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**President:** Mr. Miguel Rafael URQUIA (El Salvador).

**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.

The representatives of the following specialized agencies: International Labour Organisation; World Health Organization.

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Bargues (France), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration:**  
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(b) petitions circulated under rule 85, paragraph 2, of the rules of procedure of the Trusteeship Council (T/COM.5/L.33, T/PET.5/L.16 and Add.1, T/PET.5/L.18, T/PET.5/L.21 to 31, T/PET.5/225) (continued)

[Agenda items 3 (d) and 4]

REPORT OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE (T/L.537)  
(concluded)

1. The PRESIDENT asked the Council to continue its examination of the recommendations in the various sections of the annex to the Drafting Committee's report (T/L.537), beginning with the recommendation in paragraph 73, under the heading "Deforestation and soil erosion".

2. Mr. GRUBYAKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that, although his delegation was wholeheartedly in favour of all efforts to preserve and

increase the fertility of the soil, he would be unable to vote for the recommendation in paragraph 73 as it stood because it imposed upon the indigenous population methods of soil conservation, including the classification of forests, to which they were opposed. The Administering Authority ought to seek other and better ways of achieving its objects, ways likely to win the support of the people.

3. Mr. MAX (France) said that the Administering Authority was doing all in its power to acquaint the population with the most effective means of soil conservation, and he did not think a better method could be found than that of their full co-operation with the Administration, as was proposed in the recommendation.

*The recommendation in paragraph 73 was adopted by 10 votes to 1, with 1 abstention.*

4. Mr. MAX (France) asked that the word "encore" should be inserted before the word "davantage" in the French text of the recommendation in paragraph 76, under the heading "Industry".

*The recommendation in paragraph 76, as amended in the French text, was adopted unanimously.*

*The recommendation in paragraph 102, under the heading "Labour", was adopted by 11 votes to none, with 1 abstention.*

*The recommendations in paragraph 105, under the heading "Public health" were adopted by 11 votes to none, with 1 abstention.*

5. Mr. GRUBYAKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) proposed three amendments to the first recommendation in paragraph 122, under the heading "General" in the section on educational advancement. He asked, first, that the words "with satisfaction the" should be replaced by the word "certain"; secondly, that the words "as soon as practicable" should be deleted; and thirdly, that the words "in the meanwhile" should also be deleted.

6. The PRESIDENT invited the Council to vote on those amendments.

*The first amendment was rejected by 6 votes to 1, with 5 abstentions.*

*The second amendment was rejected by 6 votes to 2, with 4 abstentions.*

*The third amendment was rejected by 6 votes to 3, with 3 abstentions.*

*The recommendations in paragraph 122 were adopted unanimously.*

7. The PRESIDENT drew attention to the outline of conditions in the Cameroons under French administration, as given in the annex to the Committee's report (T/L.537), and he invited the Council to vote on that outline.

*The outline of conditions was adopted unanimously.*

8. The PRESIDENT recalled the recommendation made at the previous meeting by the Chairman of the Drafting Committee with regard to the summaries of

observations made individually by members of the Trusteeship Council, which were set forth in the annex to the report (T/L.537). If there were no objections, those observations would be incorporated in the Council's report to the General Assembly in the chapter on the Cameroons under French administration.

*It was so decided.*

9. The PRESIDENT invited the Council to vote on the report as a whole (T/L.537, annex).

*The report as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 10 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.*

10. The PRESIDENT noted that the report as approved would constitute the chapter on the Cameroons under French administration in the Council's report to the General Assembly.

**General Assembly resolution 859 (IX): Hearings of petitioners from the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration**

[Agenda item 13]

11. The PRESIDENT drew attention to resolution 859 (IX), paragraphs 3 (a), (b) and (c). He recalled that the petitioners representing political organizations in the Trust Territory whom the Fourth Committee had heard, at its 442nd, 443rd and 446th meetings had raised the question of the unification of the two Trust Territories and a number of general questions relating to the Cameroons under French administration, such as the association of the Territory with the French Union, political liberties and educational advancement.

12. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) observed that the general questions referred to had been fully discussed during the Council's examination of conditions in the Cameroons under French administration, and he proposed that the Council should simply take note of paragraph 3 (a) of the resolution.

13. He further proposed that the Council should decide to insert a clause in its instructions to the next visiting mission requesting that mission to inquire into the matters raised by the petitioners.

14. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) said that his delegation would abstain in the vote on that question, as it had abstained in the vote on the resolution in the General Assembly.

15. He agreed with the representative of Haiti that the general questions referred to had been adequately discussed by the Council, but he did not think it absolutely necessary for the visiting mission to spend a great deal of its time giving further study to matters which might not warrant it: he therefore suggested that, if such a request were to be made of the visiting mission, it should be suitably modified.

16. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) did not agree with the Belgian representative; the petitioners had raised specific questions which should be looked into by the visiting mission.

17. Mr. LOOMES (Australia) noting that item 6 on the Council's agenda concerned arrangements for the visiting mission to West Africa, proposed that further consideration of the General Assembly recommendation in paragraph 3 (b) of resolution 859 (IX) should be deferred until the Council considered item 6.

18. After a brief discussion, the PRESIDENT put the Australian representative's proposal to the vote.

*The proposal was adopted by 9 votes to none, with 3 abstentions.*

19. The PRESIDENT invited the Council to vote on the Haitian representative's first proposal, that the Council should take note of the General Assembly's recommendation in paragraph 3 (a) of its resolution.

*The proposal was adopted by 11 votes to none, with 1 abstention.*

20. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) said that his delegation had abstained in the vote just taken because it felt that a recommendation from the General Assembly was not required to ensure that the Council would continue to give the questions raised by petitioners the attention they deserved.

21. Mr. MAX (France), referring to paragraph 3 (c) of the General Assembly resolution, said that he thought it would be better for the Council to report on the subject to the General Assembly at its tenth session in the same manner as it had done in its last report (A/2680).

*It was so decided.*

**Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika: (a) annual report of the Administering Authority (T/1135, T/1149, T/1150, T/1158); (b) report on the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954 (T/1142, T/1162 and Add.1) (continued)**

[Agenda items 3 (a) and 5 (a)]

*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.*

**QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE TRUST TERRITORY AND  
REPLIES OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE**

*Political advancement*

22. Mr. JAIPAL (India) observed that the European Press of Tanganyika had attempted to create a feeling of alarm and insecurity in the Territory by distorting to some extent the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954 (T/1142). Furthermore, the United Kingdom representative in his statement at the preceding meeting and the Administering Authority in its observations (T/1162 and Add.1) had said that the report would imperil the Territory's stability. He therefore felt compelled to state that in the Indian delegation's opinion there was no cause for alarm. As he would show, many of the Visiting Mission's recommendations were entirely in accordance with the Charter and the General Assembly's resolutions. He hoped that the members of the Council would examine the Mission's report with calmness and objectivity. Although the views it expressed might not be in conformity with the Administering Authority's policy, they were based on certain arguments, facts, hopes and beliefs.

23. On 11 February 1955 *The Times* of London had reported that the Tanganyika Legislative Council had unanimously adopted a resolution expressing deep regret at the procedure adopted by the Trusteeship Council in the publication of the Visiting Mission's report on the Territory. He wondered in what way the Trusteeship Council had departed from its usual procedure.

24. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) replied that the unofficial

members of the Legislative Council and most of the people of Tanganyika had been provoked by the fact that the Visiting Mission's report had been published in New York, and consequently through the Press in Tanganyika, before the Administering Authority had had an opportunity of studying it and making its observations.

25. At the request of Mr. JAIPAL (India), Mr. COHEN (Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories) said that the Secretariat would submit a detailed report on the matter at the 586th meeting of the Council.

