there were anything to which this Council should give its encouragement, I would suggest that it should encourage such statesmanship or leadership as has been found in such outstanding personalities as Mr. Nyerere. The fact that Mr. Nyerere expelled Mr. Zuberi Mtemvu on 31 January 1958 for the latter's extremist views, that he paid his fine on 12 August 1958, after having been found guilty, and advised his fellow-countrymen and his followers to participate in the 1958 elections, even though he took strong exception to the compulsory tripartite voting procedure and the qualitative franchise, is proof positive of the high qualities that are to be expected of him as a responsible leader of a great political party. Progressive but moderate, firm but conciliatory, Mr. Nyerere, it seems to my delegation, is both a good democrat and an experienced parliamentarian. It is my submission, therefore, that, in the future political and constitutional development of his country, Mr. Nyerere should be given the fullest opportunity to play his part, and that he could certainly be counted on to help to build up the greatest of the Trust Territories as a model State in Africa.

My delegation notes with satisfaction that the first round of the elections duly took place on 8 September 1958 as had been planned originally. Out of some 28,000 registered voters in the five constituencies involved in the elections, less than 23,000 went to the polls. We regret the apparent apathy with which these constituencies, with an estimated total of some 75,000 potential voters, approached these elections.

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Nevertheless, we are pleased to know that the elections "passed off smoothly and no difficulties occurred". We welcome the information that Mr. Nyerere was elected as one of the five African representative members of the Legislative Council; and we note with interest that the four-year-old TANU swept the polls and that -- to throw, as it were, another bouquet to the victor -- Mr. Nyerere was elected Chairman of the Elected Members' Organization.

Today is 9 February. It gives me great pleasure to remind the Trusteeship Council of the fact that, thanks to the decision of Sir Richard Turnbull, by this time -- while we are making our observations in this Chamber on conditions in Tanganyika -- in the Territory the elections are well under way, with three out of the fifteen seats being contested in the Southern Province and in Dar es Salaam. I should like to wish the contestants well, and we shall await with interest full information on the results of this second round of elections.

This brings me almost to the end of my observations on matters falling within the purview of political and constitutional developments. But, before proceeding to the other fields, I should like briefly to draw attention to the proposals emanating from the Chiefs' Convention that the Government consider the possibility of establishing a territorial council.

Having regard to the fact that the Convention of Chiefs has during recent years proved to be a most useful advisory body, to which the Government has already referred on a number of important matters of policy as well as a large number of matters of practical administration, my delegation feels that the Trusteeship Council may wish to welcome information, at a future session, on the views of the Working Committee organized in 1958 to consider these proposals, as well as the views of the Administering Authority thereon.

Thinking aloud, my delegation wonders whether the idea of some form of territorial council has ever been linked with the idea of some form of an upper house of the developing legislature. Perhaps the Government may also wish to refer the original proposals, together with the proposals of the Working Committee, to the forthcoming Constitutional Committee for its careful consideration.

In the field of local government, it is gratifying to know that the ten town councils that have been established are functioning satisfactorily. Nevertheless, my delegation is concerned lest the Territory's present difficult financial situation should affect the Government's efforts to accelerate the pace of development of urban local government.

As to the development of rural local government, our attention has been drawn to the opposition that has been shown to some of the district councils on the grounds of their multi-racial character. My delegation laments the mob demonstration that took place at Mwanza, but welcomes the investigation that has been undertaken in Geita district by a senior and experienced administrative officer. We are glad to know that his recommendations are now being carefully examined and that the Government's policy on the matter is flexible in the sense that, if the result of the examination is to crystallize upon a new and different form of local government, the Government will do its utmost to put that form into operation and rescind the one now in existence. My delegation will await with interest the result of this examination. It is to be hoped that, in view of the fact that the existence of effective local government units is required to serve as a basis for the Territory's future stability and good government, the Administering Authority will continue to give urgent attention, as has been emphasized by the 1957 Visiting Mission, "to accelerating the development of district councils and to designing and establishing additional organs whose functions would relate to areas substantially greater than those of a district".

Let me now turn briefly to the other three fields. I express our satisfaction at the efforts that have been made to bring about, under difficult financial conditions, a measure of progress commensurate with the Territory's revenue. The Administering Authority is to be commended for the frankness with which it refers to the financial situation at the close of the year 1958

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as one of the most disturbing features of the Tanganyikan scene, but, more particularly, it is to be commended for the measures that have been taken or are contemplated to improve the situation. The basic reason for the present financial position in Tanganyika is, of course, the decline in the past two years in world prices of primary commodities. My delegation makes no secret of its concern lest this situation should lead to a cutting back of the social and other services which the Territory so badly needs. Moreover, this situation -- unless there is a marked improvement in the Territory's revenue -- can hardly be expected to sustain the increase of expenditure involved in political and constitutional developments.

