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Thirteenth Session

OFFICIAL RECORDS

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

Present:

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

General Assembly resolution 750 (VIII): the Togoland unification problem (*concluded*)

[Agenda item 11]

1. The PRESIDENT recalled the proposal made by the United Kingdom representative at the 506th meeting that further discussion of the item under consideration should be deferred until the next session of the Council.
2. Mr. ASHA (Syria) expressed the gratitude of his delegation for the statements made by representatives of the Administering Authorities and by the petitioners who had come to plead before the Council. They could be assured that his Government had their best interests at heart and wished to see them ultimately attain complete independence.
3. There could be no doubt, as he had stated at the 499th meeting of the Council, and as the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952, had recognized, that the issue of unification was intimately bound up with the question of the political future of Togoland under British administration in its relations with the Gold Coast, especially after that country had become fully self-governing. The question arose whether the Trust Territory could continue to be administered in accordance with the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement after completion of the transfer of legislative and administrative powers to a representative Gold Coast government. It had also to be decided, on the one hand, whether the Togolese people wanted complete integration with the Gold Coast or merely association with that country, and, on the other hand, whether or not there was any strong desire for the unification of the two Togolands in the near future.
4. With regard to the first question, the representative of the United Kingdom had promised at the 505th meeting that a study would be made of the constitutional issue; that study would be awaited by the Council with the utmost interest. With regard to the second question, he doubted whether the forthcoming elections in the Gold Coast could be taken as a referendum: in par-

ticular, he doubted whether all the possible solutions would be presented to the people. In fact, the choice lay between the complete absorption of Togoland under British administration by the Gold Coast, whereby the Trust Territory would lose its separate identity; the partial preservation of its political identity by association in a regional organization; a combination of either of those alternatives with the unification of the two Togolands; and, finally, the attainment of independent status as a sovereign State by a unified Togoland.

5. The Syrian delegation believed it to be the duty of the Administering Authorities to acquaint the people with all the possibilities in order that they might express their wishes freely, in full knowledge of the facts, in accordance with the principle of the self-determination of peoples. At the same time, if it were true that the people of Togoland under British administration genuinely desired continued association with the Gold Coast, the Togoland problem would resolve itself into the problem of Togoland under French administration. In that respect, as the United States representative had said, it was important to avoid unequal development among adjacent Territories in West Africa. The Council should therefore be informed at once of any measures of political advancement which might be taken in Togoland under French administration.

6. In any case, before the General Assembly took any decision on the fate of the two Trust Territories, it should satisfy itself as to the real wishes of the people. Those wishes could probably best be expressed through the re-establishment of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs, and it would be well for the Trusteeship Council to request the Administering Authorities of both Togolands to submit, for discussion at the Council's next session, a full report on the establishment and operation of the Joint Council, on the results of the Gold Coast elections and on any other political developments in the two Territories. It should also request the Standing Committee on Administrative Unions to make a preliminary study of the information available and to report thereon to the next session. The Council could then make recommendations, as appropriate, either to the Administering Authorities or to the General Assembly.

7. Mr. PIGNON (France) assured the Syrian representative that his Government fully intended to submit the report which he had mentioned, although he could not guarantee that it would be ready to be circulated before the opening of the fourteenth session of the Council.

8. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) said that a solution of the problem of the Ewe peoples and the two Trust Territories must be based — and that was a principle which his delegation had always maintained — upon the wishes of the majority of the people, freely expressed in accordance with the Charter. It would therefore be premature for the Trusteeship Council, the General Assembly or, indeed, the Administering Authorities to propose a solution at the present stage, and any attempt to impose a solution would be doomed to failure.

9. The elections to be held in the Gold Coast in May would undoubtedly serve as an indication of the trend

of public opinion in Togoland under British administration, and public opinion in Togoland under French administration would react simultaneously. It appeared from the report of the Visiting Mission (T/1034), from the statements of petitioners and from other sources of information that there was no wide support in the Territories for any particular solution, and that there was indeed strong opposition to the proposal for the unification of the two Togolands. His delegation was not in principle opposed to unification, but it was not unaware of the appeal which association with a self-governing Gold Coast would have for the people of Togoland under British administration. The statements of the petitioners from the Territory had only confirmed that impression. Further and more drastic constitutional reforms in the Gold Coast had been promised.

