



CONTENTS

	Page
Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration (<i>continued</i>):	
(i) Annual report of the Administering Authority for 1956;	
(ii) Petitions raising general questions;	
General debate (<i>concluded</i>).....	189
Appointment of the Drafting Committee.....	192
Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika (<i>continued</i>):	
(i) Annual report of the Administering Authority for 1956;	
(ii) Petitions raising general questions;	
(iii) Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1957	
Questions concerning the Trust Territory and replies of the representative and special representative of the Administering Authority (<i>continued</i>).....	192

President: Mr. Emilio ARENALES CATALAN
(Guatemala).

Present:

The representatives of the following States: Australia, Belgium, Burma, China, France, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Italy, 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; Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; World Health Organization.

Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration (*continued*):

- (i) Annual report of the Administering Authority for 1956 (T/1351, T/1354, T/1363, T/L.813);
- (ii) Petitions raising general questions (T/L.813, annex; T/PET.5/L.449-451)

[Agenda items 4 (d) and 5]

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Deniau, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration, took a place at the Council table.

GENERAL DEBATE (*concluded*)

1. Mr. DENIAU (Special Representative) was gratified that the delegations on the Council had expressed satisfaction with the general development of the Cameroons under French administration and the part which the population was playing in that development. He would not quote Press cuttings that would create a totally different impression from those to which the Soviet representative had made repeated reference but

he did wish to give some additional information, in order to clear up various misunderstandings.

2. For the benefit of the representative of Burma, who had spoken at the 871st meeting of the desirability of transferring further powers, he emphasized that the Statute of the Cameroons, brought into operation by the Decree of 16 April 1957, in no sense conferred independence. While it was not final, it was in accordance with the terms of article 5 of the Trusteeship Agreement, which made provision for the development of representative democratic organs.

3. It was for the Cameroonian Legislative Assembly to request, by means of a resolution, any changes in the Statute. If it should desire a transfer to the Cameroons of the remaining powers still exercised by the Administering Authority, that would amount to an expression of its desire to have the Trusteeship System brought to an end. But France could not be asked to transfer all its powers and at the same time to continue to accept the international responsibilities which it had assumed for the development of the Cameroons. After all, the Administering Authority intervened in those fields where jurisdiction had been transferred to the Cameroons only in an advisory capacity and in order to exercise the supervision required by the continuance of trusteeship, as laid down in part IV, chapter II, of the Statute. Whereas the Prime Minister presided over the Cabinet of the Cameroons, whose competence extended to all draft decrees, ordinances and decisions affecting the main aspects of the administrative life of the Cameroons, the High Commissioner presided only over the Council of Ministers, which met from time to time to co-ordinate the activities of the French and Cameroonian services and to submit to the Assembly the draft bills prepared by the Cameroonian Government; so far, the High Commissioner had exercised his supervisory powers on two occasions only. The Administering Authority, far from ceasing to take an interest in matters which came within Cameroonian competence, provided the Government with the technical experts which it needed. It was prepared to give, though it was careful not to impose, its advice. The fact was that the Cameroonian public authorities were fully aware of their responsibilities, and a good example of that attitude could be seen in the programme for the general reorganization of the civil service, which the Prime Minister, Mr. Ahidjo, had recently made known prior to his investiture.

4. Noting the strong condemnation by the members of the Trusteeship Council of the use of violence for political ends, he emphasized that that condemnation was bound to have favourable repercussions in the Cameroons.

5. For the benefit of the representative of Syria, he wished to provide more accurate information on the ideological affiliations of the leaders of the dissolved parties. He read out a passage from a letter, dated 16 September 1955, which had been sent by Mr. Félix Roland Moumié, ex-Chairman of the Union des populations du Cameroun (UPC), to Mr. Molotov, who was

at that time the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, in which M. Moumié stated explicitly that it was for reasons of pure opportunism that the UPC had claimed that it was a nationalist, and not a Communist, party.

