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Twenty-third Session

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE NINE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Monday, 9 February 1959, at 2.30 p.m.

Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti)

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) [1a]
- (b) Petitions raising general questions (T/PET.2/10/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.952 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)

Miss TENZER (Belgium)(interpretation from French): In his preliminary statement, the special representative for Tanganyika told us that the year 1958 had been a year of considerable progress for the Territory in almost all fields. A study of the documentation which we have before us, submitted by the special representative and the specialized agencies, as well as the supplementary information given by Mr. Fletcher-Cooke when the numerous questions were put to him, shows that the development of Tanganyika is being conducted on a very solid basis.

We wish to congratulate the Administering Authority, which is doing everything possible to find solutions for these very complex problems. Obviously, co-operation and a sense of responsibility shown by the African leaders have brought great support to this whole development programme. Others before me have referred to various aspects in the evolution of Tanganyika. Therefore, I will restrict myself to a brief mention of certain of the outstanding facts which would allow us to foresee a fine future for the Territory.

First of all, in the political field, I believe that we really must congratulate the Administering Authority for having managed, in spite of considerable administrative difficulties, to find an answer to the preoccupations voiced by the Council at its twenty-first session. They indeed have advanced the second round of elections from September up to February. On the local level, a study was made concerning the district councils, and especially with regard to the difficulties which arose in Geitta, the results of which will soon be examined.

All of this shows that the Administering Authority does not intend to adhere to rigid formulae, but is ready to reconsider the structure of the rural local government as a function of the aspirations of the inhabitants.

It is encouraging to note that the Africanization of the public service there is being speeded up and that the nomination of a first African District Commissioner marks a new stage in this happy development. Of course, the financial situation in the Territory is a matter of great concern and we must emphasize how social development, in the broadest sense, is linked up with improvement in the budgetary situation. We know that this problem was examined in great detail in London and that the United Kingdom Government agreed -- and we must offer our congratulations for this -- to accept the obligation of assisting Tanganyika in facing its financial difficulties.

On the other hand, the Administering Authority is continuing its efforts to improve the economy of the Territory through the creation of secondary industries, through an increase in the productivity of agriculture in the Territory, and through encouraging business and trade as well. Many of these projects have been financed through funds from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund.

These are long-term plans. One cannot expect spectacular results immediately. But the development of all these projects continues to improve the status of the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory and helps them progress from their subsistence economy.

In the field of education, progress has been constant and is continuing. The figures prove this. However, in the rural areas especially a campaign of persuasion is necessary so that full use can be made of existing possibilities and facilities. My delegation notes with satisfaction the statement of the special representative according to which his Government is fully aware of this state of affairs and is making every effort to have the population of the more remote regions understand how much it is to their interest to receive education.

(Miss Tenzer, Belgium)

Among the various items of information furnished by the special representative in the field of education, I would mention as being of particular interest his announcement that a committee was being established to study the question of closer school integration.

In the field of public health I would refer to the conclusions reached by WHO and observe that a considerable amount of progress has been made. There has been an increase in the number of hospitals, health centres and medical personnel. There is a campaign against the diseases prevailing in the Territory and considerable progress has been made in the control of tuberculosis, to which the Administering Authority continues to pay great attention. Services in connexion with the anti-tuberculosis campaign have been improved and mass vaccination has been undertaken. In this field of public health, as in other fields, two essential factors must accompany the efforts being made by the Administering Authority, namely, financial means and the co-operation of the Africans in the efforts that are being made.

I should not like to conclude my comments without thanking Mr. Fletcher-Cooke for the excellent contribution which he has made to our study of the matter before us. He has done so with much courtesy, patience and knowledge.

Mr. JEAN-LOUIS (Haiti) (interpretation from French): The Council's lengthy discussion on conditions in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika during the year 1957 is evidence of the belief of members of the Council that self-government and independence are the necessary objectives of the Trusteeship System and that, therefore, a suitable policy must be followed if such an objective is to be attained.

It must be recognized that progress has been made in that direction, especially as we recall our discussion of the situation which existed in preceding years. During the year under review Tanganyika has had its first elected representatives and, in his statement before the Legislative Council, the new Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull, mentioned the predominance of the African element in the future government of the country. These are facts which augur well for the rapid development of political conditions in the Territory.



(Mr. Jean-Louis, Haiti)

The results of the elections held last September, which will be confirmed, we understand from the special representative, by elections to be held on 9 March, were an expression of the will of the people to choose independence, according to the words of the great party which triumphed in the elections. This is the more significant if we take into account the restrictive conditions of the vote. The national unity owes its success to the intelligent and skilful direction of Julius Nyerere, who dedicated himself to his task with warmth and self-sacrifice, and we should like to express to him the profound admiration of our delegation.

It is obvious that present conditions necessitate appropriate measures being taken to secure the transition from trusteeship to independence. Such measures should be taken in good faith and with determination. We hope that the Administering Authority, in accordance with the hopes expressed by all, will very soon fix the date of the objective, and we hope that a committee will be constituted by the Legislative Council after the elections of 9 March which will suggest institutional and other reforms.

In his preliminary statement, as well as in his answers to various questions, the special representative drew attention to the economic difficulties of this Trust Territory. This matter, naturally, is of great concern, but we believe that that economic situation should have no repercussions as far as political conditions are concerned, since such repercussions could only result in speeding up the evolutionary progress. Historic precedents have proved this, and the wisdom of the Administering Authority, in accordance with the wishes expressed by the people and by the statements made in the Legislative Council will enable Tanganyika to attain independence under the most favourable conditions. Thus a government will be born which will be able to guarantee the security of the inhabitants as defined by the Governor.

The statement of the special representative indicates that TANU has absorbed into itself other political parties, but this progress must be followed up not only in the political field, but in the economic, social and educational fields as well. When the political situation has developed successfully it will not be difficult to adjust the other aspects to this evolution.

In conclusion, I should like to mention the generous assistance of the Administering Authority, which has helped to cover the deficit of the budget,

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(Mr. Jean-Louis, Haiti)

and in that connexion I must refer to the commendable gesture on the part of the local authorities, which have increased their assistance to African education. This contribution, while not large, is symbolic since the allocations for educational needs had been diminishing constantly.

The attention of the Council has been drawn to two practices existing in the Territory which are in conflict with the provisions of the Charter. I refer to corporal punishment and compulsory labour. We again express the hope that these practices will be condemned.

We should like to express our gratitude and our thanks to the special representative for the valuable information which he has given to us so courteously.

Mr. EL-ERIAN (United Arab Republic): The Trusteeship Council is examining conditions in Tanganyika, the largest of the Territories under the International Trusteeship System.

The period under review has witnessed a rise in the national consciousness of dependent peoples. This has been especially true of Africa, where the urge for freedom, equality and progress is becoming more and more generally recognized as one of the basic factors in contemporary international relations. As the Secretary-General of the United Nations pertinently observed in the introduction to his last annual report on the work of the Organization:

"Through the International Trusteeship System the United Nations is most directly and systematically associated with the movement of dependent peoples towards self-government or independence. Progress towards the attainment of the objectives laid down in the Charter for the Trusteeship System has during the past year gained considerable momentum".  
(A/5844/Add.1, page 2)

In assessing the development of the African Trust Territory of Tanganyika, determining the needs of its people and advising on its future, the Trusteeship Council cannot afford to overlook the far-reaching events which have been taking place in Africa. One of the characteristic features of our times is the emergence of what has come to be known as an independent African personality which aspires to take its rightful place in the community of nations, on an equal footing. Africa is no longer the Dark Continent with which power politics was concerned only in terms of partition, occupation and the division of spheres of influence. World public opinion is becoming steadily aware of the fact that such a nineteenth-century approach must, in the best interests of international peace and harmony, give way to an approach of international co-operation based on the principles of political independence, economic development and social progress. The year 1958 has witnessed two significant steps in that right direction: the conference of the independent African States at Accra and the inauguration of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa at Addis Ababa.

(Mr. El-Erian, United Arab Republic)

During the last week, the Trusteeship Council has been making a thorough and objective examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika. The constructiveness of the questions put by the members of the Council and the informative and candid replies they received from the special representative have revealed a spirit of co-operation and conciliation for which the Council is to be commended. They pay tribute to the Trusteeship System and bear witness to the reality and effectiveness of the principle of international accountability for dependent territories.

Through the questions which were put to the special representative, my delegation sought to elicit more complete data to supplement the valuable information furnished in the reports of the Administering Authority, the working paper of the Secretariat, the observations of the World Health Organization and UNESCO, and the opening statement of the special representative. It also gave my delegation an opportunity to express its views on specific questions relating to the Territory's political, economic and social advancement; I do not propose to repeat those views during this general debate. My delegation also seized that opportunity to express its gratification at the encouraging measures of progress achieved during the period under review in such matters as: the increase in the number of district councils, the steady increase in the number of Africans appointed to administrative posts, the opening of new hospitals and medical services, the enlisting of the services of both the World Health Organization and the United Nations Children's Fund in the Government's preventive medicine campaign, the growth of the activities of trade unions, and the extension of primary schools and higher education scholarships.

In this general debate, I propose to state my delegation's approach to the general policy which the Trusteeship Council should set up for Tanganyika and to define my delegation's position regarding the main questions relating to the Territory's future and their underlying principles.

The Administering Authority's general policy in the Trust Territory is to be judged by a two-fold criterion: the prompt creation of conditions for the attainment of self-government and independence, and the unfailing implementation of the Trusteeship Council's recommendations for the Territory's advancement.



(Mr. El-Erian, United Arab Republic)

Basic to the system of International Trusteeship, as set up in the United Nations Charter, is the early emergence of the Trust Territories from trusteeship and their progressive attainment of independent statehood. For carrying into effect that principal objective of the Trusteeship System, laid down in Article 76, paragraph b, of the Charter, the General Assembly has adopted a number of resolutions inviting the Administering Authorities to estimate the period of time in which the Trust Territories would obtain self-government or independence, and recommending that measures be taken to achieve this objective in the African Territories at an early stage. Suffice it to cite the latest resolution adopted by the General Assembly -- resolution 1274 (XIII). Paragraph 2 of the operative part of that resolution reads as follows:

"Invites the Administering Authorities concerned to formulate, in respect of the remaining Trust Territories, early successive intermediate targets and dates in the fields of political, economic, social and educational development of these Territories so as to create, as soon as possible, the pre-conditions for the attainment of self-government or independence".

The formulation of intermediate targets and dates for the attainment by the Trust Territories of independent statehood has therefore become an integral part of the Trusteeship System as elaborated by the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council. It has become the most noteworthy feature of the functioning of the International Trusteeship System during the last few years and has resulted in measures of great significance already taken or to be taken by some Administering Authorities. The significance of these measures has been rightly emphasized by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in the introduction to his last annual report on the work of the Organization, where he states:

"More than seven million people in five widely scattered territories of Africa and the Pacific can now look forward with confidence to their early emergence from trusteeship, and with confidence also that the new political status to be assumed by them will have been freely chosen by themselves under conditions determined by the United Nations".