That being the case, we are gratified to know from the Governor's October statement before the Legislative Council that the situation is being carefully watched. We are given to understand that there is in Tanganyika a good deal of development going on and that there is also a capacity to produce at considerably lower cost than at present. Furthermore, investment -- both public and private -- although on a diminished scale, is still lively and active. In this connexion, it gives my delegation great satisfaction to hear Sir Richard say that: "Our circumstances are therefore likely to be a good deal happier than those of many other tropical countries that are now subject to the same world-wide economic factors". But the most encouraging thing is the commitment which the United Kingdom Government has recently made to do everything possible to tide over the Territory in its financial difficulties. This is what the Governor said, on his return to Dar es Salaam:

"During my talks in London, Tanganyika's financial situation was further examined. As a result, it became apparent that Tanganyika is entering a period in which its revenues are unlikely to be sufficient to maintain existing services at a reasonable level. In these circumstances, the British Government has accepted the obligation to assist Tanganyika in meeting its financial difficulties, and ways and means of doing this are now being considered." (T/PV.945, pp. 87 and 88-90)



This is indeed good news. I am sure that the Trusteeship Council will wish to welcome this statement and to commend the Administering Authority for the noble commitment that has been made -- again, if I may say so, in the best tradition of the United Kingdom.

In the economic field, perhaps just as in the social and educational fields, my delegation does not feel that the Trusteeship Council is at all called upon, on the eve of the Territory's further political and constitutional developments, to make elaborate and repetitive recommendations. Mindful of the plans which have previously been submitted by African members of the Legislative Council under the African agricultural productivity scheme, we are confident that, after the second round of elections, ways and means will be found to put these and other plans into effect. My delegation notes with satisfaction the launching during the year 1958 of twenty-nine increased productivity schemes, largely financed by Colonial Development and Welfare grants. While it is, of course, too early to assess the effect of these schemes, we are glad to know that "they have so far met with a good response and popular support.

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My delegation welcomes the news that the International Bank Survey Mission will soon arrive in Tanganyika. It is to be hoped that the question of its size, scope and timing related to the contemplated survey of the Territory's economy will soon be resolved and that the survey which is to be made will help bring about a marked improvement in the economic and financial situation in the Territory.

The fact that authority was given during the year 1958 to the Committee administering the Local Development Loans Fund to approve loans for capital equipment for African commercial enterprises with a view to assisting businessmen of local origin to gain experience deserves commendation on the part of this Council. In this connexion we wish at the same time to urge an early repeal of the Credit to Natives (Restriction) Ordinance which imposes restrictions on the granting of credit to Africans and is therefore likely to hamper economic development.

My delegation welcomes the publication by the Government of Tanganyika in June 1958 of the proposals for land tenure policy relating to the land held in customary tenure in certain areas. We are inclined to be in favour of the early adoption of the land tenure policy for freehold titles. But, having regard to the note of caution sounded by a number of African elected members of the Legislative Council, we are willing to await the crystallization of African public opinion on the matter and the outcome of the debate which will soon take place in the Legislative Council.

In the social and educational fields, my delegation wishes to note with satisfaction the legislation that was passed last December to reduce the existing list of fifteen essential services to seven. We appreciate the effort that has been made to conduct an inquiry into wage-fixing machinery in the Territory and shall look forward to receiving information about the result of the inquiry which will include consideration of the legislation under which Minimum Wages Boards are to be appointed. The rapid development of joint consultation in the labour field, particularly the establishment of joint consultative machinery throughout the whole structure of the sisal industry is worthy of special mention. As to the review of the Trades Unions Ordinance of 1957, my delegation wishes to express the hope that the draft amending bill will soon be published for consideration in the Legislative Council.

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One last point in the social field relates to the development of integrated public health services. It is to be hoped that the useful suggestions made by WHO in its written observations on this point will be given careful consideration by the competent authorities in the Territory.

Finally, my delegation wishes to draw attention, in the educational field, to the serious problem of the wastage at the primary level. We are concerned with the sharp drop in the number of men teachers in training -- the fact which is, in the words of UNESCO, "difficult to reconcile with the Government's plans for the improvement of standards and the abolition of the double session system in Standards III and IV." However, we are confident that with the necessary funds at its disposal the Administering Authority will spare no effort in coping with these and other related problems in this important field.

U THANT (Burma): As we are all aware a very interesting discussion has been going on in this Council for more than a week about the conditions in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika. The Council has no doubt noticed that the representatives gathered here have participated in the discussion in all eagerness, in the best of faith and with the best of intentions.