6. Turning to the economic field, he pointed out that the Cameroonian authorities were responsible for drawing up the budget as regards both revenue and expenditure. On the revenue side, the Assembly had full competence to impose, *inter alia*, mining taxes and *ad valorem* customs duties. The Cameroonian authorities were also paying great attention to the attraction of foreign capital investments on the largest possible scale. Leading Cameroonians of varying political affiliations had recognized the need to attract capital from abroad so that processing industries could be established in the country. The measures proposed by the representative of Burma to promote savings and restrict consumption of luxury goods fell within the exclusive competence of the Cameroonian authorities. In that connexion, he did not think that a policy designed to mobilize savings mainly with a view to establishing financial companies would be well received at a time when Cameroonians were beginning to use credit facilities and to save in order to modernize their lands and dwellings. Any action taken by the authorities would be more likely to slow down rather than to encourage the present development of the economy. As the annual report¹ had shown, there were now 12,000 Cameroonians with savings bank accounts; those who wanted to save or invest had ample opportunity to do so.

7. The development plan, the first ten-year phase of which had just been completed, aimed at making the economy of the Cameroons viable and stipulated the use to be made of the credits granted by the Administering Authority. With that purpose in view, provision was made for the establishment of a basic infrastructure and for greater and more diversified production. In that way, the Cameroons had been able to conserve its resources for the improvement and operation of its services, while the resources made available by the Administering Authority, which were on a comparable scale, had been devoted to the development plan. But it now seemed that the Cameroonian authorities wished to earmark a part of their budget for development work, an attitude which met the wishes of some members of the Council and also those of the Administering Authority.

8. As the representative of Guatemala had pointed out, the balance of trade deficit was characteristic of a country in process of development; there was, however, a favourable balance of payments because of the contributions made by the metropolitan country.

9. It would not be right to make any general evaluation of agricultural development except on the basis of figures covering a fairly long period, because of variations resulting from climatic or economic conditions or chance occurrences. Over a ten-year period there appeared to have been a steady and considerable diversification and increase in agricultural production in the Cameroons. Apart from measures adopted to educate the peasants, in which direction much could

still be done, new methods of cultivation had been introduced and were beginning to bear fruit. The Cameroonian Government was entirely responsible for the direction and supervision of the preparation of the next phase of the development plan.

10. In the social field, he wished to draw attention first to the application of labour legislation. The experts consulted in collective disputes in 1957 had consisted of three magistrates, four public works engineers, three agricultural experts and a doctor. Four of those experts were Cameroonians. In the same year, some of the provisions of the labour legislation had been improved by the Cameroonian authorities, the only competent authorities in the matter.

11. One of the problems which attracted most attention in the field of education was school attendance in the North Cameroons. The Government had provided for the opening of more than one hundred new classes in that region and was reserving for it the majority of teaching posts in primary education established under the budget. The pilot school at Pitoa, moreover, would ensure that the schools of the North were supplied with teachers adapted to the environment. As regards the founding of a university of the Cameroons, he would repeat that it was for the Cameroonian authorities to decide when that should be done.

12. The Cameroonians were surprised to note that the United Nations was sometimes ignorant of the fact that they were now effectively managing most of the affairs of their country. They were also surprised to note that certain other delegations paid too much heed to the opinion of the Cameroonian minorities which had no mandate as elected representatives or otherwise, and that extreme trends of opinion were put forward as being the most representative. The direct consequence of establishing a democratic system in the Cameroons—respect for the majority—had to be accepted. The Trusteeship System should facilitate the establishment by the Cameroonians of democratic equilibrium in the country based upon a viable economic and social system. There should be no interference in that necessary evolution for the purpose of imposing upon them decisions, rates of development or ideologies. It was important to take into account their distinctive characteristics, their aspirations and their special problems, the more so as Cameroonian democracy was already a reality.

13. Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) thought that some of the criticisms made were either irrelevant or ignored facts which had been brought to the notice of the Council. Some of the reproaches made against the Administering Authority revealed a most disturbing attitude, which should be condemned. The distinction between an Administering Authority and a non-administering Power was a statutory distinction connected with the composition of the Council; it should not be reflected in the Council's work by opposition on principle. The mere fact of being an Administering Authority, however, seemed at times enough to arouse all kinds of suspicion. Whether it was a question of the past, present or future, France was credited with sinister intentions. If the Administering Authority was carrying out reforms, the representative of Burma would say that it was forced to do so. He had doubtless forgotten that General de Gaulle had said at Brazzaville on 20 January 1944, that in French Africa there would be no progress worthy of the name if men were not able to raise themselves little by little to a level at

¹ *Rapport annuel du Gouvernement français à l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies sur l'administration du Cameroun placé sous la tutelle de la France, année 1956* (St-Ouen (Seine), Imprimerie Chaix, 1957). Transmitted to members of the Trusteeship Council by a note of the Secretary-General (T/1351).

which they could take part in their own country in the management of their own affairs. The representative of Burma had also forgotten the passage of the Constitution of 1946 to the effect that France intended to lead the peoples for whom it had assumed responsibility towards the freedom of self-government. Lastly, he had forgotten that the *loi-cadre* of 23 June 1956, adopted with the support of Mr. Defferre and Mr. Houphouët-Boigny, was a fully premeditated political act, and not in any way the result of pressure.

14. Assistance to under-developed countries was one of the big problems of the present time and the members of the Council were more aware of that fact than anyone else. What was France doing in that field? The volume of its investments was such that it ranked first among investing countries in relation to its size, and second in absolute terms. Ten per cent of the taxes paid by Frenchmen went into overseas territories. Fifty per cent of expenditure in the Cameroons was the responsibility of France. That great effort was being made willingly and in a spirit of solidarity and friendship. Not only did the French attach no political pressure to their assistance, but they worked out with their African brothers the terms of their economic support so that it might not be looked upon in any way as charity. Thus it was the Cameroonian Government that was drawing up programmes financed by the Fonds d'investissement pour le développement économique et social des territoires d'outre-mer (FIDES) and it was the Cameroonian Assembly that controlled them. Why in such circumstances was there still talk of "colonial" or "colonialist" economy?

15. The Treaty establishing the European Economic Community did not change the system of economic equality for the Cameroons. The products of the six European countries would not receive any preferential treatment when entering that territory. On the other hand, Cameroonian exports would benefit by being exempt from customs duty in all countries of the European Community. The Cameroons would also benefit from the provisions governing the fund for economic and social development of the overseas territories. It was thus understandable that in the bodies dealing with questions of competition there had been objections to the advantages granted to overseas territories. It might be asked, however, whether France could be reproached for favouring those territories excessively and exploiting them at the same time. Why was it that the perpetual fault-finders, unable to judge the results of a treaty which had hardly come into force and which was in conformity with the Charter, should hasten to cast aspersions on France's designs? Great progress would have been made when that bias and distrust had disappeared.

16. Turning to the proposals which had been made, he was afraid that they sometimes resembled the facile solutions put forth by professional advice-givers. As Proudhon had said, everything involving the governing of men and administering of affairs was always very difficult.

17. Everybody seemed to recognize that the new Statute constituted progress. The year 1957 had been marked by the setting-up of Cameroonian institutions whose basis was the people and their democratically elected representatives. The representative of the Soviet Union could rest assured on that score, for when free elections, on the basis of universal suffrage for men and women, had enabled the people to express their will,

there could be no justification by which a minority—even an active and illegal minority—could be called a majority. Besides, violence had never been the hallmark of a cause that was sure of its influence and its truth. Even the Haitian delegation had expressed its satisfaction that the people were being consulted.

18. To calm those who had shown anxiety regarding the Government crisis in the Cameroons, he recalled that Prime Minister Ahidjo had himself said that there was fortunately no regional conflict since among the opponents of the outgoing Prime Minister there were persons elected from all parts of the Territory, and that there was no conflict between his country and the French Republic.

