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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 10 March 1954, at 2 p.m.

President:

Mr. MUNRO

(New Zealand)

Note: The Official Record of this meeting, i.e., the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.512 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

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EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF RUANDA-URUNDI (T/1091, T/L.420):

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT (T/1081) [Agenda item 3 (b)]
- (b) PETITIONS (T/PET.3/L.1, L.3; T/COM.3/L.2, L.3) [Agenda item 4] (continued)

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Pierre Leroy, special representative for the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, took a seat at the Council table.

Social advancement

The PRESIDENT: Before I request the representative of the Soviet Union to resume his questions, the special representative wishes to make a short statement. I should make it clear to the Council that, after the representative of the Soviet Union has concluded his questions - which will end the questions on social advancement - I propose that we should then resume the general debate on the Trust Territory of Tanganyika.

Mr. LEROY (Special representative) (interpretation from French): I should like to give the representative of New Zealand some information in reply to a question which he asked me at yesterday's meeting. He questioned me about the seventy-seven medical assistants mentioned on page 367 of the report. It will be noted there that there were fifty-three native medical assistants in the Territory for the year 1952. In 1953 the number was increased to seventy-seven, of whom sixty-one were actual medical assistants and the remaining sixteen still in what might be called the training stage.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): We are aware that in Ruanda-Urundi the legislation which is operative in the Belgian Congo also applies, particularly the legislation concerning the hiring of employees. In the Congo the hiring of indigenous labour is governed by the law of 16 March 1922, and, since legislation for the Congo extends to the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, we should like to know whether this particular decree also applies.

Mr. LEROY (Special representative) (interpretation from French): Yes, that law applies also to the Trust Territory. It was adopted originally in connexion with the Belgian Congo and subsequently was enforced in Ruanda-Urundi by the Governor of that Territory.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I have a similar question with reference to the ordinances of 12 February 1913, 29 March 1926 and 7 April 1937 relating to the residence and movement of indigenous inhabitants.

Mr. LEROY (Special representative) (interpretation from French): The ordinances of 1926 and 1937 were passed in the Belgian Congo and were subsequently made operative in Ruanda-Urundi. I can find no reference here to the ordinance of 12 February 1913 cited by the representative of the Soviet Union, and I should be grateful if he would check the date if possible. It may be that it is some legal text which applies to the Belgian Congo and that there is a similar law which is peculiar to Ruanda-Urundi, but frankly I am not able to say that with any certainty until I know exactly what the representative of the Soviet Union has in mind.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): It is known that the ordinance of 12 February 1913 is operative in the Belgian Congo and that it covers the organization of indigenous urban communities, just as the ordinance of 29 March 1926 relates to European centres in urban areas. These regulations call for racial segregation in the matter of residence. There is no doubt that these ordinances are operative in the Belgian Congo, and what we should like to know is whether their application has been extended to the Trust Territory.

Mr. LEROY (Special representative) (interpretation from French): I believe that the ordinance on residence of 12 February 1913 is one which applies only to the Belgian Congo. But a similar law, dated 11 September 1945, does exist in Ruanda-Urundi. In general terms, one might say that the provisions of these two ordinances are the same.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The decree of 23 May 1896, as modified by the decree of 11 July 1923, states that any coloured person in the Belgian Congo who is found to be a vagrant or to be destitute person may be placed in a special institution for from one to seven years. Is this legislation applicable also in the Trust Territory?

Mr. LEROY (Special representative) (interpretation from French): The law which has just been cited by the representative of the Soviet Union does not apply to Ruanda-Urundi, but there is in Ruanda-Urundi a similar ordinance, dated 3 May 1919, which covers vagrancy and destitute persons.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Is there any legal limitation of the length of the working day in Ruanda-Urundi?

Mr. LEROY (Special representative) (interpretation from French): At present there are no ordinances limiting working hours, but in practice the working day in no case exceeds eight hours and sometimes does not even exceed seven.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): In that case there would be seem to be no obstacles in the way of formalizing this factual state of affairs by legislation. Does the Administering Authority contemplate formalizing the situation in order to have some law which would limit the maximum working day?

Mr. LEROY (Special representative) (interpretation from French): So far the need for such an ordinance has not made itself apparent since, as I have told the representative of the Soviet Union, the working day nowhere exceeds eight hours and is normally only seven hours. In my opinion, however, there is no obstacle of any kind which would prevent the taking of such a step if it were necessary.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Are any plans being made in Ruanda-Urundi for the adoption of legislation limiting the working day?