(A/3844/Add.1, page 2)

(Mr. El-Erian,  
United Arab Republic)

My delegation regrets that no similar measures have as yet been envisaged by the Administering Authority for Tanganyika. My delegation hopes that the Administering Authority will give favourable consideration to the question of formulating intermediate targets and dates for the political advancement of Tanganyika. We believe that such a policy would help to improve the political atmosphere and to remove the doubts and uncertainties entertained by the people of Tanganyika as to the future of their country. Such a policy would also, as rightly put by the representative of the United States in his statement in the general debate, give "to the people a sense of purpose and direction which will enable them to move more rapidly and more harmoniously ahead than might otherwise be possible." (T/PV.950, pp. 18,19-20)

Besides formulating intermediate targets and dates for Tanganyika's independence, the Administering Authority should also embark without any delay upon a vigorous plan which, in my delegation's view, should aim at the three following objectives: the Africanization of the Territory, the diversification of its economy and the safeguarding of the future rights and interests of the people of Tanganyika.

A look at the present set-up of the Government of Tanganyika strikingly reveals that the Africans are seriously misrepresented in the different branches of their Government. The tripartite system of the electorate and the qualitative restrictions placed on the franchise are producing a racial hierarchy that is giving supremacy to the non-Africans and placing the Africans in an unfair and unfavourable position in their own country. Elections held on the basis of such a system would lead to a result which cannot be concurred in by the Council. The number of non-Africans on the Legislative Council would exceed the Africans by two to one although the Africans were believed to make up 98 per cent of the population. Furthermore, under the provisions of the electoral law, the vast majority of the African population who cannot meet the educational and income requirements are prevented from voting. An almost unanimous opposition to that system had been observed by the Visiting Mission. The disproportion of representation in the Legislative Assembly is undesirable and a prompt remedy

(Mr. El-Erian,  
United Arab Republic)

should be made. My delegation hopes that the proposed constitutional committee will be instructed to make recommendations on every aspect of the constitutional and governmental structure of Tanganyika. We hope that the committee will be predominantly African and will not be set up in accordance with the parity system. We equally hope that the committee will fully take account of the views expressed by the Visiting Mission and the general opposition of the people of Tanganyika to the parity system.

The disproportion of representation is not confined to the Legislature. The number of Africans in the executive branch of the Government is insignificant and is almost non-existent in the judiciary. The unsatisfactory situation in which the Africans in Tanganyika find themselves in relation to the different branches of their Government is obvious, and it is therefore not possible to dismiss the theory that they are being discriminated against in their own country. The Administering Authority must take all possible steps to eliminate such a state of affairs.

May I now turn to the need for planning, developing and diversifying the economy of Tanganyika. It is to be recalled that in paragraph 365 of its report, the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, which visited the Territory in 1957, suggested that the Administering Authority should consider inviting the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to send a mission to Tanganyika for the purpose of studying development possibilities and for advising on methods of financing sound projects, either externally or internally. My delegation is glad to know that the Mission of the International Bank will arrive in Tanganyika next May and is confident that its studies and recommendations will be of invaluable help.

It is generally recognized that the economy of the Territory suffers from a lack of diversification although the basis for considerable diversification is present. There does not seem to be enough industries to work the considerable amounts of raw material produced. There is considerable scope for the diversification of agricultural productivity and for the introduction of manufacturing industries. My delegation also believes that measures should be set up for the purpose of making the southern part of the Territory more

(Mr. El-Erian,  
United Arab Republic)

accessible and linking it more closely with the rest of Tanganyika. It is to be hoped that railway communications with the Southern Province will be developed as this Province includes vast stretches of fertile land and considerable mineral resources. It is also to be hoped that the financial situation of the Territory will be given serious consideration and that the necessary capital for the vital development programmes, which cannot afford any delay, will be sought through international aid, loans and grants.

I wish now to say a few words on the need for safeguarding the future rights and interests of the people of Tanganyika. The importance of the question of land alienation needs no elaboration. The Trusteeship Council has made repeated recommendations to the Administering Authority regarding its policy on land alienation. The Council, at its twentieth session, asked the Administering Authority to supply information on the alienation of land in Tanganyika including the number, extent and type of holdings granted since 1946. In response to that request, the special representative circulated a table to the twenty-first session of the Council in document T/1366, and the Council asked the Administering Authority to distinguish between land alienated for public purposes, land alienated for plantations, mines or other commercial purposes and the land alienated for individual farms. The Administering Authority should enact measures to guarantee that land intended for agriculture should no longer be alienated, except to the indigenous population. Such a measure would be in complete conformity with the customary rule of international law which entitles every State to limit the rights to land property to its nationals. There are indications that Tanganyika is about to embark on a large-scale exploitation of its mineral resources. The safeguarding of the future rights and interests of the people of Tanganyika must also be the paramount factor to be taken into consideration. Measures should be enacted for determining the terms and conditions of any concession or lease relating to the national resources of Tanganyika. The safeguarding of the rights and interests of the people of Tanganyika can only be effected through formulations or programmes for increasing participation of Africans in marketing, retail trade and the Territory's commercial life.



Necessary measures should be taken for providing the opportunity for Tanganyikans, individuals, groups or native authorities, to obtain shares in the large-scale enterprises for the economic development of the Territory. Enterprises in the field of agriculture, industry and mining operations should be required to set up plans for training African personnel and enabling them to acquire the necessary competence in geology, mining technology and engineering.

These are, in broad general outline, the basic principles which should underlie the policy of advancing Tanganyika and enabling it without any delay to obtain the objectives laid down in the Charter for the Trusteeship System. My delegation is by no means unaware of the difficulties to be encountered. These difficulties are not, however, insurmountable. They are common to all under-developed countries which are now firmly determined to catch up with the march of progress after being forced to lag behind. Nor are we unaware of the encouraging measures of advancement which have been reported to the Council by the special representative. But I would be less than candid if I failed to point out that as commendable as these measures are, they are very modest in scope and very slow in tempo. The rate of progress in Tanganyika can be truly evaluated and properly seen in its right perspective if one recalls that Tanganyika had already been under British administration and international supervision for no less than forty years: formerly under the Mandate System and recently under the Trusteeship System. Tanganyika is a trust in the hands of the World Organization represented by the Trusteeship Council. The attainment of every people's inherent right to political independence and equality is a challenge and opportunity to both the Administering Authority and the United Nations.

In conclusion, may I say that we live in an age of great changes. Scientific discoveries and the blessings of international co-operation have put at the command of mankind unprecedented opportunities for national progress and international understanding. We hope that Tanganyika, a country with a population of nearly 10 million people, will soon emerge from foreign rule and gain its independent statehood. We look forward to the day when we shall see Tanganyika with us as a sovereign and equal Member of the United Nations.

Mr. MONTERO de VARGAS (Paraguay) (interpretation from Spanish): My delegation would like to comment briefly on the social, economic, and political progress of the people of Tanganyika and the possibilities of their achievement of self-government.

The report before us shows very clearly that the next few years will bring many problems to the people of Tanganyika. I wish to examine certain aspects in detail so that they may be considered later on. I come first to the political field. We appreciate the concern shown by the Administering Authority in its attempts to achieve progress in this field. We believe it is our duty, however, to state that the present system of elections leaves much to be desired. For the people of Tanganyika, who still have great difficulty in duly evaluating the advantages of elections, this three-fold election system necessarily has a negative effect upon their better knowledge of their duties. The complicated machinery of this system acts against the establishment of a proper awareness on the part of the people. We believe that the Administering Authority in co-operation with the Africans should attempt to simplify the election system and should consider the establishment of pure and simple universal suffrage. Every effort should be made to bring to the knowledge of the people the advantages of this election system which is practised throughout almost all parts of the world. Some simple civic education should be given them along with simple election machinery. The participation of Africans in the management of their own affairs in the Territory must be based upon the establishment of African awareness of governmental responsibilities. The action of the Administering Authority, in our opinion, must be one of understanding and co-ordination leading to the objectives sought by and for the Africans. Political understanding between Europeans and Africans is the first step towards this goal, and no effort should be spared in this direction. The coming elections provide a good occasion for education leading to the coming establishment of universal suffrage.

We must state that we are concerned over the low percentage of voters in the recent elections. We find no logical or simple explanation unless we consider that the people of Tanganyika were not made aware of the importance of these elections. The people must be made aware of the advantages of participating in the civic life of their country, and we hope that this will take place in the near future.

(Mr. Montero de Vargas, Paraguay)

I come now to the economic field. This is a delicate matter and is of extreme importance for the future of Tanganyika. The Administering Authority itself has shown this concern, and the deficit foreseen in the budget of the Territory strengthens our views. The Administering Authority has promised to absorb this deficit. While it is true that this would greatly assist Tanganyika, it is also true that more adequate solutions must be sought so as to strengthen the economy of the Territory. Absorbing the deficit is only a transitional measure, and in the present case it will simply serve to defer the solution of the problem to a later date. However, my delegation wishes to thank the Administering Authority for this assistance by absorbing the deficit, and we are very happy to state this for the record, but with the reservations which we have made. It would be interesting for the Administering Authority to seek other means of strengthening the economy of the Territory, for example by processing raw materials and creating local industries. Import statistics offer us some guidance in this field. Tanganyika, which produces cotton, must import quite an amount of cloth for local consumption. This is simply one example of the complicated problem of production and supply in Tanganyika. The drop in international prices of certain products, including cotton and coffee, strengthens our belief.

(Mr. Montero de Vargas,  
Paraguay)

Processing these raw materials would make it easier to find an outlet for them on the world market and, in addition, it would provide a greater demand for the products on the world market. All the members of this Council are very much aware of the serious problem facing countries which produce raw materials, and we know that the solution almost always sought is industrialization. Another way of dealing with the same problem would be to intensify production, since it is obvious that the increase of revenue depends upon an increase in the economic capacity for production. We think that the factors which might assist in increasing production are intimately connected with land distribution.

We believe quite honestly that private ownership would be a powerful incentive for a greater increase in production. The rural African population of Tanganyika must own the land that it cultivates. There must be a gradual transformation in the present land system. Accordingly, the establishment of a cadastre must be undertaken, and the necessary basis for this must be laid. When we affirm that the African native must feel rooted to his own earth, we are saying that we do not believe it wise that the man cultivating the land should feel psychologically a stranger in his own house, or on his own farm. On the other hand, awakening this awareness of ownership would assist in forming a social class which at the present time does not exist in Tanganyika -- a class that is necessary if we are to achieve a balance between the economic forces of the Territory. The report speaks about the flourishing commercial class, and of course this class will have great political influence in the life of the Territory. Therefore, we would insist on the wisdom of establishing another social class so as to achieve a balance. The statistics with regard to the distribution of land submitted in the annual report make us aware of this lack of balance in the social and political field. The system of communal ownership must be supplanted by a system of private or individual ownership of property. We are sure that thus would be achieved a better feeling on the part of the African inhabitants and that an increase in production, as well as a balance among the independent social classes, would be achieved.