19. With regard to the functions of the High Commissioner and the powers reserved to him, the special representative had rightly pointed out that the Statute accorded neither independence nor complete self-government. Had that not been so, France would already have sought the termination of its trusteeship. However, the Cameroonian authorities were already exercising very extensive powers, especially as the Statute had been interpreted very broadly. Practice had always gone far beyond the terms of the law, and what had been given had been given without reservation and for all time. It was surprising, therefore, to hear the representative of Guatemala declare that the Administering Authority remained responsible for the exercise of powers it had given up. Under articles 47 to 49 of the Statute the Administering Authority did, of course, have a means of recourse against any Cameroonian laws or regulations which might contravene the international obligations assumed by the Administering Authority, but that was a general kind of veto. France could no longer intervene in matters which were now the responsibility of the Cameroonian authorities. Paradoxically, however, the Administering Authority was being asked at one and the same time to grant the Cameroonian authorities more extensive powers and to remain responsible for everything, and it was also being blamed for consulting those authorities on the subject of the reserved powers.

20. The Council had already had much to say about the amnesty law, which as the representative of Italy had said, was an olive branch held out to those who wanted to re-enter the national community and work within the law towards building up their country. France earnestly hoped that the Cameroonians concerned would seize the olive branch without any ulterior motive. Prime Minister Ahidjo had asked what advantage it would be to the Cameroons to appear before the nations of the world still divided by fratricidal rifts and quarrels. The new head of the Government had made an appeal to all for unity, and it was to be hoped that the Council would unanimously endorse that appeal.

21. France refused to intervene in Cameroonian rivalries, and the reason why it was helping the Prime Minister was not that he represented any particular party but that he was the legal head of a democratic government. Nor was it for the United Nations to make a choice among Cameroonians by stating that one person, group or party was more representative than another when both had been democratically elected. The fact of being amongst the opposition should not of itself be used as a criterion. If the Council wished to support a young State, it should lend its weight to every element of stability, unity and peace.

22. Much had been said about the stages which should mark the Territory's progress. There would, of course, come a time when stages of progress would have to be set, but to do that ahead of time would not be proper. That time was undoubtedly approaching for the Cameroons, and when it came, a reasonable time-table would be drawn up by France in agreement with the Cameroonian Government and would be submitted to the United Nations. With regard to the unification of the two Territories, that was a question for the Cameroonians to decide, and not the Administering Authorities. There appeared at present to be a current of opinion in the Cameroons under French administration in favour of unification. It remained to be seen what the inhabitants of the Cameroons under British administration thought of the matter, and any attempt on France's part to prejudge their views would be discourteous. One thing was sure: the inhabitants of the Cameroons under French administration would have complete freedom of choice.

23. At every session, France had been criticized on the score that elected representatives from the Territories participated in the Republic's central organs and that that allegedly exposed the Territories to the threat of integration. The participation of Cameroonians in French Assemblies was a privilege they greatly prized, but that honour could not be converted into an obligation for the future. Since, however, the Cameroonians were thus enabled to participate in the affairs of the metropolitan country and of the overseas territories and in that way acquire experience through contact with French parliamentary procedure, he doubted whether they shared the views expressed in the Council. In any event, article 2 of the Statute stipulated that the present arrangement would remain in force until such time as the Cameroonians should have expressed an opinion as to their country's final destiny.

24. What, then, were to be the future relations between France and the Cameroons? That would depend on the Cameroonians and on France. The French Union was in process of transformation, and it was impossible to say at the present time what form would emerge from the talks taking place between its members. In short, France was embarking on a great adventure which could not but serve to strengthen peace and solidarity among nations. As Prime Minister Ahidjo had expressed it, France hoped that that brotherly co-operation, which in certain dark hours had by no means been to the advantage of only one side, would give rise to a Franco-African community of interests, which was ardently desired by all.

25. Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala) pointed out, in connexion with the obligations by which the Administering Authorities continued to be bound as long as the Trusteeship Agreements remained in force, that the observations he had made were confirmed by articles 47, 48 and 49 of the Statute, and particularly by article 47, which provided that the High Commissioner should exercise a trusteeship (*tutelle*) over the operation of the Cameroonian institutions.

26. Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) thought that the French representative had tried to state what he sincerely felt to be the truth but the same could not be said of the special representative. The irritation of the special representative was understandable in view of the extent of his responsibility for the situation in the Cameroons, but that could not justify his insinuations. Mr. Lobanov reminded the

special representative that he had had predecessors who had attempted to make a sensation by presenting texts which they had fabricated themselves, but all those enterprises had ended in confusion. It was not difficult to guess the origin of the paper and the aims which had been pursued.

27. Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) replied that articles 47, 48 and 49 of the Statute confirmed what he had said. He fully identified himself with the position of the special representative. The USSR representative had said nothing to invalidate the strict truth of the facts given by the special representative.

28. Mr. LALL (India) welcomed the frankness with which France had recognized that the Cameroons had not yet achieved real self-government or independence. He was glad to note that the French Union was undergoing a process of evolution and he hoped that real equality would be established between the countries which had exercised trusteeship and those which achieved independence.

APPOINTMENT OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE

29. The PRESIDENT suggested that the following countries should be members of the Drafting Committee on the Cameroons under French Administration: Haiti, India, Italy and the United Kingdom.

It was so decided.

Mr. Deniau, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration, withdrew.

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

- (i) Annual report of the Administering Authority for 1956 (T/1339, T/1349 and Corr.1, T/1355, T/1364, T/1365, T/1366, T/L.815);
- (ii) Petitions raising general questions (T/L.815/Add.1, T/PET.2/L.10);
- (iii) Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1957 (T/1345, T/1362)

[Agenda items 4 (a), 5, and 6 (a)]

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, 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 REPRESENTATIVE AND SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY (continued)

Political advancement (continued)

30. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) wished to give some information on points raised at previous meetings. Firstly, the distribution by provinces of the thirty Native Authorities, to which, at present, members from the immigrant communities had been co-opted, was as follows: three in the Central Province; four in the Eastern Province; six in the Lake Province; eight in the Southern Province; four in Tanga Province; and five in the Western Province. Secondly, the population figures, which in the case of Africans, referred to persons over the age of sixteen and, in the case of the other racial groups, to persons

of all ages, were as follows: Northern Province: 409,665 Africans, 3,613 Europeans, 7,719 Asians and 1,916 persons of other races; Tanga Province: 379,223 Africans, 2,418 Europeans, 8,527 Asians and 5,964 persons of other races; Eastern Province, excluding Dar es Salaam: 550,090 Africans, 1,705 Europeans, 4,481 Asians and 3,214 persons of other races; Western Province: 608,298 Africans, 1,310 Europeans, 4,393 Asians, and 4,100 persons of other races; and Southern Highlands Province: 499,769 Africans, 2,277 Europeans, 3,372 Asians and 815 persons of other races.

The meeting was suspended at 4.10 p.m. and resumed at 4.30 p.m.

31. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria) observed that the special representative had given the number of electors who would participate in the elections of September 1958 as 29,000, a figure which, according to present appearances, was not likely to increase very much. The Government of the Territory had nevertheless forecast that some 75,000 persons would register for the elections.

32. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) thought that the main reason for the discrepancy between those two figures was probably the apathy shown by the people despite the comprehensive information campaign the Government had been conducting for nearly nine months. However, it should not be forgotten that the figure of 75,000 was not a Government forecast of those who would register but rather an estimate of those who might be qualified to register. He felt that the results were far from discouraging in view of the particular circumstances prevailing in the Territory, such as the great distances to be covered in spreading the news about proposals which were completely novel to the vast majority of Africans.

33. Replying to another question from Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria), Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) said that two-thirds of the electors registered were Africans.

34. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria) was aware that, although there was opposition to the tripartite vote, the Administering Authority considered that it was too late for the system to be changed. He wondered, however, whether the Government ought not to make a further effort to persuade the political parties of the advantages offered by the system.

35. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) recalled that before a law was passed the text of it was published and distributed throughout the Territory. With regard to the electoral ordinance, it was only after its enactment that opposition had arisen to the provision concerning the tripartite vote, the reasons for which were continually being explained by the Government and its officers.

36. Replying to two other questions from Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria), Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) said that in order to stand as a candidate a person must fulfil the conditions applying to electors. In addition, a candidate must be at least twenty-five years of age and have resided in the Territory for four of the preceding six years.

37. He confirmed that the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) would probably participate in the next elections since the President had stated, after the party's annual convention in January, that that was its intention.

38. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria) asked whether the Administering Authority had considered the suggestion

made by the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1957, in paragraph 107 of its report (T/1345) concerning the desirability of establishing additional organs with functions covering larger areas.

39. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) replied in the affirmative, and cited the assurances given by the Administering Authority in paragraph 40 of its observations (T/1362) on the Visiting Mission's report. The Government had in mind not so much the development of local government councils, experience having shown that the best unit for local government was the district, but rather a decentralization of the central government. No final decision had yet been taken in the matter, but the establishment of provincial authority, to which the central Government would transfer a number of functions, was being considered.

40. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria) asked for more information about district officers and district commissioners and on the precise functions of the Chiefs' Convention.

41. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) explained that each district was under the control of a district commissioner who, in most instances and especially in the big districts, had a number of district officers working under him. Before the end of the year, seven or eight African district officers would be in office and would be performing the same tasks as their colleagues recruited in the United Kingdom. It was to be hoped that, in the near future, Africans would prove their suitability for appointment as district commissioners.

42. The Chiefs' Convention, which had been created at the request of the chiefs themselves, was not a statutory body. It was possible, however, that the chiefs would put proposals to the Government for the inclusion of a number of representative chiefs in some form of second chamber. The Convention did not hear petitions since that was a responsibility of the individual chiefs. The indigenous inhabitants could also petition the provincial commissioner, the Chief Secretary, the Governor and the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

43. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria) asked for some information about the results of the election which had taken place at Arusha and Morogoro and on the composition of the town councils of those places.

44. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) was not in a position to give any detailed information on the matter. He was, however, able to say that for the purpose of elections the towns were divided into wards. There was no restriction as to the race of the candidate, but, as a result of the ward system, a candidate belonging to a particular race was more likely to be elected than one belonging to another race in an area in which electors of the same race as himself were concentrated. There was representation of all the races on the town councils but not in any fixed proportion.

45. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria) stressed the usefulness of the political parties in Tanganyika, especially TANU, and asked whether the Administering Authority gave them adequate encouragement.

46. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) stated that there was no doubt that the Government encouraged the political parties. It was regrettable, however, that some leaders had gone beyond their responsibilities as party leaders in an attempt to discredit either the Native authorities or the Government. That had happened more particularly in connexion with a number of schemes designed for the benefit of the

people, and the matter had been commented on by the Visiting Mission in its report. In such instances, and especially when the leaders had resorted to intimidation, the Government had had to step in to keep the peace and preserve public order.

47. In reply to a further question from Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria), Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) stated that the Minister for Constitutional Affairs used the staff of the Chief Secretary's Office, which did not at present include any Africans. The Government of Tanganyika was none the less genuinely anxious to appoint Africans to the ministries and was hopeful that it would be possible to make progress in that direction.

48. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria) requested some clarification of the words "extremists" and "moderates" which had been used by the representative of the United Kingdom at the previous meeting.

49. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) explained that by "extremists" was meant those groups which defended exclusively racial interests and by "moderates" those groups which put the interests of Tanganyika before their own racial interests.

50. Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) wished to know what principles would govern the composition of the constitutional committee of the Legislative Council to be set up in 1959.

51. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) said that in his view, the majority of the members of the committee would be elected representatives from the Legislative Council. The committee might include one or two official members whose role would be to guide the committee by ensuring that deliberations took place within the framework of the Trusteeship Agreement, and so on.

52. Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) asked what was the attitude of the political parties and of public opinion on the vote for women.

53. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) said that women had been granted the right to vote on the same terms as men. The two major political parties in the Territory were conscious of the important part that women could play in the political sphere: TANU had a women's section and the United Tanganyika Party (UTP) also devoted particular attention to making its policies known to women. It could be stated that, despite the attitude of certain religious groups, the majority of the people of all races accepted the fact that women should take an active part in political life.

54. Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) said he would like to know the reasons for the failure or rather, as it had been expressed by the Administering Authority in its observations (T/1362, par. 34), the "weakness" of the county councils.

55. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) said that the main reason was that the councils had attempted to carry out the functions of local government over much too wide an area. For that reason the Government was now concentrating its efforts on district councils.

56. Mr. SEARS (United States of America) considered that the system of tripartite voting on the present basis, which bore little relation to the numerical importance of each racial group, was, therefore, unjustifiable except as a transitional stage to a system based on a common-roll, with each voter casting one

vote. The Trusteeship Council itself had, of course, recommended tripartite voting in the forthcoming elections, and it was now too late to go back on that decision for obvious mechanical reasons. The United States delegation hoped that the 1959 constitutional committee would modify the parity system to the satisfaction of the electorate and that the introduction of universal suffrage would not be long delayed.

57. He asked why the Government did not lay down the principle that a district council should be set up in each district.

58. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) did not think that any institution requiring public support could be set up successfully unless it had the support of the majority of people who would be required to operate it. Experience had shown, however, that once a movement had made a start, it spread rapidly throughout the Territory. The people of nine districts had already called for the creation of councils, and it was therefore to be hoped that the system would soon spread to the whole of Tanganyika.

59. The Administering Authority should not be misjudged on its position by being accused of espousing a passive approach, since it was in fact actively explaining the merits of the new councils to the people. What it wished to avoid was the imposition on them of an institution which they did not feel they needed.

60. Mr. SEARS (United States of America) asked what there was to prevent the inclusion on the electoral lists of all adults who wished to be registered, since in that way the basis for universal suffrage could be laid with the least delay.

61. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) knew of no country where persons who did not have the right to vote were requested to present themselves for inscription as potential voters.

62. Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom) thought that to put people on an electoral register without giving them the right to vote was bound to be a source of legitimate grievance.

63. Mr. SEARS (United States of America) asked whether there was any reason why it would be inadvisable for the United Kingdom Government to state specifically that Tanganyika would become primarily an African State and a democratic State in which equal rights for all citizens, both Africans and members of minorities, would be guaranteed.

64. Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom) referred the United States representative to his statement at the 820th meeting, held during the twentieth session, and to the recommendation on general policy adopted by the Council at its preceding session (A/3595 and Corr.1, pp. 25-26); the two texts answered Mr. Sears' question.

65. At the request of Mr. SEARS (United States of America) Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom) read out paragraph 5 on page 25 of the Council's last report to the General Assembly (A/3595 and Corr.1), which contained a summary of the statement in question.

66. Mr. SEARS (United States of America) said he did not question the intentions of the United Kingdom Government. The examples of Malaya, Ghana, and Nigeria sufficed to prove its sincerity. None the less, according to the Visiting Mission, there persisted a doubt in the minds of some African leaders concerning the Territory's future. In the circumstances, he thought it might be wise in the interests of political stability

to repeat the purpose of the Administration, in order to remove one irritant in the Territory's political atmosphere.

67. Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom) was somewhat sceptical of the efficacy of words in dealing with political situations. The Administering Authority's work and its earlier statements should be fully adequate to resolve anybody's doubts regarding Tanganyika's future. He understood the impatience of the nationalists, but the United Kingdom believed that it had done all it could to meet their wishes.

68. Mr. JAIPAL (India) thought that the statement made by the United Kingdom representative at the 820th meeting was not fully satisfying to certain elements in the Territory. In 1953, a Special Commissioner had submitted a report on constitutional development,² and had concluded that the ultimate goal should be a system of common-roll elections with safeguards for minority representation. He wondered whether the United Kingdom Government had accepted the Special Commissioner's conclusion.

69. Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom) replied that he could not give a definite answer. The Administering Authority proceeded on the assumption that the ultimate goal would depend largely on the views of the people at the time. The political evolution of former United Kingdom Territories had shown that the views both of the Administration and of the people changed as political progress went forward.

70. Mr. SEARS (United States of America) cited paragraph 43 of the Visiting Mission's report (T/1345) where it was stated that the United Tanganyika Party had called for a policy declaration by the Government concerning "the step-by-step evolution towards self-government for Tanganyika ... and a realistic target date set for the achievement of self-government". He wished to know the background of that request.

71. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) said he was not qualified to reply to the question, since he represented the Government of Tanganyika and not any one party.

72. Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) remarked that the reasons for the tripartite voting system were not clear to him, especially in view of the fact that the African population would cast the deciding vote and that most African voters were opposed to the system. European candidates who deserved the support of the African population could be elected without resorting to that method, which was likely to cause racial tension. Was he to understand that the decisive reason for preserving such a procedure was that it had already been approved and at one time recommended by the Trusteeship Council?

73. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) gave two reasons for the Administering Authority's position. Firstly, with a common roll, the tripartite voting system should ensure that the candidates would not be racial extremists; they would have to stand on platforms which did not appeal exclusively to one racial group, but to all those who had the best interests of the Territory at heart. Secondly, any change in the present arrangements would almost certainly make it necessary to postpone the elections and that would be undesirable.

² 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).

74. Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) recalled that at the twentieth session the petitioners representing various circles of the public had said that ten to twelve years would be required to attain the purposes of trusteeship. He asked whether that opinion had changed and whether there had been any *rapprochement* between the views of the Administering Authority on the matter and those of the petitioners.

75. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) replied that it was not so much a question of timing as a question of achieving certain objectives. It was not desirable to say that the Territory would become independent on such and such a date, regardless of the progress which had or had not been achieved. In that connexion he drew attention to the view expressed by the Visiting Mission in paragraph 45 of its report (T/1345).

76. Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) asked whether there was any difference of views among the racial groups in estimating the present rate of the Territory's development.

77. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) thought it would be fair to say that the TANU believed that the ground could be covered much more quickly than did the UTP, 64 per cent of whose members, it should be remembered, were Africans.

78. Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) asked whether the ban against ten branches of the TANU was still in force.

79. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) replied that the situation remained unchanged except that one more branch had been closed. At the same time, ten new branches had been opened since the Council's last session.

80. Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) recalled that the Administering Authority found it difficult to recruit indigenous personnel because of the competition of private companies. He asked whether the Administering Authority had considered giving the Government priority in recruitment and what measures it was planning to take against abuse by private companies. By "abuse" he meant the use of profits derived from the Territory for private purposes, and not any measures of coercion against persons with higher education.

81. Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom) remarked that the graduates of institutions of higher education chose the employment they preferred for personal reasons. No abuse was involved. The private companies performed important services in the Territory.

82. Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) stated that he had not been speaking of any restrictions on the freedom of the individual, but merely of a possible restriction of the freedom of the private companies to attract all the best workers. He asked whether the Administering Authority could not, for example, establish a special tax for the purpose of giving bonuses or other advantages to persons entering State service. He did not think that the Africans in the State service contributed less to the benefit of the Territory than those who worked for private companies.

83. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative) said that he was aware that in certain countries foreign enterprises which employed foreign nationals were subject to special taxation, but he was not aware of any country in which such special taxation was

imposed on a firm employing citizens of the Territory itself.

84. Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom) felt that it would be unwise to give the Administration any priority. In the long run, competition in the employment field was bound to benefit the Territory. The USSR representative was apparently confusing the result with the cause; only where all activities were conducted by the State could the State be the only employer.

85. Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said he had merely wished to draw attention to the fact that in Tanganyika some highly qualified Africans were in private employ, whereas there were hardly any in the State services. The disproportion was undesirable and some attempt should be made to remedy it.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.