26. Mr. JAIPAL (India), referring to the problem of a time-table for the political development of Tanganyika, observed that the Administering Authority's policy was to look ahead only one step at a time, while keeping the ultimate goal in view. The Visiting Mission, on the other hand, had expressed its faith in looking several steps ahead. The Administering Authority thought, as was stated in paragraph 7 of document T/1162, that such a plan would be inimical to the harmonious development of political institutions corresponding to consecutive stages of economic and social evolution. He wondered whether the special representative could expand on those observations.

27. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) assured the Indian representative that the Government of Tanganyika and the Administering Authority also looked many steps ahead with regard not only to constitutional development but to all other developments in the Territory. The policy where constitutional development was concerned was to proceed step by step, consolidating the ground and profiting from experience gained. To make any sudden change in a policy which had been accepted for approximately three years by all the people in the Territory, by the Government and by the Administering Authority, and which had been endorsed on two occasions by the Trusteeship Council, would undoubtedly create instability in the Territory, upset the economic progress that had been made and disturb the development of all the social services.

28. Mr. JAIPAL (India) observed that the Administering Authority had criticized the Visiting Mission's recommendation because of the rigidity of a fixed time-table. In paragraph 431 of its report, however, the Visiting Mission clearly stated that the time-table might have to be revised to meet changing circumstances. He wondered whether the special representative would agree that it would be possible to work out a tentative time-table that could be revised from time to time in the light of the experience gained.

29. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) replied that in the opinion of the Administering Authority and the Government of Tanganyika the stages in any fixed time-table would be purely arbitrary. Furthermore, experience elsewhere had shown that it was exceedingly difficult to alter a time-table, once fixed, and to do so would have a most unsettling effect, not only politically but also economically, on the whole Territory and on the view taken of Tanganyika by the outside world.

30. Mr. JAIPAL (India) asked whether the special representative did not think that an expression of faith in the possibility of attaining self-government in, say, twenty-five years or twenty years would inspire the

peoples of Tanganyika — Europeans, Asians and Africans — to work together for a common purpose.

31. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) replied that in his view the people of Tanganyika did not require inspiration of that kind. They were eager for the Territory to develop in every respect, but they wished the development to be achieved in their own way and in the way best suited to local conditions. To fix an arbitrary target date would not change the position; if the date were not met, that would cause frustration; if a more distant date were fixed as a target, for safety's sake, the result would merely be discouraging.

32. Mr. JAIPAL (India) expressed the view that the drawing up of a time-table was likely to neutralize the elements of violence, agitation and frustration inherent in all nationalist movements.

33. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) replied that he hoped the national movement in Tanganyika would not think it necessary to resort to violence. If it did so, however, he did not think that the fixing of a time-table would make any difference.

34. Mr. JAIPAL (India) wondered whether the relatively quicker political development of Uganda, Kenya and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland had had any repercussions on political thinking in Tanganyika.

35. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) said that the vast majority of the people of Tanganyika appreciated that the people of the neighbouring countries were far more advanced from the cultural, economic and political points of view than they themselves were. They certainly looked there to see what lessons were to be learned and, no doubt, if success were achieved, it would have its effect in Tanganyika. Similarly they had seen that political development, and particularly the introduction of the elective principle, had been less successful in certain other countries and that had made them a little more cautious in their approach.

36. Mr. JAIPAL (India) asked the special representative whether he thought that the possibility of certain West African territories becoming self-governing would create a demand for accelerated political development in Tanganyika.

37. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) thought it was difficult to reply to that question. He pointed out that what was happening in West Africa was the logical result of Government policy for many years past. He hoped that the same orderly progress would take place in Tanganyika when the country and the people were ready for it.

38. Mr. JAIPAL (India) wondered why Europeans and some Asians in Tanganyika had been perturbed by the Visiting Mission's recommendation that Tanganyika should become self-governing in from twenty to twenty-five years.

39. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) replied that in his opinion all the immigrant races in Tanganyika wished to take part with the Africans in the political development of the country; what perturbed them was that in the light of experience they knew that the country and the people, including the Europeans and the Asians, would not be

ready for self-government in from twenty to twenty-five years.

40. Mr. JAIPAL (India) asked whether the special representative envisaged self-governing democratic Tanganyika as mainly African in character, seeing that over 90 per cent of the population was African.

41. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) felt that it would be premature to try to answer that question at present.

42. Mr. JAIPAL (India) observed that according to the 1953 report<sup>1</sup> there were still 2,800 Europeans employed in the Administration. He wondered whether it would not be possible to develop and train local Europeans, Asians and Africans to take their place.

43. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) replied that the Administering Authority had declared its intention of creating a Tanganyikan civil service recruited from the people of Tanganyika. The 2,800 Europeans to whom the Indian representative had referred were, however, all administrative officers of district officer and senior rank, as professional men with high qualifications. It would take a number of years to find enough Tanganyikans to replace them. It should not be overlooked that, as the country developed, the Government had to face increasing competition when recruiting for the civil service. In Tanganyika, as elsewhere, commerce and industry could offer more tempting rewards than government was in a position to do. Furthermore, a balance must be kept between the requirements of the central Government and those of local government. In Tanganyika particularly, because of its size, local government would become more and more important as decentralization proceeded.

44. Mr. JAIPAL (India) said that he was not very clear about the basis of the new concept of a multiracial society. He wondered what the concept of Tanganyika society had been previously.

45. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) said that the new concept had been developing gradually for a considerable time. It had crystallized only in recent years and, since it existed, it had been recognized in the constitutional development. Its basis was essentially a practical one.

46. Mr. JAIPAL (India) asked what difference there was between the multiracial society of Tanganyika and that of, for example, the British West Indies or Kenya.

47. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) observed that the situation in Kenya was entirely different from that of Tanganyika. The vast majority of the African population of Kenya belonged to six or seven main tribes. Further, since Kenya was much smaller, the Africans there inevitably intermixed a great deal more than they did in Tanganyika.

48. In Tanganyika there were over 120 tribes, the largest being the Sukuma, numbering approximately 900,000. There were eight or nine tribes numbering some 200,000 to 300,000 each, and 110 other tribes which made up 48 per cent of the population, i.e.,

<sup>1</sup> 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 1953, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954, Colonial No. 307.

approximately 4 million people, of differing origins and vernacular languages.

49. Therefore, even apart from the Asians and the Europeans, a multiracial society was in fact called for. The Africans of the Territory had different languages, customs, ideas and types of land tenure. Despite the Government's efforts, they were highly suspicious of one another.

50. He could not draw a comparison with the West Indies because he had no first-hand knowledge of that part of the world.

51. Mr. JAIPAL (India) asked the special representative whether he regarded the multiracial character of the society as an intermediate stage in its integration, or whether he conceived of the Society as always having three or four different components.

52. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) thought it was impossible to foresee what might happen in the distant future. His own view was that the people of Tanganyika would continue to consist of the three main races.

53. Mr. JAIPAL (India) wondered whether it was proposed to give some of the larger and more developed tribes proportionate representation with the Asians and Europeans, according to the contributions they made to the Territory.

54. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) replied that successive Secretaries of State for the Colonies had officially said that parity of representation was not regarded as a permanent feature of the Constitution, but it had been designed to last for some considerable time.

55. Mr. JAIPAL (India) asked what objection there was to defining a Tanganyikan, or a Tanganyika society in which there was equality for all persons, rather than the new concept of a multiracial society.

56. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) replied that there was no objection to defining a Tanganyikan, but on the other hand no need to do so. To the people of the Territory a Tanganyikan was someone who lived there and made it his home and was contributing by wealth, skill or work to the development and prosperity of Tanganyika.