(Mr. Montero de Vargas, Paraguay)

I now come to educational and social matters. The preparation of a generation which could later manage the affairs of the Territory, once self-government has been achieved, should be the principle concern of the Administering Authority. Any sacrifice to this end should be applauded by this Council. Unhappily, at the present time we do not see any such possibility. The report which we have before us makes it very clear that the Territory does not yet have sufficient men or women prepared to fill the posts required in the educational system. As regards the liberal professions, there are only eight doctors and no lawyers or doctors of science. It is true that thirty-one medical students are being trained and a few of these will soon be in a position to enter their profession. However, beyond these facts, we have not yet any concrete information. Many years will have to pass before we have trained scientists who could guide the people of Tanganyika. It is true that there are a certain number of students in primary and secondary schools, but there are no possibilities open in higher university education except by means of scholarships abroad. The establishment of at least one university in Tanganyika is a necessity for the Territory. The youth must be trained; otherwise it would do no good to achieve economic progress. Logically, the future of Tanganyika is to be found in the youth of the Territory, and the training of the youth to manage the affairs of the Territory in the near future, or within a few years, is a vital matter. Therefore, my delegation would ask the Administering Authority to study means of opening a university for the people of Tanganyika.

My delegation has great faith in the United Kingdom and we do not feel it impossible that within a few years some means of providing university education for the youth of Tanganyika will be found. The United Kingdom has done very much to lead peoples to independence, and Tanganyika cannot be left behind.

Preventive medicine is an outstanding question of social action. Every well-organized society must take such action. In Tanganyika, unfortunately, very little has been done, and very slowly. The statistics about doctors there show that matters are at a very low ebb. The treatment of such diseases as leprosy would give an index of this action there. More energetic action should be taken by the Administering Authority. We hope that the next annual report will give us a more favourable impression in the field of public health.

(Mr. Montero de Vargas, Paraguay)

The penal code is another matter of great concern to my delegation. I shall only refer very briefly to the impression we received in this regard. Corporal punishment, as a means of repressing crimes and offences, cannot be maintained longer in the Territory. We cannot agree that corporal punishment is a normal means of punishing crimes or offences, nor do we believe that such a system can maintain public order. We trust that corporal punishment will soon disappear from the penal code. The prestige of the United Kingdom itself cannot allow this to continue.

Mr. KELLY (Australia): It is the custom of this Council each year to devote not less than two weeks to the examination of conditions in the smallest of the Trust Territories, namely, Nauru, which has a population of only 4,500 souls and an area of some eight or nine square miles. It is, of course, I should imagine, quite impracticable for the Council to examine for a proportionately longer period or in proportionately greater detail the affairs of the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, which, with a population of 8,700,000 souls and an area of over 362,000 square miles, is capable of becoming, in the course of the lifetime of men now in their prime, one of the effectively great nation-States of Africa.

(Mr. Kelly, Australia)

However, today the representative of India reminded us that freedom itself is of illusory value, if accompanied by economic weakness. To that I would add that independence by itself will not make Tanganyika effectively great. But independence based on an operating and established capacity for responsible, democratic and efficient self-government, will bring Tanganyika to the realization of most of its potentialities. By and large, Tanganyika is only now becoming aware of its potentialities. Generally speaking, Tanganyika has still to acquire a real, as distinct from a merely notional, knowledge of the arduous and prolonged efforts that will have to be made by all its peoples if their potentialities are to be realized.

In the world today, there are not a few regimes which, in point of form, enjoy international recognition but whose authority is, in fact, largely ignored and unrecognized within their own frontiers. The emergence of some such regime in Tanganyika is, of course, regarded by some organizations as an issue internationally of the highest priority. But I do not think it likely that this Council could entertain so irresponsible a view, which implies concern with only one aspect, and that not the most important, of political development. After all, the Council is, under the Charter, charged with the making of a specific and distinctive contribution to the implementation of all the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System. The political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories is the primary responsibility of the Administering Authority. The advancement of the inhabitants in these four fields must necessarily precede, even if later advancement accompanies, the progressive development of the Trust Territory as an entity towards self-government or independence. The inhabitants are to advance -- educationally, socially, economically and politically -- in order that the Territory may develop progressively towards self-government or independence, and then, of course, only in conformity with those considerations declared appropriate by the Charter.

In this phase of Tanganyika's history, and particularly during this session of the Council, we should accordingly show a sympathetic interest in and insight into the advancement of the inhabitants in the four directions I have mentioned, and we should not hesitate to decide that, so far as the Territory as an entity is concerned, it would be premature to consider the formulation of any recommendations relating to intermediate and final targets and dates, especially of a political character.

(Mr. Kelly, Australia)

Largely as a result of the contributions made to the economic, social and educational advancement of the indigenous inhabitants by the European, Asian and Arab communities, by the Missions, by the Territorial Government and by the Administering Authority, there has recently been very considerable political and constitutional development in the Territory.

The Council will naturally note all this development. It should, I submit, commend the Administering Authority for holding in September last the first round of elections to the representative side of the Legislative Council. It should congratulate the Administering Authority on bringing forward the date of the second round of those elections to this very day, 9 February 1959. If the special representative can possibly communicate to the Council or to its drafting committee information concerning the successful conclusion of this second round of elections, the Council should express its gratification at such a development; for, henceforth, belonging to or associated with the Tanganyika Elected Members Organization, there will be a new factor in the Trust Territory -- the thirty Legislative Councillors, whose sense of responsibility and capacity for rational and creative political activity will be carefully considered not only by the peoples of Tanganyika but by the world community. In the new task they henceforth assume, all the elected Legislative Councillors will have, I am convinced, the sympathy and understanding of the peoples of all States represented in this Council.

However, the Administering Authority must necessarily continue to exercise its primary responsibility for the Government of the Trust Territory. That it is exercising this responsibility in an alert, intelligent, sensitive and eminently progressive spirit may be inferred from that passage of the speech of His Excellency, the Governor which was quoted by the special representative in this Council at its 942nd meeting, and which is to be found, if my recollection serves me right, on page 66 of document T/PV.942.

As a basic exposition of the policy of the Administering Authority that statement deserves the commendation of the Council, as equally does the Administering Authority's intimation that, in the coming month of March, there will be announced the composition and terms of reference of the Post Elections Committee. It would not be proper for this Council to underestimate the importance of these developments nor precipitately to intervene in the deliberations of the elected Legislative Councillors and the Territorial Administration.



(Mr. Kelly, Australia)

Likewise, in the fields of economic, social and educational advancement, the Administering Authority deserves the commendation of the Council and the General Assembly. While the role of the specialized agencies is highly important, each being in its own way the still, small and occasionally captious voice of international conscience, the fact remains that it is not, nor can it be expected to be, within the capacity of the ILO, WHO, FAO or UNESCO to do for the Trust Territory all that the Administering Authority is now doing and is still capable of doing. The Trusteeship System, with its devolution of functions to the Administering Authorities, is the best, the most efficient and the most practical form of technical assistance yet devised by an international institution for the rapid advancement of societies not yet capable of attaining the dignity or of exercising the responsibility of States. Under the enlightened guidance of the United Kingdom, Tanganyika has turned its back on a retarded past and is about to face heroically the challenge of a new day. Realistically considered, this challenge is essentially educational, social and economic rather than political. It is to be hoped that the Mission of Experts from the International Bank, which is to visit the Territory, and the Economic Commission for Africa, which has just been established, will be able to make some contribution towards the more efficient operation of the extensive subsistence sector of the economy of the Territory. Probably for decades to come, the subsistence sector, expanded by cash-cropping, will be the principal support of most of the people, even if that sector can, in the foreseeable future, make only a limited contribution to the expenses of the Central Territorial Administration.

(Mr. Kelly, stralia)

Like so many lands, Tanganyika has need of an intelligent, free, efficient and reasonably self-sufficient and prosperous peasantry, each family securely possessing control of the means of production necessary to the full development of the energies of its members. This morning, the representative of India eloquently underlined this need when he declared that the farmers must have security of tenure and occupancy, freedom from impositions by the State or by landlords and all the incentives in the world to increase production and when he observed also that farmers so strengthened would find their own means for social and educational advancement, thus diminishing the burden on the State. Precisely this need was also emphasized this afternoon by the representative of Paraguay.

One of the principal goals of the Administering Authority's economic policy is fully to satisfy this need. It is a goal of policy which the Council can unhesitatingly endorse.

In conclusion, permit me to express my delegation's indebtedness to the special representative, whose contributions to our examination of conditions in the Trust Territory have been generously in keeping with the Administering Authority's tradition of wholehearted co-operation with the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): We have heard the statements of the representatives. The special representative will now make his final statement.

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): In some ways, I would have preferred the opportunity of having twenty-four hours or so in which to prepare my reply, but I appreciate that it may be preferable, in order to facilitate the work of the Council, if I make my statement now, as I am quite prepared to do. If I seem to jump from point to point, I crave the indulgence of the Council.

A large number of representatives in their final remarks have referred to political and constitutional matters. It is quite obvious, I think, from the information which has been laid before this Council that Tanganyika is on the threshold of further steps in political and constitutional development. I have myself referred to the setting up in March of the Post-Elections Committee and

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Special Representative)

also to the speech which His Excellency the Governor will make to the new Legislative Council -- new in the sense that thirty of the representative members will have been elected -- which is planned for 17 March. I am sure that this Council would not expect me to anticipate in any detail the subsequent developments. Indeed, I would venture to suggest that it would be inappropriate perhaps for this Council to attempt to prejudge what may come out of the next steps of machinery, as it were, in constitutional development which I have foreshadowed. Therefore, if I may suggest, it might be more appropriate for the Council to take note of these various developments, but not to attempt to be too precise as to what may emerge from them.

I have no doubt, however, that 1959 will see proposals, recommendations and conclusions which will involve changes in both the legislature and the executive.

There was one speech made in this final debate which contained a very large number of misstatements of fact, and I feel that I have no alternative but to correct those misstatements. Every delegation seated at this table is, of course, entitled to express whatever views it likes about our Administration in Tanganyika. We may or may not agree with it. But I do not think that there is a place for the distortion, whether it be inadvertently or deliberately, of fact. I therefore will crave the indulgence of the Council while I correct some of these misstatements of fact.

The representative of the Soviet Union did refer in very general terms to a "shameful and obsolete system of oppression and exploitation of dependent and economically weak peoples...." (T/PV.950, page 31) I do not propose to take up the time of the Council in rebutting such generalizations, but, as I have said, there are some misstatements of fact which I feel I must correct.

The representative went on to talk about the "inexcusable discrimination directed against the African people." (Ibid.) He then proceeded to quote a number of examples in support of his contention. I turn to the first statement which he made:

"In the Legislative Council of Tanganyika, the European population and the aliens, who number roughly 100,000 people, are represented by fifty-seven delegates...." (Ibid.)

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Special Representative)

That, of course, is wholly untrue. The Legislative Council in Tanganyika has sixty-seven members. Of these, twelve are officials, including the nine official Ministers, and as Government officials they are, of course, in no sense representative of any particular community. In other words, in terms of sectional interests in Tanganyika, they observe and maintain a wholly impartial attitude. The remaining fifty-three members of the Legislative Council are all unofficials, and no fewer than twenty-four of those fifty-three unofficials are Africans; that is to say, just under one half of the unofficial element of the Legislative Council. Of the remaining twenty-nine unofficials, fifteen are Europeans and fourteen are Asians. The Council will therefore appreciate that the Africans, all of whom are unofficials, form the largest single element in the Legislative Council. I think that my colleague from the United Arab Republic also made a statement which may have been based on a similar misapprehension.