Mr. IEROY (Special representative) (interpretation from French): I believe that is precisely the question that I have already answered. I said that no action in that respect had as yet been taken, because it had not been regarded as necessary or useful. Generally, the working day in the Territory is less than eight hours long. I also stated that, in my opinion, there was nothing which would prevent legislation from being introduced. I do not think, myself, that a proposal to that effect has ever been made.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): How are minimum wage rates determined in Ruanda-Urundi?

Mr. IEROY (Special representative) (interpretation from French): Information on that subject may be found in the annual report, on page 168, in the chapter titled "Standards of Living".

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): On page 168 of the annual report, we read that the theoretical -- and I emphasize that word -- minimum wage necessary for a family's subsistence in 1952 was 11 francs per day in Usumbura and 7.90 francs per day in other parts of the Territory. Of course, that is a theoretical subsistence level which may be regarded as being below the real subsistence needs. Even that theoretical level, however, is not observed. For example, in Usumbura the real wages paid to workers are only about 72 per cent of the theoretical minimum subsistence level. What accounts for that discrepancy?

As regards the other parts of the Territory, the actual wage levels are considerably lower -- in fact, approximately 30 per cent lower -- than the theoretical minimum subsistence level. How would the special representative explain that situation?

Mr. LEROY (Special representative) (interpretation from French): I have already conceded that the wages paid to workers without any special qualifications are too low. I have also given possible explanations for that situation. The Administering Authority is making continuous efforts to raise the wage levels, but there are economic laws which must be taken into account in that respect. If the Administering Authority were suddenly to raise wages, a considerable number of workers might be dismissed, and enterprises having great importance to the Territory's economic development might close their doors. If such a thing were to happen, we should not really have accomplished anything whatsoever.

As I pointed out in my introductory statement, the minimum wage now paid at Usumbura is almost 18 francs. It can be seen that that represents a considerable increase over the level of 11 francs in 1952.

Certainly, the standard of living has not risen in the same proportion. I cannot now say whether the present wage represents 100 per cent of the theoretical minimum subsistence level, in the same way as the 1952 wage represented 72 per cent of that level. We are, however, increasing our efforts to obtain perfection, and we certainly intend to reach that stage.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Administering Authority's report indicates that emigration of the indigenous inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi to the Belgian Congo is on the increase. Some emigration to neighbouring British colonies is also taking place. For example, in 1951, 37,500 indigenous inhabitants of the Trust Territory emigrated. In 1950, about 47,000 indigenous inhabitants left the Territory. Could the special representative give us any additional information about the social and economic causes of the emigration of indigenous inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi to the Belgian Congo and neighbouring British colonies?

Mr. LEROY (Special representative) (interpretation from French): The principal cause is the over-population of Ruanda-Urundi. As I have already said, there is at present a population of more than four million in an area of 54,000 square kilometres. That population is concentrated in the high plateaux

of the Congo-Nile sierra. When a native has difficulty in finding the means of existence in a given area, it is natural that he should try to go elsewhere. For that reason, there is a fairly steady migration towards the Belgian Congo and a rather considerable seasonal migration towards the neighbouring British colonies.

Mr. TSARAFKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Substantively speaking, it is hardly justifiable to describe the situation in Ruanda-Urundi as being one of over-population. The causes of the emigration of the indigenous inhabitants are to be sought not in a state of over-population but in the fact that tens of thousands of the inhabitants cannot find employment and cannot settle economically in the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi. Cannot it be said that the intense emigration into the Belgian Congo and into the neighbouring British colonies is because of the fact that the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi has not been developed economically, that it has been left in a state of economic stagnation and that, as a result, the labour force cannot be fully employed. Would not the special representative conjecture that this might be one of the major causes for this emigration?