10. In all those circumstances, therefore, he believed that the Assembly should suspend judgment and he agreed with the United Kingdom representative that the Trusteeship Council would be well advised to defer further consideration of the matter until its next session. Those considerations should also apply to the work of the Standing Committee on Administrative Unions. By that time those bodies would be in possession of information adequate to enable them to carry out the task enjoined upon them by General Assembly resolution 750 C (VIII).

11. Meanwhile the petitioners from Togoland under British administration could be assured that their evident sincerity had impressed the Council and that their views would be given the fullest consideration; he was confident, too, that whatever the outcome of the May elections, they would continue to work for the good of their peoples.

12. Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that from the time the Togoland unification problem had first come before the United Nations in 1947 difficulties had been raised by the two Administering Authorities, who neither wanted nor intended to promote the unification of the two Trust Territories. Nevertheless, the demands of the vast majority of the indigenous population had been so insistent that, despite the opposition of the colonial Powers, the Trusteeship Council had adopted resolution 14 (II) noting that the majority of the Togoland and Ewe peoples were in favour of unification. Subsequently, both the 1949 and 1952 Visiting Missions had drawn attention to the tremendous growth of the unification movement and to the fact that the demand for unification was a very real political problem to which an urgent solution must be found, an opinion echoed by the Council in resolution 643 (XI). The General Assembly, too, in resolution 652 (VII), had stated that the unification of the two Togolands was the manifest aspirations of the majority of the population of both Trust Territories and it had recommended a number of steps to promote unification, including the establishment of a Joint Council.

13. The decisions of the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly had been reached only after a thorough study of conditions in both Togolands, the hearing of representatives of the Administering Authorities and the indigenous population, the sending of visiting missions to the spot and the examination of numerous petitions in favour of unification and independence. The two Administering Authorities, however, while ostensibly supporting those decisions, had in fact done everything in their power to prevent their being implemented.

14. There was striking proof of the United Kingdom Government's attitude in the "most secret" document (T/PET.6/L.11) of which one of the petitioners had spoken in the Fourth Committee at the eighth session of the General Assembly. The United Kingdom and Gold Coast Governments had denied all responsibility for that document, but it was characteristic that the plan of action set out in the document was being methodically carried out by the Administering Authority. That plan was directed at preventing unification and furthering the absorption of Togoland under British administration by the Gold Coast. It outlined a series of measures to prepare public opinion in the Trust Territory and mislead the United Nations about the wishes of the population: the Trusteeship Council was to be "bombarded" with petitions, followed by the personal appearance of selected spokesmen of the Convention Peoples' Party. That was exactly what the Council was now witnessing. The purpose of the campaign was to induce the United Nations to agree to the integration of the Trust Territory with the colony of the Gold Coast and terminate the Trusteeship Agreement, thus removing Togoland under British administration from the International Trusteeship System. A parallel process was taking place in Togoland under French administration, where the French Government was making every effort to integrate the Trust Territory in the French Union. If those efforts succeeded, Togoland would be cut in two forever and all trusteeship would be at an end.

15. The purpose of the International Trusteeship System, as set out in Chapter XII of the Charter, was to lead the peoples of the Trust Territories towards full self-government and independence. Obviously, trusteeship must not be allowed to continue indefinitely; on the other hand, it must not be terminated before the purposes of Chapter XII had been achieved. Trusteeship would *ipso facto* end once the Trust Territories had become fully self-governing and independent. If, after that, the peoples of the Territories concerned chose to enter into association with another State or group of States—the Gold Coast or the French Union, for example—they would, as sovereign States, be fully entitled to do so. The people of Togoland, however, were far from being sovereign and independent. To allow Togoland to be dismembered and swallowed up by neighbouring colonies would be an intolerable violation of the International Trusteeship System.

16. A number of petitions protesting against integration with the Gold Coast and the French Union had been received. Document T/PET.6/L.8, for example, stated that the Gold Coast Government was using the members of the Legislative Assembly and government officials to further the absorption of the Trust Territory and carry out the plan outlined in the "most secret" document. The party leaders and people of the Trust Territory energetically protested against such actions and appealed to the United Nations to avert what they regarded as a catastrophe. Another petition (T/PET.6 and 7/L.30) contained similar protests and urged that the Joint Council should be re-established. Other petitions, for example, those contained in documents T/PET.6/325 and T/PET.6/326 and Add.1, gave instances of the way in which the political parties and indigenous leaders who advocated unification were persecuted and victimized by the Administering Authorities, while gifts and favours were conferred on those who were prepared to desert the cause of unification and independence and subscribe to integration.