The representative of the Soviet Union also made some remarks about the electoral qualifications. It is perfectly true that the electorate in Tanganyika represents a small proportion of the total adult population and, as I have already indicated, the number of those who actually registered was considerably less than 50 per cent of the number who, in our view, were qualified to vote. However, as I listened to the representative's remarks and more particularly when I read the verbatim records, I found that he did not distinguish with regard to these qualifications, as fortunately a number of other delegations did today. I am grateful to the representative of Burma who made this point quite clear: that the various qualifications to which he referred -- namely, an income of at least £150 sterling, a Standard VIII education or certain service experience -- are alternative qualifications and not, I might say, additive qualifications. If you are the holder of any one of those qualifications, that is sufficient.

The representative of Burma, I think it was -- it may have been another delegation -- seemed to assume that the office-holding qualification, the last of the three I mentioned, was given to persons who had previously served in the Government service and that, as there were very few Africans comparatively speaking in the Government service, certainly in the higher grades, therefore the Africans would derive little benefit from this particular qualification. I think that



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Special Representative)

there is a genuine misunderstanding here. The office-holding qualification has nothing whatever to do with the Government service. It is a qualification which relates to service on, for example, all the native authorities and councils, of which there are some 3,000 or 4,000, all local government bodies, whether of the new type or old type, present members and past members and, in addition, a very large number of clan heads, that is, heads of families. All the people who qualify under that head are Africans. There are, of course, a few Europeans who served on township authorities who might qualify under that, but the vast majority of these persons who held office in local government or as clan and kindred heads are Africans. It has nothing whatever to do with former Government service.

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Special Representative)

Another point to which I feel I must draw attention is the Soviet representative's particular reference to the compulsory tripartite vote. As I have indicated, I shall be extremely surprised if the principle of parity, as it were, survives the reconsideration of the constitutional system which is about to take place. It is certainly not in the Government's mind that it should. I am equally aware that there are a variety of views about the merits of the compulsory tripartite vote, which have been expressed both inside and outside Tanganyika.

But the particular argument which the representative of the Soviet Union used was that the African voter was compelled to vote not only for the person he wishes to elect, but for three -- it really means two -- other candidates, and he went on to say:

"Even though he may have no confidence at all in one or both of the other candidates, he must vote in this manner." (T/PV.950, page 32)

In terms of an academic exercise that may be true. But in terms of practical politics the fact of the matter is that during the first election candidates of all races for every contested seat were endorsed by TANU, and exactly the same thing has occurred during the second round of the elections. So that in every case there were candidates for the three seats, in whom the President of TANU, and TANU as a political organization, had enough confidence to endorse them.

I do not therefore think that there is any substance in the suggestion that any African elector, either in the first or the second round of the elections, was required to vote for anybody in whom he had no confidence.

The representative of the Soviet Union made some reference to the recruitment of persons to the public service in Tanganyika and he argued that these appointments were made on the basis of discrimination. This is not, of course, the fact. All appointments to the public service are based solely on the educational and personal qualifications of the successful candidates.

This may give me an opportunity of taking up a point raised by the representative of India at an earlier stage of our discussions, in which he asked for some information and which I am now in a position to give him. As I have

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indicated, there are some 2,700 Europeans in a total Government service of just under 30,000. Whenever vacancies occur in posts hitherto held by Europeans from overseas, the first step is to consider whether there are any local candidates who are suitably qualified for appointment. And only if there are not, is recourse had to obtaining a replacement from overseas.

During the years 1957 and 1958, taken together, 431 officers were recruited from overseas, of 14 were Asians. This gives an average of 215 overseas recruits per annum, which is less than 10 per cent of the figure of Europeans in the Government service and very considerably less than 10 per cent of the total figure of Europeans and Asians in the Government service.

It represents far less than the mere wastage of personnel. About half the Europeans recruited during the two years 1957 and 1958 were recruited on contract terms for three years. The other half, that is, some 200, were recruited on permanent terms. It is an accepted principle that no overseas officer shall be recruited on permanent terms if it is possible to get suitable candidates on contract terms.

The representative of India also asked about local applications during those two years. During 1957 and 1958, 1,014 local candidates applied for senior posts in the administrative, professional and technical pbranches of the Government service in Tanganyika. This total of 1,014 was made up of 521 Asians, 264 Europeans and 229 Africans. The majority of these local applicants of all races were not qualified for the posts for which they applied.

Out of 521 Asian applicants, 59 were successful. Out of 264 local European candidates, 18 were successful. Out of the much smaller number of African applicants, namely 229, no fewer than 2 were appointed. Although the Government is acutely conscious of the need for pressing on with its plans for the Africanization of the Government service, I would suggest to the Council that the figures I have just given should dispose of any suggestion, such as that made by the representative of the Soviet Union, that a policy of racial discrimination is applied in filling such vacancies.

To complete the information which the representative of India asked for, I would mention that during the two years 1957 and 1958 18 Tanganyikan Africans who had studied at the engineering school at Kampala -- and that 18 represented all those who were available -- were appointed to technical posts in the Government service.

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Special Representative)

The representative of the Soviet Union also alleged that the activities of the political parties are still being restricted. Some parties are deprived of the possibility of registration in some regions, and so on. Here again, there are no grounds for any such suggestions. Every political party, including, of course, TANU, has been perfectly free to carry out election campaigns in every district of the Territory during the periods leading up to the two phases of the election. Furthermore, during the past six months, a large number of applications to open branches of TANU in various parts of the Territory have been received and none of these has been rejected.

I can give the Council an assurance that political parties in Tanganyika have every freedom to pursue their policies, and this would only be curtailed if the laws of the Territory were broken. I might here interpolate an observation on a remark made by the representative of Haiti who, if I understood him correctly, suggested that TANU had absorbed the other political parties. That is not quite so. There is at the moment a very close working arrangement between, for example, TANU and the Asian Association. But TANU, not so very long ago, expelled those members who wished to set up the Tanganyika African National Congress. Of course, although a number of former members of UTP may have joined TANU -- indeed at one stage it was believed that a large number of members were common to both parties at one and the same time -- I would, however, like to correct the impression that TANU has actually absorbed any other political parties. I think it is making progress without in fact doing that.



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Special Representative)

The representative of the Soviet Union also made some remarks which bear no relation to the facts in his observations on the economic situation. For example, he said that all economic life and economic development were aimed at serving mainly the interests of foreign countries and monopolies; that in the commercial life of the Territory, almost all of the indigenous people did not participate; that all trade, and especially exports, was monopolized by foreigners.

I myself of necessity wonder what the 332,000 members -- all Africans -- of the co-operative societies which grow, own, process and market two of the largest export crops, namely, cotton and coffee, would think if they heard the representative of the Soviet Union say that the indigenous people of Tanganyika play no part whatever in the overseas trade of the Territory, when, as a matter of fact, they produce over 60 per cent, by value, of the exports of the Territory and they own it at all stages of its production and marketing.

I also wonder what the African representatives in the Legislative Council would think of the statement that the Government's development plans are not concerned with the affairs of Africans and are solely designed to further the interests of overseas companies. Perhaps the representative of the Soviet Union missed my references to the large number of African productivity schemes proposed by the African members of the Legislative Council and which the Government of Tanganyika, with assistance from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds, has been fostering and encouraging during the past year or so.

The meeting was suspended at 4 p.m. and resumed at 4.20 p.m.

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): The Soviet Union representative made another statement to which I feel I must draw attention. He said: "It is characteristic that there is much poverty in Tanganyika" (T/PV.950, page 38-40). Of course, there is much poverty in Tanganyika, but far less than there was last year or the year before -- or, indeed, forty years previously, when the British became responsible for the administration.

The Soviet Union representative went on to say that:

"the population is undernourished and that the prevalence of illness is, of course, a result of the very heavy labour in plantations and mines belonging to foreign companies". (Ibid.)

That statement is not in accordance with the facts. All the mining companies and the estate companies maintain hospitals at which not only the workers but also their families are treated. In all those cases, it is true to say that these people would not have the benefit of the medical facilities which they now enjoy if in fact they were living in the remoter areas.

The Soviet Union representative made a blanket reference to corporal punishment and compulsory labour. I assume that the immediate association of those two matters was unintentional. In any case, let me make it quite clear that there is no connexion whatever between them. It is quite true, as I have indicated, that corporal punishment is maintained in Tanganyika as a sentence which may be awarded by the courts in certain limited circumstances. But I must also reiterate that this is on the basis of consultation with African public opinion, and since I have been in Tanganyika no African representative has ever suggested in the Legislative Council that the question of corporal punishment should be reconsidered. Nevertheless, it is the declared intention of the Government of Tanganyika progressively to bring this form of punishment to an end, and I hope that we shall be able to educate public opinion to accept that.

The Soviet Union representative's reference to compulsory labour -- and this reference has been made by other representatives -- contained the implied suggestion that both compulsory labour and corporal punishment were not in accordance with the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement. Whatever views may be

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held about corporal punishment or compulsory labour, I would say that there is nothing in either which conflicts with the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement. Moreover, the sole form of compulsory labour which is still in existence in Tanganyika, as will be seen from the 1957 report, is for portage for Government teams in remoter areas, and that is fully in accordance with the relevant ILO convention.

The Soviet Union representative made some very sweeping condemnations of the medical services in Tanganyika. It is hardly necessary to comment on these, in view of the helpful contribution to our discussions made by the WHO. But I must refer to one or two of the facts.

In the first place, the Soviet Union representative said that such diseases as smallpox, leprosy and plague were widespread in Tanganyika, and suggested that no adequate measures had been taken to protect the population against them. I think that the Trusteeship Council will agree with me that a total of five cases of plague in 1957 hardly indicates that plague is prevalent. The fact that vaccination against smallpox is available free of charge at all Government medical centres and that routine measures include the systematic vaccination of infants and school children, and any groups of the population -- such as those who work in medical centres -- who are liable to incur a special risk, tends to the conclusion, I would suggest, that there are in Tanganyika substantial measures to protect the population against smallpox. Similarly, does the existence of nineteen leprosaria, catering for a resident leprosy population in 1957 of something under 5,000, indicate the complete absence of measures to deal with leprosy in Tanganyika? Does an expenditure on health services in 1956-1957 of over £2.5 million indicate indifference to the health needs of the population, when it is borne in mind that the territorial budget is of the order of £20 million?

Again, the Soviet Union representative said:

"If we take into account the fact that a fee is required for medical services, we can realize that the great majority of the people are deprived altogether of medical help". (T/PV.950, page 41)

If the representative cares to consult paragraph 361 of the 1957 report, he will read the following:

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"Free accommodation, attendance and treatment is available for all members of the indigenous population, although they may, of course, opt for higher grade accommodation and pay fees accordingly".

The medical services for indigenous people are therefore completely free.

In discussing a number of empty places in the primary schools in Tanganyika, the Soviet Union representative suggested that "a more likely assumption" as to why these places were not filled was that "parents were not able to pay the fees" (T/PV.950, page 42). I had hoped that I had disposed of that particular erroneous belief in my answers to questions. The fees for a child in a primary school amount to ten shillings per year and they are solely for the purpose of paying for books; they are remitted in all cases in which the parent cannot pay them.