*The meeting was suspended at 4.5 p.m. and resumed at 4.20 p.m.*

57. Mr. JAIPAL (India) wondered whether, in a multiracial society, the African would enjoy parity in the Territory's economic and social life and how it was proposed to ensure him equal treatment.

58. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) replied that it was certainly the intention that the African should have equality in the Territory's economic and social life. Indeed, he already enjoyed that equality in so far as he could take advantage of it. Unfortunately, at the present stage of development the vast majority of Africans could not take advantage of it, although there were a number of well educated and even rich Africans, who enjoyed social and economic equality with the European, Asian and immigrant races in the Territory. The Government's entire policy was directed towards encouraging, helping and urging the African to improve so that he could take his place beside the other immigrant races in all the Territory's activities.

59. Mr. JAIPAL (India) wondered what, in the light of the Administering Authority's policy of integration,

were the exact implications of its observation that the few progressive Africans were much closer socially and even in culture to the European than they were to the more backward tribes of the Territory. It seemed rather unrealistic to maintain that some 8 million Africans must come closer socially and culturally to some 3,000 white settlers before an integrated society could be attained. It should be possible for the African to develop according to his own genius, with the help of Western education and technology, without having to come closer to the European socially or culturally.

60. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) pointed out that the number of Europeans in Tanganyika was probably very much nearer 22,000 than 3,000. The very great majority of them were men of considerable education, with professional degrees and qualifications. There was absolutely no suggestion that all the 8 million Africans must attain that standard of culture and education before an integrated society was possible, although it was hoped that the same proportion as might be found in any highly developed country would do so.

61. Mr. JAIPAL (India) presumed in the light of that reply that the policy of integration did not require the African to come closer to the European socially and culturally, but merely to attain a stage of development consistent with modern standards.

62. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) deprecated the use of the term "policy of integration". Integration was not a Government policy; it was simply something that was taking place. There was no policy of making the African similar to the European; nevertheless, an educated African from a good family was in fact far more similar to a European than he was to any of the backward members of his tribe or of the backward tribes. It was only natural that it should be so.

63. Mr. JAIPAL (India) explained that he had not used the phrase "policy of integration" with any sinister overtones; the phrase occurred in the Administering Authority's own observations.

64. It would be interesting to hear the basis on which the Government had decided to introduce the parity formula for representation on the Legislative Council. It would appear to have been fixed arbitrarily as the most practical method of representation in the present circumstances and not to have been based on any statistical evidence of the contributions of the various races in capital or labour.

65. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) pointed out that for a considerable time the vast majority of Africans in Tanganyika had contributed little to the progress and development of the country because they had not been in a position to do so. A comparatively small number of Asians and Europeans had contributed a great deal and would have to continue that contribution if the country was to develop. In deciding on the parity formula, the influence and power for good of the Asians and the Europeans had been weighed against the numerical strength of the Africans.

66. In reply to further questions from Mr. JAIPAL (India), Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) explained that it was a nominated Legislative Council that had accepted the parity formula. There had been no referendum on the question. The constitutional committee which had

recommended the parity formula had made a lengthy tour of the whole Territory and had interviewed very many persons and associations. There was a great deal of freedom of talk and criticism in Tanganyika and of discussion between the African, in his Native Authority or district council, and the Government's administrative officers. It was part of an administrative officer's duty when he toured his district—which he was required to do frequently and thoroughly—to discuss all current matters of interest with the people. Such discussions and interviews, together with various statements made in the vernacular Press and at meetings of political associations, led to the conclusion that the overwhelming majority of the people accepted the parity principle. Apart from a statement made to the Visiting Mission by a branch of the Tanganyika African National Union, he could not recollect any outright anti-parity statement in the Territory.

67. The length of time for which the parity principle would be applied would inevitably depend upon experience and the people's wishes. He could only say that it was designed to last for a considerable time, so that the people could obtain full experience and eventually be in a position to decide for themselves.