17. The general picture was clear. Administrative unions, an innocent-sounding name, were, as his delegation had always warned, a means of achieving the annexation of one Trust Territory after another and the integration of those Territories in the colonial régime. Eventually, the whole Trusteeship System as such would disappear.

18. The Governments of France and the United Kingdom had entirely failed to implement Parts A and B of the most recent General Assembly resolution on the unification problem, resolution 750 (VIII). They were making every effort to prevent the re-establishment of the Joint Council and had done nothing to reform the electoral system or to satisfy the peoples' demands for unification. The Administering Authorities spoke of so-called difficulties in the Trust Territories. Those difficulties were figments of their imagination.

19. Togoland had always been recognized as a distinct territorial unit inhabited by certain tribes, but an attempt was now being made to convince the Council that there was no such thing as Togoland and that it was an artificial creation, existing only on paper. That might, unfortunately, be true. Togoland under British administration might well have lost its identity through integration with the Gold Coast and Togoland under French administration through association with the French Union. The next visiting mission should investigate that matter.

20. The first step towards implementing the General Assembly resolutions and satisfying the evident desire of the population for unification was to re-establish the Joint Council on the basis of a democratic election. If a really representative Joint Council were set up, it would be able to give the Trusteeship Council valuable information on what the people of the two Trust Territories wanted. Such a step would, moreover, uphold the authority of the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System. Too many of the Council and General Assembly resolutions had previously gone unheeded.

21. There was no justification for the United Kingdom proposal to adjourn consideration of the unification problem until the Council's next session. The argument that Togoland under British administration could achieve independence in association with the colony of the Gold Coast more easily than by advancing to independence and sovereign statehood under the International Trusteeship System was patently absurd. Obviously, the United Kingdom Government hoped that the so-called constitutional reforms in the Gold Coast and the Trust Territory — on which, incidentally, neither the Council nor the General Assembly had been consulted — would have come into effect by the next session and that it would be able to confront the Council with a *fait accompli*. His delegation was opposed to the United Kingdom proposal.

22. Mr. MENON (India) said that the Council could not dispose of the Togoland unification problem at that session, but that events in the Territory should be considered as they developed, in order to facilitate the work of the Council and the Fourth Committee. He did not disagree with the substance of the United Kingdom proposal, but it should be quite clear that the item would remain on the Council's agenda and would be discussed at the next session. His remarks were not a final expression of views on the future of the Trust Territories of Togoland.

23. The fact that the agenda item was called "The Togoland unification problem" did not mean that the General Assembly had decided in principle that Togoland's future must necessarily include unification. The future of the Trust Territories might lie in any of several directions; that it was an open question was borne out by part C of General Assembly resolution 750 (VIII), which showed the relevance to the question of developments in the neighbouring area of the Gold Coast.

24. Part A of the resolution recommended the re-establishment of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs on the basis of universal adult suffrage, but made no reference to the proportions of the representation of the two Territories; if the two Trust Territories were represented in proportion to population, that under French administration would dominate that under British administration on the Joint Council. The Trusteeship Council now had before it the Administering Authorities' reports; they must be taken with reservations, but both indicated that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to set up the Joint Council. The petitioners had also indicated the limitations under which the Council would have to operate. His own view was that any joint arrangement between any two Territories or countries was to the good; but the Council, not being in a position to revise the General Assembly resolution, could only report to the Assembly its findings on the situation, the Administering Authorities' actions and the fact that the Joint Council had not yet been set up. It would be for the Assembly to decide in detail the action to be taken; but a Joint Council might well be practicable even if Togoland under British administration joined the Gold Coast.

25. Part C, operative paragraph 3, of the Assembly resolution requested the Council to re-examine the problem of achieving the objectives of the Trusteeship System having regard to the constitutional and political situation in the Gold Coast as it affected the two Trust Territories; not, in so many words, as it affected the unification problem as such. The Council should bear in mind that definition of the subject under discussion.

26. His country believed in territorial nationalism and fully appreciated the significance of nationalist movements. The Togoland situation, like that of most parts of Africa, was the outcome of Western imperialist incursions. Germany, entering Africa in 1884, had drawn political boundaries without regard to tribal or social structure and after the First World War the Territories had become Mandates of the Allied Powers; the people had not been consulted at all. The Territories must not be regarded as having come under the tutelage of metropolitan countries only upon the establishment of the Trusteeship System.