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Special Representative)

The representative of the Soviet Union, according to the verbatim record, said "while in the middle schools we find that there are only 3,529." (T/PV.950, page 42) I think perhaps that there was an error of interpretation there and he may well have been referring to secondary schools. But there have been a number of misunderstandings about middle schools and the numbers enrolled therein. I should like to give the following figures to the Council as being the latest official figures. In 1956 there were 245 middle schools with an enrolment of 27,408, which incidentally was 3,661 more than the 1955 figure of enrolments. In 1957 there were 261 middle schools with an enrolment of 31,319. In 1958 including 32 new middle schools which were being constructed and some of which -- I do not know the exact number -- were finished, the total number was 293 and the enrolment was 34,319.

None of these figures take any account of the number of pupils in district schools which provide facilities up to and including standards V and VI. These district schools are fast disappearing as a feature of the educational system, and it would be perfectly legitimate to add to the numbers in middle schools which I have quoted the numbers of those in district schools, as increasing the numbers in standards V and VI. That would be the case for both 1956 and 1957. But those figures are not included in the figures I have given although they are of the order of 4,000 to 5,000. As the children in these schools -- the district schools which are disappearing -- are necessarily going to diminish, I have not quoted them and I hope in that way not to confuse the issue further.

Referring to the question of independence for Tanganyika, the representative of the Soviet Union quoted from the manifesto of the African National Congress. Bearing in mind that the President of this Congress was expelled by the President of TANU when he established his break-away party, and bearing in mind that from the results of the elections it is quite clear that TANU commands the majority support in Tanganyika, I do not think that it is necessary to labour the point which I had already made previously: that the influence of the African National Congress is in fact negligible in Tanganyika.

The representative of the Soviet Union quoted a statement made by the Governor on 10 December 1958 in which, according to his quotation, the Governor said the following:

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Special Representative)

"Allow me to warn you once more" -- I am quite certain that the Governor did not in fact use those words, but I have not been able to turn up the exact text -- "that her Majesty's Government will not be prepared to agree to provide self-government as long as it is not certain that the property rights of all residents in the Territory will receive proper respect." (T/PV.950, page 43-45)

It is perfectly true that the Governor and indeed the Secretary of State himself when he visited the Territory in October 1957, did say -- and this has been said on a number of occasions -- that Her Majesty's Government, as the Administering Authority, would not be prepared to hand over power in Tanganyika to an independent government unless it were satisfied that the incoming Government, as it were, would honour existing rights and contracts and would be willing and able to safeguard the rights and interests of all sections of the community, including the Africans themselves. To put this matter in perspective, perhaps I may be permitted to quote the following from a broadcast given by the Governor on 20 August 1958. He said:

"There are some people in Tanganyika who have been led to believe that self-government is coming in 1959. This is not possible. Self-government will come to Tanganyika in due course. This has been stated on numerous occasions by representatives of the Government both in this country and in the United Kingdom, and we are doing all we can to speed up the process of preparing the people of the Territory for self-government. But there is a great deal of ground to be covered before self-government can be achieved, and those who are under the impression that it can be brought about in 1959 cannot have thought very closely about the matter. I have no doubts about the rightness and wisdom of proceeding step by step. Equally I am sure that it is right to take each step as soon as we are ready for it."

I do hope that this statement and many other similar statements which have been made will remove any doubts which may exist that it is the declared policy of the Administering Authority to bring Tanganyika to independence as soon as this is practicable.

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke,  
Special Representative)

There is no substance in the suggestion which was repeated by the representative of the Soviet Union that the Administering Authority is deliberately attempting to delay the grant of independence.

I turn now to some observations on some remarks made by representatives of other delegations, and I should also like to give the Council some additional information on various points, as I promised at an earlier stage.

The representative of India in his most interesting speech, which I can assure him will be very carefully considered in Tanganyika, made a point with which I entirely agree, namely, that the boundaries of the present constituencies are far too large, that the size of the constituencies is much too great. Members of this Council will recall that it has been stated here on a number of occasions that one of the matters to be referred to the post-elections committee will be a review and, I have no doubt, a revision of constituency boundaries. The representative of India, while commending the Government of Tanganyika on introducing elections into town councils, also expressed the hope that it would be possible to introduce these into district councils as well. I should like to make two observations on that: first, that the enabling legislation under which the district councils have been set up already provides for direct elections; in other words, it would not be necessary to change the law at all; the necessary machinery is there. Secondly, that although we have not as yet in any district council proceeded to direct elections by means of the ballot box, it remains a fact that the majority of the Africans and the Africans themselves are in a substantial majority -- usually of the order of fifty to six or seven -- and the Africans on these district councils are, as to the greater number, appointed after they have been indirectly elected; that is, they are put forward as individuals by subsidiary councils and subsidiary organs where they have been elected though not necessarily by the ballot box. They may have been elected by acclamation or in some form of indirect election. There is therefore even now, and before a stage of direct elections is reached, a substantial elective element in these district councils.

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Special Representative)

Before I leave the subject of town councils, I should like to mention a piece of information which only reached me yesterday, and that is that next September the Lindi Town Council proposes to hold elections for all the unofficials and the unofficials are of course in a substantial majority in the sense that there are only some four official members, the medical officer, the revenue officer, and so on, on the town council. Thus that is a further step forward.



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Special representative)

The representative of India referred to the importance of tse-tse clearing. As I indicated in my opening statement, we are proceeding with clearing the tse-tse fly from large areas of Tanganyika, but I wish to make the following point. We do have a comparatively small population in Tanganyika and, apart from certain areas, there is no immediate land hunger. That does not apply where there is a very progressive tribe, like the Chagga, on the slopes of Kilimanjaro, where the soil is very rich. There is a certain pressure locally on the land there. But generally speaking there is plenty of land for everybody in Tanganyika. Cases have arisen in which we have cleared the land from tse-tse and have found that there was no one available to work it. In that case it becomes reinfected, the bush grows up again and the tse-tse fly returns. Therefore, a monumental scheme to clear away large acres of tse-tse fly-infested bush from particular parts of the Territory without being certain in advance that there are people ready to work the land would, in fact, be a waste of money and effort. However, we must proceed with both these things together, the clearing of the land and the availability of people to cultivate it.

The representative of India also expressed the hope that the Government of Tanganyika and the Administering Authority would take steps to borrow capital from international sources. I was glad to learn in a communication that reached me yesterday that the Vice-President of the International Finance Corporation from Washington is at present on a visit to Tanganyika.

In the course of answering a number of questions, I gave representatives who asked for them some facts and figures about the capital sum in the various loan funds, and at that time I was unable to give the capital sum in the Land Bank. For the record, I would say that the African Productivity Loan Fund and the Local Development Loan Fund both have a capital of something over £100,000 each, and that the Land Bank has a capital of something just under £1,000,000.

The representative of India at an earlier stage asked specifically for the amounts granted to Tanganyika by Her Majesty's Government during the financial years 1957-58 and 1958-59. The figures are as follows: Colonial Development

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and Welfare Fund, in 1957-58, £1,003,730, and in 1958-59, £1,250,000. In addition, Her Majesty's Government granted to the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation, which, as members of the Council know, has a statutory obligation to further in a variety of ways the interests of African agriculture, £110,000 in 1957-58 and £100,000 in 1958-59. In addition, smaller sums were provided for the study and training of various Government officers and scholars in the United Kingdom -- approximately £26,000 in 1957-58 and approximately £13,000 in 1958-59, the latter figure including the amounts actually expended up to the time the figures were given to me. There is, of course, in terms of the financial year, another four or five months to run. The total amounts, therefore, were for the first year, £1,145,000, and for the second but not yet completed year, £1,363,000.

Considerable interest was evinced during the discussion in the setting up of factories, and I may have misled the Council in that in my opening statement I only referred to two textile factories. This was partly because both those factories required licenses which had been granted, though a number of other factories have been set up which did not require licencing at all. To recapitulate, the textile factory which is being started by Tanganyika Dye Works on quite a large scale is designed for the manufacture of cotton and rayon textiles. At the end of five years, this factory hopes to do its spinning, weaving, dyeing and finishing. It will start with an output of 6 million yards rising ultimately to 20 million yards a year, and a large proportion of the cotton used will be that grown in Tanganyika. Therefore, some 1,200 Africans are likely to find employment in that single factory.

In addition, a small cotton and rayon weaving factory will be starting operations shortly in Dar es Salaam and two more small factories to manufacture rayon nightwear from spun rayon yarn are also expected to open within a few months.

I must also mention a very important engineering project which is just about to be completed. It is the second largest ever undertaken in Tanganyika, the first largest being the construction of the Princess Margaret Deep-Water Berths in Dar es Salaam Harbour which were opened a few years ago. The present one is the Ruvu River Scheme, costing £1,750,000, designed to improve and,

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Special representative)

we would hope, provide for the next twelve years in the matter of water supply of Dar es Salaam. It will be completed within a few weeks' time, when it will be formally opened. It has two reservoirs with a total capacity of 3,500,000 gallons. It involves fifty-six miles of piping and, in addition to supplying Dar es Salaam, it will supply a minor settlement in the area. I mention this because the sum involved, £1,750,000, does make it, by Tanganyika standards, a very important scheme.

A number of representatives referred in their final remarks to the question of encouraging small savers, and I noted that a special colour film has been made directed toward the African farmer to show him how he can save his money and how, following that, he can improve his home and raise his standard of living generally. The representative of the United Arab Republic referred in particular to Williamson Diamonds and the arrangements which I have already indicated to the Council, and expressed the hope that provision would be made for local investment by Africans in that company. I should perhaps have told the Council that the legislation which accompanied the signing of the two agreements with De Beers, in other words the arrangements which have brought the present situation into being, do include provision for the establishment, when appropriate, of a holding company which would in fact hold all the Government's share in Williamson Diamonds, and provision is made for shares in that holding company to be sold locally and in particular to Africans. The reason why the Government did not see fit to do that at the initial stage was that none of us wished to find himself in prison in the sense that so little was known about the proven resources of Williamson Diamonds that although we are quite sure we have got a bargain, we would not be in a position to issue a prospectus and therefore we did not feel it would be appropriate to call for public funds until we are in a position to do so. But the Council may rest assured that this particular suggestion put forward by the representative of the United Arab Republic is very much in mind and that the machinery for this to be done in due course already exists.

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke,  
Special representative)

The representative of Paraguay referred to our land policy. While I agree with him, as I am sure the Government of Tanganyika does, as to the need for creating another social class of yeoman farmers, farmers owning and operating their own land, I am sure that the remarks of various Africans in Legislative Council which I have quoted in the questioning period will lead the Council to support the Government in its resolve to move very slowly in this matter and only in so far as we are in a position to take responsible African opinion with us.



(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke,  
Special Representative)

I am grateful to the specialized agencies for the papers they have issued commenting on the report for 1957. I do not altogether agree, and I doubt whether the educational authorities will altogether agree, with some of the conclusions in the UNESCO paper, but nevertheless it does provide a basis for discussion.

I should like, sir, to thank you for your courtesy on this occasion, as also all other delegations, who have treated me with the greatest kindness and consideration as a special representative.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I wish to thank the special representative for his statement, which will certainly help the members of the Council in appreciating the situation in Tanganyika.

Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom): Mr. President, since this is the first opportunity I have had, may I begin the brief statement which I should like to make by congratulating you on your election as President of this Council. As has already been said on behalf of the United Kingdom delegation, we are very happy to serve under you in that capacity. I have seen, during the time that I have been here, the very great contributions which you, sir, have made personally to the working of the Trusteeship System, and I count it a happy chance that I am able to say this during a debate on the affairs of Tanganyika, to which, if I may say so, you made such a distinguished contribution as Chairman of the Visiting Mission to East Africa. May I say also how delighted we are at the election of Mr. Vitelli as Vice-President of this Council and how happy we are to serve under him in that capacity.