68. Mr. JAIPAL (India) said that his delegation did not feel that there was any special safeguard in the parity formula in a nominated Legislative Council in which all the Africans were appointed by the Governor. So long as the unofficial African members of the Council were less than half the unofficial membership, that should be sufficient protection for the other elements in the multiracial society. In that connexion he noted that the Administration seemed reluctant to allow the unofficial members of the Legislative Council to be elected, and wondered whether that was because it feared that certain elements would press for speedier reforms.

69. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) emphasized that neither the Government of Tanganyika nor the Administering Authority had any fear that, if the unofficial members of the Legislative Council were all elected, they would press for an increase in the tempo of constitutional development. That tempo must be determined by the rate of advance the African people desired and of which they were capable. Once the new Legislative Council was firmly established, the Government would consider introducing elections in certain areas where it was practicable and desirable. In many parts of the Territory, however, elections would not be practicable or desirable and it was doubtful whether the Africans there would really want them. The elections would be governed by the parity formula: in any area where there were elections, the African, the Asian and the European unofficial member would each be elected.

70. The protection of minorities could admittedly be achieved in various ways. The Government's advisers who knew the Territory and its people and conditions, were in the best position to say which was the most suitable way. Personally, he did not consider parity of representation a minority safeguard, but rather a reflection in the constitutional field of the contribution which each of the races made to the Territory's progress and development.

71. Mr. JAIPAL (India) said that, even assuming that the majority of Africans were backward, his delegation could not understand why the European and Asian

unofficial members could not be elected; indeed, that would set a democratic example to the Africans.

72. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) thought that it would be most undesirable in what was in effect a three-seat constituency to have elected Asian and European members and a nominated African. It would be much better to wait a little longer until all the three members could be elected. Unfortunately, in some areas it would probably be impossible for some considerable time to hold elections. For example, where two or more tribes formed a single constituency, it was almost inevitable that a member of the largest tribe would be elected. It had been found from experience that the smaller tribes were not prepared to consider that for one moment; they preferred no elections at all to elections in which the representative of another tribe would win. On the other hand, except possibly in the case of two or three of the large tribes, it would not be feasible to allow each tribe to elect its own representative.

73. In his view, the Administering Authority's policy with regard to elections was wise; the people would be given experience and encouragement at the local government level and local government elections would be held where possible and practical; later, elections on a limited scale would be initiated for the Legislative Council.

74. Mr. JAIPAL (India) asked a number of questions about the introduction of the elective principle for town and local government councils, and deprecated the unco-operative attitude of the Asians and Europeans in that respect. He wondered whether every local body would be interracial in character, how the European and African members would be selected and whether they would be entitled to vote.

75. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) said that the Government hoped that all town councils would accept the elective principle for non-official members. They were all being urged to do so, and Arusha had in fact made it a condition of accepting town council status that elections should be introduced by 1956. Practical considerations made it doubtful whether the principle could be generally introduced by 1956.

76. The Indian representative's statement regarding the opposition of the European and Asian members of town councils to the elective principle should be qualified: so far as he knew, the Europeans had expressed some opposition to elections only in the town of Tanga; in Arusha the insistence on elections was probably largely the result of European influence.

77. With regard to the actual electoral procedure, if illiterates were to be allowed to vote, provision must be made to enable them to vote by secret ballot and the authorities must be satisfied that they were voting for the candidate of their choice.

78. Local government elections were not new; for a considerable time a great many Native Authorities and chiefs had been elected, although, because of the need to effect a compromise between traditional ideas and modern political institutions and methods of election, the form of the elections had not always been to the Government's liking. It was the Administration's immediate policy that the non-official members of all the town councils should be elected. He could not say when the elective principle would be extended to other local government bodies and local councils. The first

county council would be established in 1955 and it would be desirable to allow nominated councils to carry on until the inevitable initial difficulties and troubles had been overcome.