Before I begin my statement proper I cannot help referring to the wonderful patience displayed throughout the discussion, the admirable sense of co-operation shown to all members of the Council and the vast and ready knowledge of the affairs of the Territory so bountifully demonstrated by the special representative in his many illuminating interventions. All these have, I am sure, combined to make what otherwise might be a tedious and cumbersome job a most interesting and fruitful one.

Moreover, the Territory itself has many remarkable features. In point of size, it is much bigger than Burman, which I have the honour to represent in this Council. In point of population, it has less than half that of Burma, which is not considered to be thickly populated. A non-African minority which constitutes no more than 2 per cent of the total population has occupied and is occupying the higher ranks of Tanganyika society in every walk of life, but the indigenous African majority has to contend with a subsistence economy and a primitive society largely devoid of any modern social and political values. In such a situation it is an indisputable fact that a rapid all-round advance in political,

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economic, social and educational fields is not only badly needed but is also urgently called for.

Looking over the political and constitutional field, my delegation has noted that the first round of elections for the representative side of the legislature in five of the ten constituencies were held in September 1958 and that, according to the special representative, they passed off smoothly and no difficulties occurred. Speaking of elections and the legislature, my delegation is reminded of the quantitative or restrictive franchise, the parity system and compulsory tripartite voting, which aroused considerable doubts and misgivings in the minds of almost all members of the Council when they were discussed in this chamber a year ago.

At that time my delegation stated that the element of compulsion inherent in this strange balloting system which was envisaged was hardly compatible with the democratic principle of free choice and volition. The denial to the people of Tanganyika of the right freely to choose their own representatives on the basis of universal adult suffrage as is done in some parts of Africa the development of which is comparable to Tanganyika could not but give just cause for suspecting that the Tanganyika Government was not prepared, even in the distant future, to abandon the idea of multi-racial government.

The 1957-Visiting Mission to East Africa, of which the President was Chairman, had also stated in its report to the Council that a significant number of Africans entertained doubts and uncertainties concerning the Territory's future political development, and in particular the multi-racial system based on the parity principle. This Council also had duly noted this statement in its conclusion and recommendation adopted at the twenty-first session. When we consider that the population of the Territory is roughly composed of over 8 million Africans, about 20,000 Africans and 75,000 Asians, the parity system of eleven African, eleven European and eleven Asian seats seems to me to make a mockery of the democratic principle of representation.



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My delegation is still under the impression that the conditions obtaining in Tanganyika in the wake of the first round of the elections do not permit us to change the tune, since there appears to be no change in the steps. However, my delegation is happy to note that this ingenious method of election is being tested in Tanganyika and that His Excellency the Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull, himself has declared that the parity system is not intended to become a permanent feature of the Tanganyika scene. In the circumstances, my delegation would like to reiterate the recommendations of the Council at the twenty-first session that the parity system should be reviewed and that African representation should be further increased.

My delegation warmly welcomes the news that the Constitutional Committee is going to be set up in March 1959. We hope that its composition, as required by the Council, will be as broadly representative as possible and its terms of reference will include, among other things, review of the parity system. In the meantime, my delegation looks forward to the actual establishment of the Committee and awaits its conclusions and recommendations with mixed feelings of curiosity, excitement and suspense.

One other aspect of the legislature to which we would draw the attention of the Council is the qualitative franchise. Under the Legislative Councils Elections Ordinance 1957, for a person in Tanganyika to acquire the right to vote he or she must have attained twenty-one years of age and have residential qualification plus the qualification of standard VIII education or the qualification of earning not less than £150 a year or the qualification of having held an official position. At this point a host of questions crops up in the minds of my delegation. What is the literacy rate among the Africans, let alone standard VIII education? By way of remark, I should like to contend that that plausible and expedient classification into standards and grades as the sole criterion of educational or intellectual attainment is not necessarily indicative of a person's intelligence and common sense required for a wise choice of his or her representatives. What is the income-earning power of the average Africans? They stand on the lowest rungs of the Tanganyikan economic ladder and are mostly earners of very low incomes. And how many African officials are there? In the view of my delegation, all these defective arrangements account

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for the very disproportionately small number of voters on the register and the comparatively large number of spoilt ballot papers. In the light of these facts, qualitative or restrictive franchise also needs review, examination and revision by the Constitutional Committee. The other factor which should not miss the attention of the Committee is the sense of compulsion inherent in the tripartite voting system.