27. Recognition had been given to ethnic considerations as early as the Peace Conference in 1919, when the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers had taken the opportunity to rectify some diplomatic boundaries in favour of ethnic claims. The French representative on the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations had pointed out that Togoland under United Kingdom Mandate was composed of the tribes formerly connected with the tribes of the Gold Coast, and Sir Frederick Lugard, a member of the Mandates Commission, had stated that a mandate had been conferred on the United Kingdom to reunite portions of tribes

cut in half by the previous boundary between the Gold Coast and German Togoland.¹ The United Kingdom and French Governments had jointly recommended to the Supreme Council that the terms of the mandate should take into account, first, the interests of the indigenous inhabitants, up till then artificially separated from the areas occupied by people of the same race, and, secondly, the peculiar features of the areas, particularly the administrative difficulties.

28. When the rectification of boundaries had been discussed in October-November 1928, the Spanish representative on the Permanent Mandates Commission had referred to the work of a Delimitation Commission concerning the frontier between the two Togoland Mandates, the 1914-1918 arrangements and the 1919 Milner-Simon Agreement, and had said that the Press and public had often criticized the boundary for neglect of natural divisions of language, race, tribe, custom and the like.² The United Kingdom representative on the Commission had pointed out that it had been hoped to eliminate any division of the tribes; that that had been achieved in the Northern Section of the Territory; that not all the tribes in the Southern Section were satisfied; but that the British Government's policy was to restrain the tribes from reopening questions which must be regarded as having been finally settled in 1919 and 1922. The boundary had been modified by the Protocol of 21 October 1929.

29. United Kingdom policy in Togoland had changed since then, as it had in West Africa generally; the same did not apply to French policy. He accepted the *bona fides* of the three petitioners who had addressed the Council. He did not agree with the implications of the observations to the effect that their view was really the view of the Administering Authority, or indeed that there were no other views on the question.

30. The Council had begun dealing with the problem in 1947, viewing it at that time as a problem of Ewe unification. According to the figures given by the petitioners, nearly half a million Ewes lived in territory under United Kingdom administration and fewer than 200,000 in French-administered territory. The 1949 Visiting Mission had pointed out that the problem had attained the force and dimensions of a nationalistic movement, and that a solution should be sought with urgency in the interest of peace and stability.³ That statement was an indication of the confusion introduced into the problem by its being regarded as a single "Ewe and Togoland" unification problem. The problem could not be dealt with adequately unless it was analysed into its components. The Ewes certainly desired the unification of their territory, as did the Dagombas, but there were other considerations as well.

31. The problem had been settled in the Northern Section of Togoland under British administration by the union of the population with the territory to the west after the Second World War.

32. According to a statement by the All-Ewe Conference (T/PET.6/L.11/Add.2), the demand for Ewe unification dated from 1946, but the Administering

Authority for Togoland under British administration had misdirected that demand to a demand for Togoland unification, without regard for tribal unity and customary allegiance; the Conference had pointed to the existence of two separate and equally important problems, that of the Ewes in the south and that of the Dagombas in the north. The 1952 Visiting Mission had stated that the existence of a desire in principle for unification of the two Togolands did not mean that there was wide support for any one form of unification which would be acceptable to the majority of the inhabitants (T/1034, para. 402). The Mission had not, however, given any evidence or reached any conclusion as to the variety of schemes put forward, but instead had concluded that there was not wide enough support for any particular form of unification to warrant alteration of the existing administrative arrangements.

33. The United Nations, however, wished to see its Trust Territories attain statehood and independence, and the possible courses open must be considered.

34. The position resembled that faced by the United Kingdom in dealing with the problems of terminating its Mandate in Iraq in the 1930's. He had no doubt that there was no solution short of total independence and self-government. The future depended, to a great extent, on the quality of the new Constitution of the Gold Coast, as resolution 750 (VIII) made clear.

35. One possible course was for Togoland under British administration to become a self-governing territory as an integral part of the Gold Coast. The Prime Minister of the Gold Coast had indicated that, if the Territory joined his country, it must do so "for good and all". Most constitutions, including the Indian, provided for no right of secession; the permanence of accession was a necessity of national survival. Whether that course was the right one would depend largely on the form taken by the new Gold Coast Constitution, and how far it met two essential requirements, which were, first, self-government and independence and, secondly, the interests of the people.