May I also take this opportunity, since it is my first, of extending a very warm welcome to the newcomers to the Council, and in particular to the representative of India, Mr. Jha. All of us who heard his statement this morning now know what a great contribution he will make to the work of this Council, if any of us doubted this before. I had the benefit of knowing Mr. Jha some years ago at a time when, on behalf of the Government of India, he took part in a mission to East Africa, including the Trust Territory which we are now considering, and I am particularly happy for personal reasons to see him again here as a colleague on the Council.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

May I also extend our very warm welcome to the representative of Paraguay, Mr. Montero de Vargas. May I welcome both his country and himself as a member of this Council. We are looking forward very much to working together with him as colleagues.

May I also say how happy we are to see here the representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Kurdyukov. We warmly welcome him to this Council. May I also say this. Sometimes perhaps we disagree as to methods or even as to principles with the delegation of the Soviet Union. Sometimes I myself, sometimes the special representative, may have found it necessary to comment on interpretations of our policy put forward by the delegation of the Soviet Union. But I, as a technician in the field of helping the people of these Territories forward, have always admired, if I may say so, the work of the Soviet Union in Soviet Asia, and I hope that I may expect that the representative of the Soviet Union will, at any rate occasionally, find something to admire in the work which we and the other Administering Authorities do in our attempts to help forward the people of these Territories with whom we are concerned. If I may say so with British understatement, we have done quite a number of good things in this Territory and in other Territories for which we are responsible, and we like to see these things recognized along with any criticisms which may be put forward in a constructive spirit. If the representative of the Soviet Union thinks or says that we are exploiters, that we are aiming to keep back the people of these Territories or that we are not concerned with helping them forward towards independence, then I say in the most friendly spirit possible that I think he will find that he is wrong. Magna est veritas et praevalebit. I think that some of those who sit behind me today and who come from another African Territory, a great African Territory, would agree with me in what I am saying. But may I again say how very much we welcome Mr. Kurdyukov here as representative of the Soviet Union. I know already, from the contacts I have had with him, in how friendly a spirit we are going to work together.

Now I must turn to the affairs of Tanganyika, and I am bound to say that I find myself somewhat flummoxed. When I was at school I learnt the phrase: Perent qui ante nos nostra dixerint. I do not wish to call down death or destruction on the head of either the special representative or any member of this Council, but, listening to the debate today and on Friday, it seemed to me that everything or

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

virtually everything possible on the subject of the development of Tanganyika at the present time had already been said. I was reminded of the saying of a British statesman, perhaps the greatest of all British statesmen, that the art of politics is the art of doing nothing when there is nothing to be done. I do not want anyone to think that that represents our policy in respect of Tanganyika, but perhaps one could turn it around a little and say: the art of speaking is sometimes saying when there is nothing to be said. Or, looking at it another way: the art is to find something to say when there is very little to be said. That is the position in which I tend to find myself this afternoon, because this debate has been very complete. We heard this morning a very complete statement, a very constructive, analytical, if sometimes critical, statement by the representative of India, which we highly appreciated. We have heard other speeches, from all around this table, which, broadly speaking, seem to me all to add up to the same thing. There were certain points in which the members of this Council are deeply interested, but, broadly speaking, I detected a feeling on the part of the Council that things are going well in Tanganyika. That is a feeling which I myself am bound to say I share.

May I, however, pinpoint one or two points which seem to me important. First of all, may I say a word about the future of Tanganyika. I have heard many times in this Council, in the two years I have been here, suggestions that the Administering Authority ought to make a statement about the future of Tanganyika to dispel doubts, to encourage people, to create a sense of security. The Visiting Mission, of which you, sir, were Chairman, dealt also with that subject. A number of statements have been made in the past by the Administering Authority, by the Government of Tanganyika and by the representative of the United Kingdom in the Trusteeship Council, and some of us thought that those statements were sufficient. However, that may be, the new Governor of Tanganyika has made a statement, which I need not quote again, because the relevant passage has been quoted in full by the special representative.

(Sir Andrew Cohen,  
United Kingdom)

This statement was warmly welcomed in the Legislative Council of Tanganyika by representatives of all sections of the community, and notably by the leader of TANU, Mr. Julius Nyerere; and what Mr. Nyerere said on that occasion was also quoted by the special representative in his opening statement. I seem to recollect that I myself quoted it last autumn in the General Assembly. It is evident from the speeches which have been made today and Friday around this table that this statement by the Governor has given considerable satisfaction to this Council, and I think that we are meeting now in a state of agreement on this particular matter. I have no doubt that the Council will wish to express its satisfaction on that point.

May I turn to another question which has been treated in the Trusteeship Council's report in the past: the question of methods of election, and in particular, the tripartite system of election. We have heard a great deal said on that subject during this debate. Some of what has been said seems to me to represent the past and not perhaps to take fully into account how this system has worked. There have been criticisms in this Council in the past, and some during the current debate of this tripartite system -- criticisms which perhaps stem from the fact that the system was itself criticized by the main political parties in Tanganyika and indeed by other people in Tanganyika. I am not going into these criticisms now. There has been a good deal of analysis of them in the course of this debate by the special representative and others. All I am going to say is this -- and it has been said before to some extent -- that no one, whatever criticisms he might make, whatever views he might hold about this system, no one could, I think, in the light of all that has happened, legitimately claim that this system was designed against the nationalist party; if it was so designed, it certainly has not had that effect because, as everyone here knows, TANU won all the seats either with its own candidates or with those whom it publicly supported.

We have heard also a good deal in the course of this debate about the question of expanding the franchise. I do not have very much to say about this. But I would, perhaps with an eye to the remarks made by my neighbour from the United States, say that one cannot always generalize on this subject. And if members think that one can generalize on this particular subject, let them cast their minds back to a recent meeting and remember what was said by the Hon. Tamasese,



(Sir Andrew Cohen,  
United Kingdom)

when he came here to represent the people of Western Samoa. Circumstances are not necessarily the same everywhere in the world. Now, I, sitting in this seat, and others who have represented the United Kingdom, and indeed the Government of Tanganyika, have always said that the methods by which elections are carried out in Tanganyika, the question of qualifications and so on, were subject to review in the light of experience. If I may again indulge in a British understatement, no one ever supposed or ever suggested that these details, these methods were to be regarded as permanent. I cannot now make any statement to this Council as to the course of events in the future, either the substance of any changes which may be made in the future or the timing of those changes. But I do repeat this, that obviously these details are subject to review in the light of experience.

I know the members of this Council have a difficult task in front of them always in these matters. Is it the right course on any given occasion to prod the Administering Authority, to suggest changes, to push the Administering Authority forward, and indeed to insert the spur in the flank of the Administering Authority? Is that the right course on any given occasion? Or is it the right course, having seen that the line that has been taken is a promising one, to see what comes out of the working of the system, and in fact to leave it to the Administering Authority, the Government of the Territory concerned, and the people of the Territory and their representatives, to see what comes out of their consultation, to see in fact whether that is not the best way of securing satisfactory progress? My advice to the Council, for what it is worth, would be that on this occasion you have seen the introduction of this system of election. Many members of the Council were inclined to criticize the methods used in certain respects, in advance of seeing what result they produced. The result they produced was that the nationalist party won the elections and that there has been a great increase in the racial harmony and the general harmony between the people and the Government -- exactly what this Council always wants to see. That is what has happened. Now, we ask, wait to see what the next step is going to be. We have taken a first step by methods which some people here did not approve of, but which seems to have produced excellent results in every respect. Now, let us see what the next step is. That surely is the right way to proceed in this matter.

(Sir Andrew Cohen,  
United Kingdom)

I have something rather similar to say in respect of the question of constitutional development generally. A number of members of this Council in their statements during the general debate have expressed the wish that this or that should be done at the next stage of constitutional advancement, or in the future. I quite understand why they should have expressed these wishes. But the steps which the Administering Authority is taking are clear. The Administering Authority has said that the Governor of Tanganyika will set up a representative committee immediately after the election. What is more, Sir Richard Turnbull has advanced the date of the second part of the elections with the specific object in view of being able to set up this committee more quickly -- and we have heard from the special representative that an announcement about the setting up of this committee will be made next month. It seems to me essentially that this Council in respect of constitutional advancement should await the results of this committee. And I believe that all the members of the Council, or at any rate the majority of them, will agree with me in this. We are obliged under the Trusteeship Agreement to give constantly increasing participation to the representatives of the people in the political and general progress of Tanganyika. The representatives of the people are going to take part in this committee, in working out plans for the future. Surely that it is a very satisfactory state of affairs. And I think it is most important that these discussions, which will take place in the committee, should not be in any way prejudged or prejudiced by anything which should be said or recommended here. And I very much hope that the Council in its recommendations will see this matter as I do, and will proceed accordingly. There is no doubt that we are going to have useful recommendations from this committee, and I think it is right to wait for them.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

May I turn to another subject of very great importance which I was glad to hear mentioned by a number of members in this Council. The last mention was made by the representative of the United Arab Republic. I refer to the importance of the Africanization of the civil service of Tanganyika. We, as the Administering Authority, of course agree 100 per cent as to its importance. We have heard from the special representative of the good progress which has been made in this matter. It is a difficult matter on which any Government wants to see more rapid progress in the future than in the past, and we say as Administering Authority that the Tanganyika Government will continue to press forward with this subject. Speaking on behalf of the Administering Authority, I can only welcome the great interest in this subject which has been shown by the Council. Political development will go forward, and it is our duty to see that the increase in the number of local people in more and more senior positions in the civil service keeps pace with it. This a most important responsibility of any Administering Authority.

This leads me to the next subject which is closely linked to the question of the civil service. That, of course, is education. Education will provide the leaders of the future. The Tanganyika Government and the Administering Authority will continue to press forward with the expansion and improvement of the educational system within its practical means to do so. The utmost importance attaches to this. We have heard the special representative refer to the setting up by the Tanganyika Government of a committee to advise on the integration of the school system. This committee has already started its work. This is a subject on which the Council has expressed very definite views in the past, and I am particularly glad that we, as Administering Authority, are able to come here on this occasion and announce this important practical step which has been taken in this particular matter.

May I turn for a moment to the economic side. The Council has heard from the special representative of the plans for the expansion of agriculture and of mining and for diversifying the economy. We have heard of the measures which are being taken to help Africans forward in trade and commerce. We have heard of the plans for helping the African peasant farmers to improve their efficiency and productivity in agriculture. All these things are of great importance, and I am sure that the Council will take due note of what is being done and planned.

We have heard some muted criticisms of our ~~land~~ policy, but I have heard nothing in this general debate which suggests in any way that there is anything wrong with our basic land policy or that in its essence it could be altered. We believe that the protection of the land rights of the African population in a population like Tanganyika is a sacred trust for an Administering Authority; and the Council has heard during this examination and in past years of the very elaborate measures and safeguards which have been taken over the years to secure that that protection is complete.

We also believe that land must be brought into use for the benefit of the people in order to raise the national income, to increase living standards and to make it possible for the social and other services to be continuously improved and expanded. The Tanganyika Government has put forward proposals for individual land tenure, but the public discussion of these proposals will certainly have to be most careful and prolonged in order to ensure that before they are implemented in any area they have the full support of the people of that area.