As regards the constitutional organ of the Executive Council, my delegation has not noticed any change in its functions, composition and powers in the year under review. With reference to the judiciary also, no change has been detected. My delegation fully appreciates the difficulties, the tradition and the background peculiar to Tanganyika. But, at the same time, since independence or self-government as required under Article 76 b of the United Nations Charter is called for as quickly as practicable, the way must be well paved and the ground must be advertently prepared so as to provide Tanganyika with all the paraphernalia of a full-fledged democracy by the time it is independent. For that reason, the three constitutional organs, namely, the legislature, the executive and the judiciary, should receive equal and urgent attention.

My delegation has noted with great satisfaction that the number of African administrative officers had been substantially increased to the order of forty-five in the last year or so and there are currently about 181 Africans holding posts of comparable responsibility, working side by side with, and even in some cases above, European officers. My delegation hopes that many more Africans will find their way into various organs and departments of the Territorial Government during the years to come.

The development of local government during the year also is a source of gratification to my delegation. We are also happy to note that election by secret ballot has been introduced to some extent in the field of local government and an African has been elected as chairman of the town council of Lindi.

Reverting to the remarks of my delegation concerning the parity system, compulsory tripartite voting and qualitative franchise, I am afraid that they may be construed, or rather misconstrued, as advocating such high levels of democratic practice as are comparable with that of the world's great democratic countries like the United Kingdom and others. We fully understand the situation that is

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Tanganyika's own. My delegation recognizes that in Tanganyika the introduction of elections in itself is an improvement. But we sincerely believe that all the arrangements under reference tend to put the weight in favour of the few -- that is, the minority as against the majority -- thus abrogating the very basis of true democracy. As a matter of fact, my delegation shares the concern felt by the Administering Authority for the security and welfare of the minority in the face of the unmistakable upsurge of African nationalism. However, considering all aspects that ought to be considered, my delegation is of the opinion that in Tanganyika it is the Africans -- who constitute over 95 per cent of the population -- that need the greatest help, succour, care and kindness politically, economically and in many other ways. My delegation would like to express the hope that every further step should be such that the overwhelming indigenous African interest is rightfully accentuated and emphasized.

With these observations on the political advancement in the Territory, I should like to pass on to the economic field.

The financial situation in Tanganyika, with a potential deficit in its budget of £1 million for the current year, is really a matter for concern. We learn from the opening statement by the special representative that the budget estimate for 1959-1960, which is said to be now in course of preparation, is even less satisfactory. Consequently there is a pressing need for a marked increase in revenue and production. My delegation has noted that agriculture accounts for over 50 per cent of the economy of the Territory and for one third of the cash economy. We have noted with gratification that twenty-nine increased productivity schemes have been launched in 1958 and that there are some schemes aimed at popularizing the use of fertilizers, ox-training and ploughing. We are also happy to hear that the launching of these schemes has been met with good response and popular support.

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However, my delegation still feels that much greater, unrelenting efforts should be made to modernize the agricultural methods and increase productivity. Modernized agriculture and increased production alone will help to mitigate the vast disparity in the economic stature of Africans and non-Africans.

My delegation is very much impressed with the spectacular growth of co-operative societies in the Territory. We are particularly happy to note that the number of co-operative societies has increased by sixty-eight and altogether 542 societies are currently operating in Tanganyika. Two consumers' co-operatives and an African co-operative ginnery were among the new additions. In view of the scanty savings and scarcity of capital required for agricultural expansion and so forth, my delegation would like to suggest that co-operative credit societies should also be encouraged.

In regard to industrialization, my delegation likes to recall the remarks of the 1957 Visiting Mission that industrial and agricultural expansion must proceed together and express the hope that the Administering Authority would not spare any effort to encourage small-scale cottage industries, secondary industries and light manufacturing industries. We are happy to note that the Administering Authority has taken some reasonable tariff measures to protect and stimulate native industries with the immediate and obvious result that a native textile factory is now growing up in Tanganyika. In offering these comments and suggestions, we are not unmindful of the difficulties that may stand in the way of development schemes. We also share the concern and anxiety felt by the Administering Authority about the Territory's financial position. My delegation would express the hope that the Administering Authority will prove to be equal to the challenge of the times so that essential social and educational services will be augmented rather than curtailed.

With respect to social and educational advancement, my delegation is completely satisfied that the Administering Authority has done whatever should be and could be done. The growth of trade unions and the increasing impetus of its movement are very encouraging features. We hope that they will become better organized, properly guided and well-disciplined. My delegation is very grateful to WHO and UNESCO for their observations contained in documents T/1432 and 1429.



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In conclusion, my delegation should like to express the hope that we shall be able to hear of further spectacular steps to bring the Territory nearer its goal so that each new year we can change to a new tune and a new chorus of congratulations and commendations for the Administering Authority.