36. The second course possible under Article 73 of the Charter was for the Territory to be administered by the United Kingdom separately from the Gold Coast. If the Territory was part of the Gold Coast, United Kingdom administration of it would be an encroachment on the independence of the Gold Coast which it was inconceivable that the Government of the independent Gold Coast would permit. However, it was also inconceivable that the Gold Coast Government and people would appreciate having a non-self-governing United Kingdom Territory as neighbour. The inevitable increase in agitation for independence in the Territory would make difficulties for the infant Gold Coast State. Furthermore, the Territory was not economically viable as a separate entity. Owing to its small population it would become a mere squirearchy, governed by minor officials of the United Kingdom Colonial Office, flanked by Togoland under French administration, which provided it with access to the sea, and by an unfavourably-disposed Gold Coast as a corridor to the outside world.

37. The third course—joint administration by the two Administering Authorities—would involve even greater problems. It would be viewed with disfavour by the inhabitants; it would involve the two metropolitan Powers in what would appear to be joint imperialism, and it was impracticable on account of the

¹ See *League of Nations, Permanent Mandates Commission, Minutes of the Fifth Session (Extraordinary)*, C.617.M.216.1924.VI, p. 42.

² *Ibid.*, *Minutes of the Fourteenth Session*, C.568.M.179.1928.VI, p. 20.

³ See *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Seventh Session, Supplement No. 2*, p. 83.

French view that colonial territories were parts of France.

38. Since the second and third courses were thus inadmissible, the first took on greater importance. He would oppose the union of the Trust Territory with a territory under British domination, or with an African State motivated by imperialism. If the Gold Coast Government had been intending to acquire domination over a backward population by suppressing that population's nationalism, he would not have advanced that course.

39. When the General Assembly, at its 469th plenary meeting, was considering draft resolution C of document A/2605, subsequently adopted as resolution 750 C (VIII), it had rejected paragraph 3 of that draft, which would have prohibited the Trust Territories and the Gold Coast from joining together before each had separately attained independence. The Assembly had said the door must be left open. That was India's position. No legalisms or difficulties in arriving at a solution should stand in the way of a people's attaining self-government. The advance of Western Togoland towards independence as a voluntary part of the Gold Coast State, which in due course would join the United Nations, would have a dynamic influence on Africa, and in particular on the African colonial empire of France. The emergence of the western Ewes to independence and a place in the United Nations would militate in favour of the eventual independence of the eastern Ewes.

40. The possibility of other solutions could not be ruled out. There might emerge a change in the principle of integration of Togoland under French administration with the metropolitan country; developments in North Africa or Asia might make it possible for Togoland under French administration to form an administrative union, or to adopt another type of constitution. Gold Coast independence, however, was a certainty in the near future, and he hoped the United Kingdom would do nothing which might retard it.

41. The Council, and ultimately the Assembly, should be careful to avoid setting a dangerous precedent by allowing the results of the forthcoming Gold Coast elections to become a legally determining factor. The two Territories were held under Trusteeship Agreements as part of the provisions of the Charter. The results of the voting in western Togoland, however, must certainly be taken into account.

42. If, as the Council had been told, political parties were to include integration and independence in their campaign programmes, there would be both advocacy of and opposition to the question, and it would be entirely wrong for the Administering Authority to take sides; it was, he felt sure, unlikely to do so. The party in power in a parliamentary democracy was quite entitled to campaign for its own view; what it was not entitled to do was to prevent the free expression of its opponents' views. The Visiting Mission had stated in its report on Togoland under British administration (T/1040, para. 81) that there was no limitation on the expression of political opinions, and it would be ungracious for the Council to cast doubt on the freedom of political expression in the Territory. He disassociated himself from any such observation.

43. After the election results were known, the Council or the Fourth Committee at the next session would

have to consider the Territory's future. Some machinery would then have to be devised to ascertain the inhabitants' opinions. That did not mean that the people of eastern Togoland should be abandoned in a relatively backward situation; but in the matter of self-government on a continent it would be wrong to go at the pace of the slowest. Encouragement given to more rapid development elsewhere would also encourage the slowest. The problem of eastern Togoland would come before the Council in another, and sharper, context than that of the unification problem.

44. His Government was keeping an open mind on the subject; the General Assembly, by rejecting the paragraph referred to from its resolution 750 (VIII), had indicated that as the right course. When the nature of the new Gold Coast Constitution and the Gold Coast people's views on the Togoland question had become known, the Council would be better able to make a recommendation to the General Assembly.