79. Whether all local bodies would be interracial depended solely on conditions in the area concerned and the people's wishes. In some areas the local council would be entirely African because there were only Africans and Government officials in the area. In other areas it was probably desirable that the councils should be interracial so that they could have the benefit of the experience and advice of non-Africans. The new interracial council at Newala was a notable achievement in an area that was progressing rapidly. The people realized and appreciated the help which the non-Africans could give them. In reverse the African could help the non-African; each could learn from the other. The contribution made by the non-Africans depended more on their quality than on their number in a given area.

80. In his opinion it would be constitutionally bad and most undesirable to have an African local council with non-Africans as co-opted members. At the present stage of development, the non-Africans would exercise an influence in the council far beyond their numerical strength. To place the non-African in that position without giving him commensurate responsibility would be unfortunate. The Government official was in a different position: he was on the council because of his knowledge and technical experience; he had a very definite responsibility and was carefully supervised by his senior officers.

81. Generally speaking, for the present, the non-African and African members alike would be nominated to the local councils by the provincial commissioner after consultation with local individuals and bodies. All the members of the council would have the same right to vote.

82. Mr. JAIPAL (India) recognized that non-African participation in local government bodies would be useful, but wondered whether the same result could not be achieved by direct guidance from a Government official trained in local government matters.

83. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) said that the manner in which direct guidance was given would depend on conditions in each particular area. He did not think that it would be advisable for the district commissioner always to serve as chairman of the council. That would be a retrograde step. Some councils had reached a position where they should have an elected chairman. In addition it was very desirable that non-Africans experienced in fields other than the administrative service should also serve on the council.

84. Mr. JAIPAL (India) explained that he had not intended to suggest that the district commissioner, who was a very busy man, should preside over the local government body. He understood that there was a local government department in Dar es Salaam and his idea had been that its officials would help and advise the local government councils on the conduct of their business; they would not necessarily preside over them. The policy of encouraging interracial councils appeared to be in keeping with the Government's general policy of bringing people of different races together as often as possible.

85. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) replied that it was only



incidental that the various races were being brought together in local government bodies. While that was a desirable process, the Administration's main purpose was to develop local government institutions at all levels throughout the Territory.

86. Unfortunately there was no local government department. A member of the Executive Council was in charge of local government matters and had one or two senior officers to assist him. A fully-fledged local government department with workers in the field would not be practical; nor would the expense be justifiable at the present stage of the Territory's development.

87. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) wondered whether the description of the composition of the local council at Newala in paragraph 88 of the annual report, which referred to co-opted members who were not persons appointed by the provincial commissioner, was now obsolete.

88. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) explained that the description was out of date. The new local council established under the Local Government Ordinance had come into being in December 1954. Not all of its members were appointed by the provincial commissioner. The instrument setting up the council provided that the five *livualis* should be members. They were not nominated officials but had been elected locally in accordance with tradition.

89. Mr. SEARS (United States of America) said he was confused by the statement that the Government of Tanganyika had accepted as a general principle that the ultimate goal should be a system of common-roll elections with adequate safeguards for minority representation. The term "the ultimate goal" in that connexion was not clear, and it was difficult to understand precisely how minority representation would be safeguarded under a common-roll system, unless it was by restricting the vote to the well-educated section of the population. Moreover, the ultimate goal for the Territory was self-government, and accession to that status would automatically end whatever minority safeguards the Administering Authority might have introduced.

90. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) explained that the intention was to limit the number of electors sufficiently to safeguard minority interests, but not necessarily by restricting voting to the well-educated. It was true that the ultimate goal was self-government, but some legal and other experts thought that, so long as Tanganyika remained under the Trusteeship System, the Administering Authority must maintain control in order to exercise its responsibilities properly. For that purpose, it could use an official majority, but in actual fact it had never used it. Of course, when the responsibility of the Administering Authority came to an end, minority safeguards would disappear and the people of the Territory would decide for themselves how they wished to organize their elections.