Mr. de C.MAINT (France) (interpretation from French): Although each Trust Territory has its own human, political and economic problems, in order to appreciate the true worth of the constant progress being made in the development of Tanganyika, any impartial observer must realize the complexity of the problems facing the Administering Authority in that Trust Territory.

Despite the obstacles of all types which nature has set up, and which I need not list here, despite the difficulties which have grown up as a result of the coexistence of the races -- whose origins and evolutions are different -- the Administering Authority has still succeeded in making the Territory advance continually towards the attainment of the objectives of the Trusteeship System.

Each year when we consider the annual reports, we have followed these stages; and the year which we have just considered, rather than deviating from this rule, clearly shows the help given by the United Kingdom to the political and economic evolution of Tanganyika.

My delegation has followed with the greatest attention the very complete statement made by Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, the special representative, in the Trusteeship Council. If our participation during the question period was somewhat limited this year, it was not because we were not interested but because we found that the replies to most of the questions which we had in mind were answered by the special representative and the representative of the United Kingdom in response to questions put by other members of the Council.

The evolution which occurred in all fields in Tanganyika is such that if we only had the annual report for 1957, we would not have been in a position to appreciate the exact situation in the Territory.

(Mr. de Camaret, France)

My delegation would like to thank, therefore, the special representative, his assistant and the representative of the United Kingdom for the information they gave us on the most important aspects of life in the Territory, on its problems, and the aspirations of its population -- information which supplemented and brought up to date the documentation which we now have before us.

In the political and constitutional sphere, my delegation was very interested in the new measures taken to ensure the primacy of the rights of the African population in a society whose institutions must be based on the absence of all consideration of origin.

We are glad to note the statements made by Sir Richard Turnbull before the Legislative Council, and the information he gave on the purposes of this policy, which has often been referred to as multi-racial, whereas in the minds of its promoters it is really a non-racial policy -- and we are glad to hear this. Now, if some misunderstanding has arisen up to now concerning the intentions which were attributed to the Administering Authority, a misunderstanding born because of the confusion of the ends of the multi-racial system and the provisional maintenance of a parity representation of the different elements of the population, these doubts have dissipated. The statement by Sir Richard Turnbull according to which it was never the intention of the Government of the United Kingdom to "have parity be a permanent element of the situation in Tanganyika", was such as to secure the support of the leaders of the Tanganyikan African National Union for the Administering Authority.

Therefore there seems to be full agreement between the Administering Authority and the representative of that party, Mr. Nyerere, because both sides are envisaging for the future:

"a situation in which there will be an increasing predominance of Africans within both the legislative and executive branches, but wherein the immigrant communities will also be represented".

How could it be otherwise when we see that the representative of the Government of the United Kingdom confirmed in Dar-es-Salaam last October, that:

"in due time there will exist in Tanganyika a Government to which Her Majesty's Government will be able to transfer its mission and which will be a government ensuring the security of all persons of all races."

We would be neglecting the liberal spirit which the United Kingdom has shown in Africa and in other places, to doubt the concern of its administration to bring about as rapidly as possible the mission that was assigned to it. In the provisional period it is quite understandable that they could not modify the tripartite electoral system before the complete fulfilment of the electoral operations. We know that it is the intention of the Administering Authority to constitute within the Legislative Council a sort of post-electoral committee. We also know that this committee will meet sooner than was expected because it has been announced that the second electoral round will end next February. We must leave it up to this committee to inform the Administering Authority, keeping in mind what experience it has acquired, its views on the possibility of extending progressively the right to vote to all inhabitants of the Territory.

We may regret that the electoral body is still somewhat limited, but we cannot deny the importance which last September's vote had by way of experience. The electoral participation was high since 80 per cent of those who were registered, voted, and there were only 1,500 invalid ballots.

These figures prove the efficiency of the efforts undertaken by the Administration and the political parties to inform the electoral bodies of the mechanism of the voting operation.

The Administering Authority, as we know, has always endeavoured to lead the population progressively to assume its responsibilities in the local framework. In this regard, my delegation was gratified to note last year the plan to create district councils on a non-racial basis. We note with satisfaction that nine district councils were established on 1 March 1958. There were differing results depending on the region of the Territory. If five among them and the oldest one of Newala operated on a good basis, the experience was less conclusive for those of Pangani and Kondoa, whose functions were transferred to their district commissioners, and for those of Geita and Manyoni which, although they are fulfilling their rôle, they are running into opposition from Africans because of their non-racial origin.

These incidents, which we considered in the Petitions Committee, should not be exaggerated because they are only the proof of difficulties which must be confronted by the Administering Authorities.