45. The PRESIDENT put to the vote the United Kingdom representative's proposal that further consideration of the Togoland unification problem should be adjourned until the next session of the Trusteeship Council.

The proposal was adopted by 11 votes to 1.

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

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

[Agenda items 3 (a) and 4]

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

OPENING STATEMENT

46. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) expressed the regrets of Sir John Lamb at his inability to attend the present session of the Trusteeship Council, for reasons of health.

47. There was little that he could add to the annual report⁴, but he would refer briefly to some of the changes and developments that had taken place since the end of 1952.

48. In 1953, provision had been made for the Legislative Council to be presided over by a Speaker. One of the leading unofficial members of the Council had been appointed and had assumed his duties. The report of the Special Commissioner on Constitutional Development⁵ had been widely circulated throughout the Territory, but had aroused little local interest and controversy. The Legislative Council had recently signified its approval of the recommendations and the report was being carefully considered by the Administering Au-

⁴ See Report by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of Tanganyika under United Kingdom Trusteeship for the Year 1952, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1953, Colonial No. 293.

⁵ See Tanganyika Constitutional Development Commission, Report of the Special Commissioner appointed to examine matters arising out of the Report of the Committee on Constitutional Development. Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1953.

thority and the Government of Tanganyika. A public announcement would probably be made shortly indicating the changes it was proposed to make in regard to the Legislative Council.

49. A comprehensive Local Government Ordinance had been enacted towards the end of 1953 implementing the recommendations of the Special Commissioner concerning the setting up of county councils, town councils and local councils. The intention had been to establish early in 1954 at least one county council, several town councils and possibly some local councils. Opposition to those proposals, had, however, come from an unexpected quarter. It had been proposed to form a Kilimanjaro county council, embracing the Moshi district. It would have been an interracial body consisting of Africans, Asians and Europeans. The Chagga, however, had viewed the proposal with suspicion. Under their tribal constitution, they had elected a Chagga Council and a chief; they were entirely satisfied with both and they saw no advantage in the proposed county council. Views so strongly expressed by one of the most progressive tribes in the Territory could not be disregarded; the policy of the Administering Authority was not to bring changes into effect until every possible endeavour had been made to secure the willing co-operation of the mass of the people. If the first of the proposed new local government bodies to be established were to fail for lack of such co-operation, the development of local government might well be considerably retarded. Hence the only course seemed to be to postpone the setting up of the Kilimanjaro county council and to try to convince the people of the benefits that should follow its establishment. To that end it was proposed to set up an interracial advisory body for the Moshi district, which would be, in effect, a "shadow" county council and would be transformed as soon as possible into a full statutory county council.

50. Sukumaland, in the Lake Province, had also been chosen for a prospective county council. There again an interracial body was being set up as a "shadow" county council, but the area was vast and its inhabitants numbered about a million, so the task was a formidable one.

51. The town of Tanga had not yet become a municipality, partly because the rating valuation roll had not yet been completed and partly because a section of the townspeople were inclined to the opinion that the status of an autonomous township under the new Local Government Ordinance, 1953, would be better suited to a town the size of Tanga than the status of a municipality. There was every reason to expect that by July 1954 Tanga would have become either a municipality or an autonomous township.

52. Town councils would also be established before the end of the year at Mwanza, Arusha and Moshi, although there was some opposition in the latter town to any early change in its status.

53. The setting up of local councils to replace the administrative and executive functions of Native Authorities had been continued. In many areas district councils and district teams had been expanded by co-opting leading members of the community, regardless of race, and marked success had been obtained in certain areas.

54. With regard to the general development of the Territory, the annual report showed that there had been steady progress in all spheres. The Administering Authority's policy was to ensure that development should

be balanced so that the Territory and its inhabitants would become financially and economically, as well as politically independent. That balance would not be achieved if un-co-ordinated enthusiasms resulted in an expansion of social services beyond the Territory's economic capacity to maintain them.

55. The chapters of the report dealing with public health gave details of the progress made during 1952. During 1953 seventeen medical assistants, seventy-nine nurses, thirty-five midwives and some forty-five other medical personnel had completed their training. There were at present seven African medical students from Tanganyika at Makerere College. The centre for public health training at Kongwa and the school for health nurses at Tukuyu had proved satisfactory training centres. During 1953 the accommodation at the training centre for rural medical aides at Mwanza had been doubled and plans had been made to build a hostel to accommodate midwifery and nursing students at Dar es Salaam, which was the first phase of a programme to provide a training school for 500 students.