May I refer for a moment to the ~~current~~ financial difficulties under which the Tanganyika Government is labouring and about which the special representative has given the Council a very factual explanation. I would only like to refer again on behalf of the Administering Authority to what has already been said on this subject. I would refer to the statement made by the Governor of Tanganyika following the talks which he had recently in London: The Government of the United Kingdom has accepted the obligation to help Tanganyika in meeting its financial difficulties, and ways and means of doing this are now being considered. I know from my own talks in London that this whole matter is receiving most serious and urgent attention and that great importance is attached to it by the United Kingdom Government.

We must look not only to the immediate financial situation and the immediate financial difficulties but also to longer-term measures for raising the national wealth of Tanganyika, measures to which a number of representatives have referred, including, as I remember, the representative of Paraguay. It is essential that there should be adequate schemes for developing the natural resources of the Territory for the benefit of its people so as to raise the national income, improve living standards and, as I have already said, provide Government revenues



for the expansion of services of all sorts. It is for that reason that we warmly welcome the mission which the International Bank is shortly to send to Tanganyika.

I would like to finish by making one general observation. In the course of this debate, we have heard suggestions of various kinds from members of this Council about the future action to be taken with regard to the progress of the Territory. Some people have said that the right method of securing effective and rapid progress is by means of laying down target dates. I hope that when they said it they fully recognized that, as is certainly the case, target dates are only one means to an end. Others have put forward this or that specific proposal. I have commented briefly on some of these things, but I should like to ask: who ten years ago or five years ago would have believed that Tanganyika could in this year 1959 have reached the stage of political development, the stage of general development, the stage of harmonious race relations which the Territory and its people have today reached? As I have said before in United Nations debates, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. I think we are entitled to come to this Council and to say that whatever criticisms may be made we have made good general progress in leading the people of Tanganyika forward towards their manifest destiny.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

Some criticisms, as I have said, have been made by members of the Council in the course of this debate. We always welcome constructive criticism and indeed this Council would not have been of much use if such criticism were not to be made. Most of the criticism which we have heard today and on Friday, if I may say so, has been constructive and we welcome it. But amid this criticism I have detected, as I have said before, a general atmosphere in this Council of satisfaction at the progress which Tanganyika has made towards the attainment of the obligations laid down in the Trusteeship Agreement and in the United Nations Charter, the progress made in promoting racial harmony and the progress made in encouraging the emergence of a conception of loyalty towards Tanganyika as a country and a nation.

Mr. President, you will, I am sure, remember that on one or two occasions, both in this Council and in the General Assembly, you had occasion to voice some element of pessimism, no doubt temporary, about the state of affairs in Tanganyika. I have felt bound on those occasions to suggest to you that this pessimism was unnecessary and that it was possible to take a very hopeful view about the future of Tanganyika and its people. I never felt more certain than I do today that I was right then, and perhaps I feel this certainty particularly because of one thing. I was very fortunate indeed, while I was in London, to have the opportunity of a long talk with Sir Richard Turnbull, the Governor of Tanganyika. I cannot disclose here all the things that we said to each other, but I can say that I took away from this talk a very strong feeling of optimism about the future.

I believe that all the signs are there for a harmonious period of progress between the Government of Tanganyika and its people, and I am very anxious that the Council should recognize this period, which I am sure the country is in. I have detected, as I have said, in the debates of this Council the same feeling of optimism and reasoned satisfaction which I feel so strongly myself, and I thought it might not be out of place to finish this annual statement by referring to that feeling.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): We have thus reached the end of the general debate on conditions in Tanganyika. Before proposing the membership of the Drafting Committee, I should like to thank the representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Andrew Cohen, for the congratulations which he was good enough to extend to me as President of the Council, as well as to Mr. Vitelli, the Vice-President. I am very grateful for the kind words which he addressed to me and I should like to assure him that I have the very best remembrance of my voyage to Tanganyika as President of the Visiting Mission, which he was good enough to recall.

I believe that the report was highly esteemed. I believe that it bore fruit and that is why this pessimism which I have occasionally voiced has now changed to optimism. We have heard very interesting statements and I believe that the passage in the report of the Visiting Mission with regard to Tanganyika led to good results.

Appointment of Drafting Committee

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to propose the following membership for the Drafting Committee: Italy, India, New Zealand and the USSR. If there are no objections, I will take it that the Drafting Committee will be composed of the members I have mentioned.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): It seems that the representative of the Soviet Union desires to speak at this time.

Mr. KURDYUKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I should like to ask you, Mr. President, to allow me to speak for a few minutes and make some remarks in connexion with the statements made by the special representative when referring to the delegation of the Soviet Union.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I would simply like to recall that the general debate on Tanganyika has been concluded. However, I

(The President)

believe that we might allow the representative of the Soviet Union to give us a clarification with regard to the question which is now before us, namely, conditions in Tanganyika.

Mr. KURDYUKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Mr. President, you understood me quite correctly. I should like to offer a few clarifications.

Speaking here before the Trusteeship Council, we had in mind to draw attention to some deficiencies in the Trust Territory in order that these aspects should be taken into account by the Administering Authority, and the more so since these deficiencies are not too numerous. They were pointed out by other delegations as well. Certainly our statements were not made merely in order to be rebuked and with no further results.

I should like therefore to dwell a little on some of the questions about which we already spoke. The special representative attempted to deny the existence of some facts to which we had referred. However, in so denying these facts, the special representative actually acknowledged their existence. And it could indeed not have been otherwise.

I spoke, for instance, of the existence of discrimination in the Trust Territory. Is it indeed possible for the special representative to deny the fact of the existence of such discrimination? I could produce thousands of examples. Any such denial is equivalent to an attempt to maintain the abnormal situation under which the indigenous population are actually living. They are in a worse position, for instance, when recruitment is considered or with regard to the attainment of equality in the commercial or industrial field. I say that the position of the indigenous people is worse by comparison.



(Mr. Kurdyukov, USSR)

(Mr. Kurdyukov, USSR)

The special representative tried also to deny the veracity of our account of the defects in the electoral system. These defects do exist. Is the parity system so distasteful to the Arab population, for example? I spoke of eleven representatives. Perhaps we were mistaken; perhaps there are not eleven, but fourteen indigenous representatives; or even let us suppose there are one-third. That still would not be normal. The African population is not tens or hundreds of thousands -- there are millions of them. I spoke of 28,000 participants in the elections, and I was corrected by the special representative, who said that 58,000 people actually voted. That may be so, but in these regions where the elections were held, certainly the African population is

not just 58,000; there are millions of Africans in those regions. He said that only a few were registered. But why were only these few registered? Because the restrictions regarding registration were such that not every voter could register. This cannot be denied; nor can it be described as a normal situation.

I pointed to some aspects of the public health services and the special representative attempted to deny the veracity of my statements. I said that the public health services were very unsatisfactory indeed. I pointed to the prevalence of disease. Is this not a well known fact? It is well known; it is even part of the report of the Administering Authority. Last year the Administering Authority spent £2.5 million on public health. If we divide that amount by nine million people, which represents the population of the Territory, we see that an amount of about five shillings was spent on each inhabitant of the Territory. Is it possible to organize a satisfactory public health service with such an expenditure? Of course not.

The special representative also refuted our statement regarding the training of the indigenous people and their preparation for service in the Administration. But when we ask why the country is not self-governing, the argument is always the same, that there are not enough applicants available to man the administration. But if the Administering Authority prepared, for example, a hundred people every year for such functions, by now there would be at least a thousand of them, a thousand specially qualified African persons. Is this normal? Is it normal that

there are only nine or ten indigenous physicians in the public health service? We thought that it would be useful to point to the defects, particularly since there is no lack of them, in order that the Administering Authority might take these observations into consideration to the end that the situation would be improved. And the Trusteeship Council certainly cannot ignore these defects.

If we speak of the achievements of the Administering Authority, it would be well to ask who has contributed more. Has the Administering Authority given more to the African people than the African people have given in service and other efforts to the Administering Authority?

(Mr. Kurdyukov, USSR)

If we compare all that the Administering Authority has received with all that it has given the African people inhabiting this Territory, we see that the Administering Authority certainly is very much in debt to the population of Tanganyika.

I should like the special representative of the Administering Authority to take into account all the observations made here, so that we shall not be obliged to ~~return to~~ these matters and so that, when we again discuss this Territory, some progress will be discernible.

Perhaps, technically speaking, some of the statements which were made were not strictly correct; perhaps I said "two" when I should have said "three", and so forth. But that is not the important point. What is important is to improve conditions in the Territory. What is important is that the people of the Territory should be able to look forward to self-government and independence. That is the main objective; it is the objective we had in mind in discussing the various matters and giving the various figures referred to by the special representative.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.





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Trusteeship Council  
23rd Session, 11th Meeting (PM)

Press Release TR/1461  
9 February 1959

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 1

The Trusteeship Council this afternoon continued its general debate on conditions in Tanganyika, an east African trust territory administered by the United Kingdom.

Miss MARTHE TENZER (Belgium), the first speaker this afternoon, said that the development of Tanganyika was being conducted on a "very solid basis," and her delegation congratulated the administering authority on its efforts to solve the complex problems involved. The cooperation obtained from the African leaders and people had given great support to this program, she added.

In the political field, Miss TENZER stated, the administering authority should be praised for its attempts to find an answer to the problems which preoccupied the Trusteeship Council. Among other things, the administration was ready to reconsider the structure of government on the local level, and the Africanization of the civil service was being speeded up, she noted.

The representative of Belgium agreed with other speakers that the financial situation in Tanganyika was of great concern, and she paid tribute to the British Government for its aid to Tanganyika in facing up to these difficulties. The administering authority was also trying to improve the economy through secondary industries, greater productivity and capital investment. These were long-term plans and, although they could not be expected to bring immediate results, they should help economic progress.

The progress in education had been constant, Miss TENZER continued, but she noted the need to conduct campaigns in rural areas to make the people aware of the advantages of schooling. There also had been considerable achievements in the public health field, she said. Here, however, the two essential factors for further progress were sufficient financial means and the cooperation of the Africans.

ERNEST JEAN-LOUIS (Haiti) said that considerable progress in the political development of Tanganyika had been made in the year under review. The achievements, he stated, augured well for the rapid development of the territory toward the objective of independence.

(more)

The recent elections, he went on, had proved to be a "popular consultation" which showed that the people "opted" for independence. The results were especially noteworthy, he felt, in view of the "restrictive nature" of the franchise. He praised Julius Nyerere, leader of the principal political party, whose efforts to cooperate with the authorities deserved "profound admiration."

It was necessary to take measures to provide a smooth transition from trusteeship to independence, the representative of Haiti declared. He hoped that the administering authority would fix a timetable in which the "road to independence" could be covered. It was also to be hoped that the future constitutional committee would suggest constitutional and other reforms that might appear necessary.

Tanganyika's financial difficulties justified the concern that had been expressed, Mr. JEAN-LOUIS continued. However, he believed that this economic situation should not have repercussions on the political development. He stressed the "generous assistance" by the administering authority in helping to cover the budget deficit.

He praised the role played by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and said that the political achievements must be followed up by progress in the other fields.