They do not question the actual principle of the creation of local councils, but only their membership. While awaiting the results of the inquiry carried out at Geita, we are convinced that the Trusteeship Council will encourage the Administering Authority to carry out its plans for regional and local administration. We also know that the authorities at Dar es Salaam intend to keep in mind the wishes of the population, as was reaffirmed by Sir Richard Turnbull on 14 October 1958.

The Council will note the efforts of the Administering Authority to install progressively representative institutions at different levels and to lead the population in a continuous and orderly fashion towards the management of its own affairs.

Political and constitutional development do lead to an increase in expenses. This is the unavoidable price for the development of institutions. Tanganyika cannot escape this force and, unfortunately, these needs coincided with the drop in the prices of its commodities.

The financial year 1957-58 ended with a deficit. The Council has already had an opportunity to note a similar situation in other Trust Territories by the same cause which produced the same effects. We also know that there is very little to be done to remedy such financial crises. However, the Administering Authority has asked the International Bank to send a mission of experts to carry out a survey on the economy of the Territory. It is to be hoped that this mission, whose work will start in May, will be in a position to present profitable recommendations on the development of the resources and, thus, on a balanced budget.

However, we must not be under any illusions, and the efforts of the Administering Authority cannot modify immediately the sensitivity of the local economy to the cyclical movements of the world economy.

In so far as land tenure is concerned, we have noted with interest the publication by the authorities of the Territory of a plan concerning land according to custom.

There is no doubt that the increase of agricultural production, in Tanganyika as well as elsewhere, is very closely connected to the individual land ownership of property. But this transformation of land tenure can be done only progressively. Experiments, in order to be crowned with success, can start only in those regions which are highly populated. The Council will note in particular the concern of the Administering Authority in this important question and will express the hope, of course, that the populations will give to the governmental project a comprehensive welcome.

Land alienation in the past has given rise to criticism. The Council will note with satisfaction the statements by the special representative emphasizing that in 1958 it was possible to show the lowest level of land ever alienated. The policy of the Government is guided by a great deal of wisdom in this field.

Before we leave the economic field, my delegation would like to note the interest with which we learned of the redemption by the Territory of half of the shares of Williamson's Diamonds Limited. Moreover, de Beers Consolidated, the London syndicate, which holds the other half of the shares, has undertaken to continue to exploit the mine for the best interests of the Territory. My delegation does not doubt that by taking this initiative the authorities of Tanganyika have acted wisely and have thus reserved the rights of the Territory to the benefits drawn from the exploitation of the sub-soil.



(Mr. de Camaret, France)

In the social field, the Administering Authority has not spared its efforts. A broad campaign of anti-tuberculosis vaccination, which was never undertaken in East Africa, was concluded in 1958. The fight against tuberculosis is part of a broad overall programme carried out under the direction of the Administration and private and public medical foundations.

The vaccination against poliomyelitis was put into effect in 1958 and given to all persons under thirty-four years of age.

In the framework of rural development, ten medical centres were opened with the aid of UNICEF. The centre at Dar es Salaam is in course of construction.

All these operations show the very lively impulse given to the sanitary programme of the Territory.

In the field of education, the Council will note with satisfaction the increase of funds for education.

The school construction programme has continued steadily. Of course, the creation of a university college in Tanganyika does not seem to be the most urgent problem to resolve because we see that both in the primary and secondary schools there are very impressive figures with regard to vacancies, about which the special representative has told us.

With reference to the problem of school integration, as my delegation already pointed out last year, before making any final judgements, we should keep in mind the facts and not judge with passion. The Administering Authority has already said that it has based itself essentially on practical and technical reasons and that, in present circumstances, a too rapid application of a policy of integration would not be without danger. You must leave it to the responsible authority, which has stated that the institution of a unified education system was its purpose, to decide when and what methods would be appropriate to achieve effective school integration. In this regard, the Council will be glad to note the decision taken by the authorities of Tanganyika to form a special committee charged with making recommendations concerning the nature and timetable of measures to be taken to bring about a single education system throughout the whole Territory.

In conclusion, after these several comments, which are not all inclusive my delegation feels that the Council should congratulate the Administering Authority for its efforts and the results obtained. The Council should also express its confidence in the Administering Authority to achieve what remains to be done, thanks to the more active participation of the African population of the Territory.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.



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Trusteeship Council  
23rd Session  
10th Meeting (AM)

Press Release TR/1460  
9 February 1959

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 1

General debate on conditions in Tanganyika, an east African trust territory administered by the United Kingdom, was continued by the Trusteeship Council this morning.

C.S. JHA (India), today's first speaker, declared that Tanganyika, largest of the UN trust territories, is one of the last remaining ones which still have to obtain freedom or independence. "The most significant fact of our time," he said, "is the resurgence of Asia and Africa."