56. The fulfilment of the ten-year education plan was proceeding. If the present rate of increase in the number of children enrolled in primary schools were maintained, the target set for 1956 would be reached before that date. The development of primary schools was the foundation for all educational development and must continue to be a principal objective, but steady progress had also been made in the expansion of middle and secondary schools. At the end of 1953 there had been eighty-eight students at Makerere College, sixteen students at universities in England and sixteen attending other higher training courses in the United Kingdom and elsewhere. Seven African girls had sat for the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate examination in December 1953. The results were not yet known, but it was hoped that at least some of those who passed would proceed to higher education.

57. Three new Grade II teacher-training centres had been opened during 1953, and by the end of the year there had been 1,655 persons undergoing training as teachers in government or voluntary agency training centres. Nine African women students had completed the professional Grade I teacher-training course and in 1954 would take over work previously done by staff recruited from overseas.

58. Co-operative societies had an important part to play in the development of the Territory. At the end of 1952 there had been 152 societies registered and operating, with an average turnover of about £3,750,000; by the end of 1953 there had been 198. In recent years the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union Limited and a similar one in Bukoba had at their own expense sent thirteen students to the United Kingdom to study co-operative methods.

59. The year 1952 had not been a favourable one for agriculturists and that fact, together with the failure of the rains in 1953, had caused a food shortage in some areas. The Grain Storage Department had, however, acquired and stored about 38,000 tons of local grain, which had done much to relieve the situation and reduced the amount of grain which had had to be imported. The new method of underground pit storage employed by the Department had proved successful.

60. The plan for the development of communications had proceeded satisfactorily. The port of Mtwara had been opened. Much work had been done on the three

deep-water berths at Dar es Salaam and one of them would probably be finished in 1954. The 120-mile Namanga-Arusha-Moshi road had been completed and the new Dar es Salaam-Morogoro road would come into use in the very near future. Considerable progress had been made on the Tanga-Korogwe and the Morogoro-Iringa roads.

61. In the Northern, Western and Southern Provinces several dams for the storage of surface water had been completed during 1953. In other places good progress had been made with hand-built dams, with a consequent increase in impounded capacity of 1,000 acre-feet. An expert from the Food and Agricultural Organization had completed an initial survey of the Rufiji river basin and his report was now awaited. It was hoped that he would return to Tanganyika in 1954.

62. The balance of trade figures for 1952 showed a favourable balance of approximately £10 million, total imports being just over £37 million and total exports just over £47 million.

63. Deposits in the Post Office Savings Bank had shown a steady increase over the past ten years or more, and at the end of 1952 had stood at £2,140,000. It was estimated that the figure for the end of 1953 would be about £2,250,000. Similarly, reflecting increased prosperity among the rural population, the balance carried forward by the Central Native Treasuries Board to 1953 had been £1,180,000 and it was estimated that the amount to be carried forward to 1954 would be just under £1,400,000.

64. Progress was also shown by the increase in the net registered tonnage of shipping entering Tanganyika ports, which had steadily risen from about 2,250,000 in

1948 to 3,600,000 in 1952. During 1952, over 53,000 bicycles had been imported, as compared with 20,448 in 1951; 4,744 ploughs had been imported, making a total of over 14,000 in the past three years. During 1952, the post offices in Tanganyika had handled approximately 23.5 million letters as compared with 14.5 million in 1948 and 7 million in 1938.

65. Some mention should be made of the important local development schemes set up in the various parts of the Territory, a number of which were now in operation. One of the latest and most important was that in the Bukoba district of the Lake Province, which envisaged an ultimate expenditure of about £500,000. Several other development schemes were in preparation or under consideration. One important aspect of those schemes was the increasing extent to which the people themselves, through their Native Treasuries, were providing the funds for development; in some districts development schemes were financed solely from Native Treasury funds.

66. Efforts were being made to persuade the Africans to play a more important and direct part in local development, and to give them a personal share in the fruits of such development. A start had already been made with the establishment of tenant farmers under one of the Overseas Food Corporation schemes. Other experiments in view included personal financial interests in water development schemes and the planting of wattle, sisal or sugar-cane to be processed in a factory owned either by a private company or by a co-operative society. If those experiments were successful, they might mark the beginning of a new epoch in the development of Tanganyika.

The meeting rose at 5.5 p.m.