91. Mr. SEARS (United States of America) asked the special representative to look into the matter after his return to Tanganyika and to inform the Council of the precise meaning of the statement which he had sought to clarify.

92. With respect to the Visiting Mission's recommendations on a time-table for the attainment of self-government by the Trust Territory, he himself, as a

member of the Visiting Mission, had taken a view which differed to some extent from that of the United States Government. That Government, while recognizing the merit of target dates for self-government in cases where the Territory concerned was close to attainment of the status, considered a time-table too rigid to be useful in the case of Tanganyika. In the belief that in some instances self-government could be achieved sooner than the target date set in a time-table, and that it was difficult to estimate progress, the United States would not support the time-table principle for Tanganyika.

93. In reply to a question from Mr. TARAZI (Syria) about the legislative powers of the High Commission, Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) said that those powers were generally of an administrative rather than a policy-making nature. For example, the High Commission could legislate in respect of the machinery for income-tax collection and punishment of fraud, but imposition of the tax was wholly reserved to the Tanganyika Government. Similarly, the High Commission could adopt regulations affecting the administration of civil aviation, railroads, post offices and the like.

94. Replying to another question from Mr. TARAZI (Syria) about public opposition to linking the Trust Territory to neighbouring Kenya and Uganda through the High Commission, Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) explained that fear of federation had been created as a result of political developments in Central Africa, and had been expressed, for instance, by population groups living near Uganda. The High Commission was not being attacked on that basis, however. It was criticized on other grounds, but on the whole the people recognized the advantages Tanganyika gained from its services. For example, the amalgamation of the Tanganyika railroad with the railroads of Uganda and Kenya had resulted in the investment of considerable capital in Tanganyika's railways and harbours, which would have been impossible if Tanganyika's railways had been kept as a separate entity. Similarly, while the Territory lacked the resources necessary for an independent research service, the three territories together, through the High Commission, had established competent research services. The unofficial members of the Legislative Council represented various shades of public opinion in the Trust Territory.

95. Mr. TARAZI (Syria) asked what were the criteria for the Administering Authority's selection of members of the Legislative and Executive Councils.

96. Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) replied that the members of the Executive Council, a policy-making body, acted as personal advisers to the Governor. He chose them for their ability, integrity and reputation, and for their capacity to provide sound advice. The unofficial members of the Legislative Council were chosen on the same basis, and, although they constituted a minority, they wielded considerable power. In at least one instance, they had defeated a Government-sponsored legislative measure.

97. To another query from Mr. TARAZI (Syria), Mr. GRATTAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) replied that the Administering Authority was exerting every effort to show the population the advantages of universal suffrage. Its success varied

according to local conditions and to the degree of conservatism of Africans in some areas.

98. Mr. TARAZI (Syria) asked what was the distinction drawn by the Administering Authority between Africans and other racial groups, such as Arabs and Somalis, in the matters of recourse to the local courts and of land transfers.

99. Mr. GRATAN-BELLEW (Special representative for Tanganyika) replied that the jurisdiction of the local courts, formerly the Native courts, had been extended to racial groups other than Africans. Thus, if the Somalis or Arabs wished to bring their cases before the local courts, they could do so. In land matters, Africans could not transfer their land to non-Africans without express authorization from the Administration; that restriction also applied to Somalis

and Arabs. The Arabs and Somalis also claimed to pay African education tax.

100. The authorization required before Africans could transfer their lands to non-Africans was a protection to the Africans. It prevented them from dissipating their land. Thus the Issakhia community, although classified as a non-indigenous community, was being afforded the same protection as Africans in the matter of land transfers.

101. He would examine the question raised by the Syrian representative about the basis of the distinction made between Africans and Somalis and Arabs, and hoped to be able to provide a more detailed answer at a later meeting.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.