In conclusion, Mr. JEAN-LOUIS expressed the hope that the practices of corporal punishment and compulsory labor would be condemned this year by the Trusteeship Council.

(END OF TAKE 1)

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Trusteeship Council  
23rd Session, 11th Meeting (PM)

Press Release TR/1461  
9 February 1959

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 2

The next speaker, Dr. ABDULLAH EL-ERIAN (United Arab Republic), pointed out that the period under review had marked a "rise in the national consciousness of dependent peoples," especially in the case of Africa. In assessing conditions in Tanganyika, he said, the Council could not afford to overlook the "far-reaching" events taking place in Africa. One of these was the emergence of the "independent African personality" which wished to take its place in the community of nations on an equal footing.

World public opinion was becoming increasingly aware, Dr. EL-ERIAN declared, that the Nineteenth Century approach of "power politics" must give way to international cooperation based on the principles of political independence, economic development and social progress. In 1958, he said, there had been two significant steps in that direction: the conference of the independent African states at Accra and the inauguration of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, at Addis Ababa.

With regard to Tanganyika, he said his delegation already had spoken of the "encouraging" measures of progress achieved. He then outlined views on the general policy which the Council should set up for Tanganyika, and his delegation's position relating to the future of the territory.

The administering authority's policy, he said, must be judged by a "two-fold criterion" -- the prompt creation of conditions for the attainment of self-government and independence, and the "unfailing" implementation of the Council's recommendations for the advancement of Tanganyika.

The formulation of intermediate targets and dates for the attainment of independent statehood, he went on, had become an integral part of the trusteeship system. He expressed regret that such measures had not yet been envisaged for Tanganyika.

The administering authority should also embark without delay on a plan aiming at the Africanization of the territory, the diversification of its economy and the safeguarding of the future rights and interests of the inhabitants.

Dr. EL-ERIAN declared that Africans were seriously misrepresented in the different branches of their government and that the tripartite system of the electorate and the restrictions placed on the franchise produced a "racial hierarchy" in favor of non-Africans.

(more)

His delegation hoped that the proposed constitutional committee would be instructed to make recommendations on every aspect of the constitutional and governmental structure. The committee should be predominantly African and should take account of the views of the visiting mission and the general opposition of the people to the parity system, he added.

The UAR representative went on to stress the need for developing and diversifying Tanganyika's economy, including such measures as the introduction of manufacturing industries, agricultural productivity and the development of railway communications with the southern province. He also emphasized the need for safeguarding the rights of the people to land property and for increasing the participation of Africans in marketing, retail trade and commercial life.

In conclusion, he said that the measures already taken by the administering authority were commendable but they were also "very modest in scope and very slow in tempo." He hoped that Tanganyika would soon emerge from "foreign rule" and take its place as a sovereign member of the UN.

Dr. PACIFICO MONTERO DE VARGAS (Paraguay) said he appreciated the efforts of the administering authority in promoting the advancement of Tanganyika. However, he felt that the present election system left much to be desired. The administering authority, in cooperation with Africans, should attempt to simplify this system and give due consideration to the introduction of universal suffrage, he believed.

Greater efforts, he suggested, were required to make the people more aware of the responsibilities that go with self-government and the need for their active participation in civic life.

The administering authority, he noted, had expressed concern about the anticipated budgetary deficit, due chiefly to the fall in world prices for primary commodities. While he was gratified that the administering authority had promised to absorb this deficit, such a measure, in his view, was transitory. More adequate solutions were needed, such as increasing production and revenue.

Another point touched upon by the representative of Paraguay concerned what he called the imbalance between social development and economic development. Tanganyika, he said, lacked sufficient trained men and women to fill the professions. In his view, the establishment of a university in Tanganyika was essential to the territory's development.

(END OF TAKE 2)



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Trusteeship Council  
23rd Session  
11th Meeting (PM)

Press Release TR/1461  
9 February 1959

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 3

KEVIN T. KELLY (Australia) recalled that the representative of India had said that freedom itself was of illusory value if accompanied by economic weakness. He would add that independence by itself would not make Tanganyika effectively great. However, independence, based on an operating and established capacity for responsible, democratic and efficient self-government, would bring Tanganyika to the realization of most of its potentialities.

By and large, he said, Tanganyika was only now becoming aware of its potentialities and still had to acquire a real, as distinct from a notional, knowledge of the prolonged efforts that would have to be made by all its people if their potentialities were to be realized.

He emphasized that progress in all fields must precede the progressive development of the trust territory as an entity toward self-government or independence. It would accordingly be premature to consider the formulation in the case of Tanganyika of any recommendations relating to intermediate and final targets and dates, especially of a political character, in Tanganyika.

Largely as a result of the contributions made to the economic, social and educational advancement of the indigenous people by the European, Asian and Arab communities, by the missions and by the administering authority and the territorial government, he said, there had recently been very considerable political and constitutional development in Tanganyika.

The Council, he suggested, would wish to note all this development and commend the administering authority for holding the first round of elections last September, and for advancing the date of the second round of elections to 9 February.

Thus, there would be a new factor in the trust territory -- the 30 elected members of the Legislative Council -- whose sense of responsibility and capacity for creative political activity would be carefully watched not by the people of Tanganyika but the world at large. However, the administering authority must continue to exercise its primary responsibility for the government of the territory.

(more)

This policy of the administering authority, Mr. KELLY said, deserved the commendation of the Council, as did the administering authorities' intimation that, in March, the composition and terms of reference of the post-election committee would be announced. He did not think it would be proper for the Council to underestimate the importance of these developments.

Mr. KELLY believed that in the economic, social and educational fields, the administering authority also deserved the commendation of the Council. Under the "enlightened guidance" of the United Kingdom, he said, Tanganyika had "turned its back on a retarded past and is about to face heroically the challenge of a new day."

The President, MAX H. DORSINVILLE (Haiti), said the debate on Tanganyika was concluded. He then called on the United Kingdom's special representative for Tanganyika to make his closing statement.

In his statement, JOHN FLETCHER-COOKE, the United Kingdom's special representative for Tanganyika, pointed out that Tanganyika was on the "threshold of further steps in political and constitutional development." He recalled that he had previously referred to the establishment in March of the post-elections committee and also to the speech to be made on 17 March by the Governor of Tanganyika to the new Legislative Council.

He did not think it would be appropriate for the Council to prejudge what might come out of the next steps in constitutional development. It could take note of them. The year 1959, he said, would see proposals and recommendations for changes both in the legislative and the executive branches of government.

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE said that one statement in the debate had contained a large number of "misstatements." While it was for each Council member to form his own views regarding conditions in Tanganyika, he felt that such a "distortion" of the facts—inadvertent or deliberate—was not justified.

The special representative then replied, point by point, to some of the statements made by the Soviet representative. He said he did not consider it necessary to reply to such general statements as the assertion that a "shameful and obsolete system of exploitation" was being practiced in Tanganyika.

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TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 4

Continuing, Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE, the United Kingdom's special representative for Tanganyika, said that the Soviet representative had accused the administering authority of "inexcusable discrimination against Africans." The Soviet representative, he went on, had said that Europeans and Asians, who numbered 100,000, were represented in the Legislative Council by 57 delegates.

This, Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE said, was "wholly untrue." The Legislative Council had 67 members, of whom 14 were official members. Of the remaining 53 unofficial members, 24 were Africans, 15 Europeans and 14 Asians. Thus, the Africans, all unofficial members, formed the largest single group in the Legislative Council.

The special representative also refuted assertions by the Soviet representative concerning the qualitative franchise and the tripartite voting system. Contrary to what had been said, the qualifications of education, income and experience in certain categories of office were alternative, not added, qualifications.

As for the voting system, the special representative said, it was not true that an African voter was compelled to vote for three persons, including an African, even though he had no confidence in the other two candidates. In every case, he said, candidates of all races were endorsed by TANU. This showed that TANU had enough confidence in those candidates to endorse them.

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE also refuted the Soviet assertions that recruitment to the civil service was based on racial grounds and that the economic activities in Tanganyika were designed to serve the interests of foreign monopolies. The special representative said appointments to the civil service were based solely on education and the personal qualifications of candidates. As for the second charge, he wondered what the many cooperatives which grow, own, process and market the territory's two largest export crops--cotton and coffee--would think about the assertion that the indigenous people played no part in the export trade. Africans, he said, owned and produced more than 60 per cent of the exports.

He also wondered what the elected representatives in the Legislative Council would think of the statement that the plans for the territory's economic development served the interests of foreign monopolies, not Africans.

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE also refuted the "sweeping condemnation" of the medical and health services, and he cited facts and figures on what was being done in this field.

(more)



The special representative also replied to other points raised in the debate.

The Council then heard a closing statement by Sir ANDREW COHEN, the United Kingdom's regular representative on the Council.

Pointing out that the UK had done quite a few good things in Tanganyika, as in other British territories, Sir ANDREW said he would like to see recognition of these efforts together with the criticisms heard.

The USSR representative, he said, had stated that the United Kingdom was exploiting Tanganyika and was not helping the people to self-government. Sir Andrew said he shared the general feeling that things were going well in Tanganyika.

Suggestions, he went on, had been made that a statement should be made by the administering authority as regards the future of the territory so as to dispel any doubts entertained on this matter.

A number of statements, Sir ANDREW said, had been made by the administering authority, the government of Tanganyika and the representatives of the United Kingdom on the Council. The statement by the new Governor of Tanganyika, he recalled, had been quoted by the special representative and had been "warmly welcomed" by the representatives of all the communities in Tanganyika, including Mr. Nyerere, President of TANU.

Sir ANDREW observed that it was clear that this statement by the new Governor had given satisfaction to most members of the Council. Thus, they seemed to be in agreement on this point.

As for the methods of election, Sir ANDREW said some of what had been said in the debate applied to the past. No one, whatever his views on the parity system, could legitimately claim that the system was designed against the interests of the nationalist parties. As everyone knew, he said, TANU won all the seats either through their own candidates or through candidates which TANU supported.

As regards the question of expanding the franchise, he stressed that circumstances were not the same all over the world and one could not generalize. No one, he said, had ever suggested that the present franchise in Tanganyika would be a permanent practice. The matter would be the subject of review in the light of experience.

The Council had been told that a post elections committee could be set up to study the further constitutional developments and he suggested that the Council await the results of this committee's work.

The administering authority, Sir ANDREW said, would press on with the development of Tanganyika. He welcomed constructive criticism, and most of the criticisms made today and last Friday were constructive, he felt.

From the debate, Sir ANDREW said, he detected a general attitude of satisfaction with the progress made toward attainment of the goals of the trusteeship system, particularly in the promotion of racial harmony and in encouraging the emergence of a conception of loyalty to Tanganyika as a country and a nation.

The Council then established a drafting committee composed of Italy, India, New Zealand and USSR to prepare a report on Tanganyika in the light of the debate.

Before closing, IVAN F. KURDYUKOV (USSR) recalled that he had drawn attention to some deficiencies in Tanganyika so that they could be taken into account and not merely "rebuked." The indigenous population was, by comparison, in a worse condition than the Europeans in the matter of appointments in the civil service and equality in the commercial field. Also, it could not be disputed that there were deficiencies in the parity system.

The Council will meet again at 3 p.n. tomorrow. (END OF TAKE 4 and TR/1461.)