The Council, he said, could not afford to lose sight of the "major" fact that Tanganyika was an African territory inhabited predominantly by Africans. By and large, he said, the latest report by the administering authority confirmed his impression, formed 12 years ago as a member of an Indian mission to east Africa, that Tanganyika might well show the way to a solution of the most "momentous" question on the continent of Africa -- the harmonious adjustment of relations between the indigenous people and the Europeans and Asians who had made their home there.

The political situation, insofar as it concerned the development of relations between the three communities, he said, seemed to be developing in a harmonious way. He noted that the largest African political party and its President, Julius Nyerere, were "imbued with a broad and statesmanlike approach toward the peoples and political organizations of the other two races."

Likewise, he said, the statement of the Governor of Tanganyika that "it is intended, and has always been intended," when self-government is attained, that both the legislature and the government are likely to be predominantly African, was a "significant step."

He hoped these ideas would be speedily developed, both by the administering authority and the African political organizations.

Mr. JHA believed that the "pre-eminent task" of the administering authority should be to prepare the people for their forthcoming "grave responsibilities" in the shortest possible time. Such preparations should be on a comprehensive basis.

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The time had come, he felt, when the fixing of early successive intermediate targets and dates -- necessary for the creation as soon as possible of the pre-conditions for the attainment of self-government or independence -- should no longer be postponed. Specifically, he urged that the administering authority proceed with the fixing of targets for the introduction of universal suffrage and the abolition of official representatives in the legislature, the executive government and other spheres.

In 1957, when two African representatives made statements before the Council, he recalled, they had estimated that Tanganyika would become independent in 10 to 15 years. Mr. JHA observed that, although only two years had elapsed, the estimates made in 1957 for Tanganyika's independence "are already far out of date."

Mr. JHA then dealt with the elections held for the Legislative Council, the suffrage, the electoral constituencies, the parity system of representation, the composition of the Legislative Council, the civil service, and local government.

He urged the administering authority to give serious consideration to the introduction of adult suffrage, and he emphasized the importance of accelerating the pace of the Africanization of the civil service. He expressed the hope that there would be no avoidable delay in the formation of the committee on constitutional reforms. It would be appropriate for that committee to go into the whole question of the future of Tanganyika; to lay down sound future lines of political development by giving up the principle of parity and revising the machinery of government so as to provide "just and adequate African representation."

Mr. JHA also underlined the importance of developing Tanganyika's economy to the fullest extent, for "freedom itself is of illusory value if it is accompanied by economic weakness." He stressed the importance of integrated, long-range planning and the taking of immediate steps to encourage capital formation. Industrial development, he said, should be pressed, side by side with agricultural development.

Mr. JHA noted the great urge for education among the Africans, and the progress in this field during the last two years. However, he urged the administering authority to give careful consideration to the comments made by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. He also stressed that school integration at all levels should be accepted as a fundamental policy.



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Trusteeship Council  
23rd Session, 10th Meeting (AM)

Press Release TR/1460  
9 February 1959

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 2

HSI-KUN YANG (China) said that his delegation was impressed by the recent developments in the political and constitutional field in Tanganyika. However, he said, these developments, which had been fostered by the administering authority, should not obscure certain "clouds on the horizon."

Referring to the report of the administering authority and to the statement of the United Kingdom's special representative for Tanganyika, Mr. YANG was glad to note that something had been done to brighten the political and constitutional picture from what it had been the previous year. In particular, he welcomed the decision of the Governor to advance the date of the second round of elections. This decision, he said, showed the readiness of the administering authority to meet half-way the wishes of the Africans.

Mr. YANG also welcomed the assurance of the special representative as regards the composition and terms of reference of the constitutional committee, and he expressed the hope that this committee would be liberal and truly representative in character. He also hoped that the committee would be able to introduce universal suffrage and representative elections.

Regarding the policy pursued by the administering authority, he would prefer describing it as "non-racial" rather than "multi-racial." What was really important were the intentions behind that policy. Their purpose, he declared, should be to lead Tanganyika to nationhood with harmonious inter-racial relations. In this connection, he quoted statements by the Governor of the territory in which he sought to assure both the Africans and the minority inhabitants that their rights and aspirations would be respected.

Mr. YANG felt that the Council should welcome and encourage the trust which was developing between the responsible African leaders and the administering authority. In particular, it should encourage Mr. Nyerere as a "responsible leader" of a great party which should play an important role in future political and constitutional developments.

Regarding the first round of elections, Mr. YANG was glad that they had gone smoothly but regretted that so few voters had participated in them. Nevertheless,

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he expressed satisfaction that Mr. Nyerere had been elected.

He welcomed the advances made in local government but he considered that these steps could be accelerated.

As regards economic developments in the territory, he welcomed the efforts made or planned for the improvement of a "deplorable" situation. He hoped that there would be no slackening in the efforts to improve economic conditions through industrialization, better production methods and a more varied economy.

He commended the administering authority for its readiness to assist the Government of Tanganyika to meet the cost of maintaining its present services until its own revenues could be increased. He also praised the administering authority's efforts to raise productivity. However, he urged that restrictions in giving credit to Africans should be repealed, and he felt that land tenure laws should be liberalized as soon as practicable.

Regarding labor conditions and public health, Mr. YANG hoped that the plans and proposals under consideration would be vigorously pursued. In the educational field, he believed that the administering authority should adopt and carry out the proposals of UNESCO.

(END OF TAKE 2)

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Trusteeship Council  
23rd Session  
10th Meeting (AM)

Press Release TR/1460  
9 February 1959

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 3

U THANT (Burma) recalled that his delegation had expressed the view last year that the parity system of representation of 11 seats each for the Africans, Europeans and Asians in the Legislative Council seemed to "make a mockery of the democratic principle of representation." Tanganyika, he said, had 8,000,000 Africans, 20,000 Europeans and 75,000 Asians.

In the wake of the first phase of the elections held last September for the Legislative Council, he said, the views expressed by his delegation remained the same, since no changes had been made in the system.

He was happy, however, to note that, while this system was being tested in Tanganyika, the Governor had stated that it was not intended to become a permanent feature in the territory.

He repeated the recommendations of the Council last year that the parity system should be reviewed and that African representation should be further increased. He welcomed the news that the constitutional committee would be set up in March, and he hoped that its composition would be as broadly representative as possible and that its terms of reference would include a review of the parity system.

The present qualitative franchise, in his view, also needed review and revision.

The representative of Burma expressed satisfaction with the increase in the number of Africans holding senior positions in the administration and the progress made in the development of local government.

While recognizing that the introduction of elections in Tanganyika was itself an improvement, he felt that under the present system too much weight was given to the minority communities as against the African majority. He shared the concern of the administering authority for the security and welfare of the minority communities in the face of the upsurge of African nationalism.

However, he said that, since Africans constituted 90 per cent of the population in Tanganyika, it was the Africans who needed greater help, care and guidance. The overwhelming African interests, he felt, should be rightly accentuated.  
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Expressing concern about the territory's financial situation, he said that in the agricultural field much greater effort should be made to modernize agricultural methods and to increase productivity. He was impressed with the "spectacular growth" of cooperative societies, and he hoped that the administering authority would encourage further the development of small cottage industries, as well as secondary and light industries.

In the social and education fields, he said he was completely satisfied that the administering authority had done what it should and could have done. He noted in particular the growth of the trade union movement.

Concluding, he said he hoped next year to hear of further spectacular steps to bring Tanganyika nearer to the goals of the Charter.

MICHEL DE CAMARET (France) stressed the difficulties confronting the administering authority in Tanganyika. He noted, however, that in spite of these difficulties the administering authority had succeeded in making satisfactory progress in the political and economic fields.

Regarding the report and the statements of the UK representative and the special representative, he stressed in particular the evidence of progress in the implementation of a "multi-racial" system, and of a policy intended to establish eventually a predominantly African government. He noted in this connection that the parity system between races in Tanganyika was viewed by the administering authority as a transitory measure, and that the ultimate goal was a government elected by universal suffrage.

Mr. DE CAMARET welcomed the progress made in the field of local government and felt that certain difficulties which had been encountered should not be exaggerated. On the contrary, he considered that the efforts of the administering authority to lead the Africans to the management of their own affairs should be encouraged by the Trusteeship Council.

As to the economic and financial situation in the territory, he welcomed the plans made to improve conditions but felt that hopes should not be too sanguine in view of Tanganyika's dependence on the world economic situation.

Taking up the question of land tenure, and particularly the alienation of land, he commented that last year marked a considerable improvement.

Mr. DE CAMARET praised the administering authority for its efforts in the field of public health and drew particular attention to a tuberculosis vaccination campaign. He also noted considerable progress in public education.

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As for the question of school integration, he considered that the matter should not be pressed too strongly by the Trusteeship Council in view of the great difficulties involved. In his opinion, the matter should be left in the hands of the administering authority which had already established a committee to study the question.

In conclusion, he expressed the opinion that the Council should congratulate the administering authority for the progress it had achieved.

The debate on Tanganyika will be continued at 2:30 p.m. today.

( END OF TAKE 3 AND OF PRESS RELEASE TR/1460 )