Mr. LEROY (Special representative) (interpretation from French): First of all, I should like to point out that, in my opinion, the words of the representative of the Soviet Union went beyond the questions which should be asked of a special representative and constituted comments and observations which should be made after the questioning period. However, I will reply to the representative of the Soviet Union, and I will reply as follows. The Territory of Ruanda-Urundi unquestionably is over-populated. Not only has this been stated by the Administering Authority, but succeeding Visiting Missions which have visited the Territory have seen for themselves the truth of this statement. Ruanda-Urundi, with an area of 54,000 square kilometres, has a population of 4,000,000 inhabitants. There are vast areas in the Territory which are inhabited because they are hilly, marshy, or desert. The population must devote 96 per cent of its cultivable land for the growing of food crops in order to be able to live, so that it is not possible for foodstuffs to be exported. I do not know whether the representative of the Soviet Union quite appreciates the acute nature of this situation when he states that it is due to the economic stagnation of the Territory. I should like him to know that it is thanks to the stubborn efforts of Belgium, which has made the indigenous

inhabitants cultivate food and which has organized the draining of marshes, the protection of the soil against erosion and the reclamation of soil, that famines have practically ceased to exist. There has not been a famine for the last ten years, whereas previously there was a periodic decimation of the population by famines.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The report of the Administering Authority lays emphasis on the widespread nature of tuberculosis in the Territory. Over a period of two years, 153,000 inhabitants were examined for tuberculosis, and a few thousand cases were detected. The serious nature of tuberculosis in the Territory is conceded by the Administering Authority, but it seems to me that the measures which have been taken to check tuberculosis mortality are insignificant. Only about 150,000 inhabitants have so far been examined for tuberculosis, and it would appear to me that this is quite insufficient to reduce tuberculosis mortality. What measures are contemplated by the Administering Authority in order that as many as possible of the population may be dealt with by this examination procedure?

Mr. LEROY (Special representative) (interpretation from French): From listening to the representative of the Soviet Union, one might be led to believe that the Belgian Administration has extended tuberculosis in the Territory. It so happens that tuberculosis is a fairly widespread disease in the Territory, and in the face of that situation the Belgian authorities have organized the mission CEMURAC, which started from the free university of Brussels. That mission reached the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi in 1951 and began to examine the situation. It has confined itself to research and investigation. The reason why tuberculosis cases were more numerous in recent years is simply because the mission, having carried out its investigations, has discovered more cases of the disease.

With regard to the struggle against tuberculosis in the Territory, evidence of this will be found described on page 181 of the annual report, in the section dealing with social diseases. Tuberculosis, like the other diseases which are to be found in the Territory and which are no more frequent in Ruanda-Urundi than in other territories, will be fought, at the same time as the other diseases, by the entire united medical effort which is being made in Ruanda-Urundi, and this effort is not insignificant, as might be imagined.

Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium)(interpretation from French): Only this morning I received some photographs of the sanatorium at Kibumbu, which was set up in February 1953, and also a few photographs of the sanatorium at Rwamagana, which is being constructed. I should like to hand them round, and perhaps I could pass them to my colleague from the Soviet Union, since they will give him information on the subject.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(interpretation from Russian): I have no further questions to ask, but I should like to draw the attention of the special representative to the fact that he did not really understand my last question. Of course, his interpretation of my question quite properly caused some laughter. I did not suggest that tuberculosis mortality was being extended. I expressed concern about the fact that in a population of 4,000,000, many of whom are suffering from tuberculosis, only 150,000 have been examined, leaving 3,850,000 who have not been examined, which means ...

The PRESIDENT: If I may interrupt the representative of the Soviet Union, he will have ample opportunity to make these comments later.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(interpretation from Russian): I am constrained to reply since the special representative addressed some remarks to me to which I took exception. He suggested that I was interested in the extension of tuberculosis in the Territory, and I was trying to explain what it was I wished to elicit from him by my question. Moreover, when questions are asked by members of the Council of a special representative, those questions should not be distorted. I did not ask the kind of question which the special representative said I had asked, and I did not receive a proper answer. I only wanted to know why 150,000 out of 4,000,000 inhabitants had been examined for tuberculosis, and the answer which was forthcoming did not answer my question.

Mr. LEROY (Special representative)(interpretation from French): I have little to add to what I have said. Like the representative of the Soviet Union, I should like to see tuberculosis extirpated from the Territory. The Administering Authority is doing its utmost to achieve this.

The PRESIDENT: The Council will resume the examination of the special representative in respect of this Trust Territory after we have concluded the debate on the Trust Territory of Tanganyika. I regret that I have to interrupt the special representative, but the exigencies of our progress require that I should do so.

Mr. Leroy withdrew.

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF TANGANYIKA (T/1091; T/L.419) (continued)

(a) ANNUAL REPORT (T/1083) [agenda item 3 a]

(b) PETITIONS (T/PET.2/L.2, L.3) [agenda item 4]

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

Observations of members of the Trusteeship Council (continued).

Mr. ASHA (Syria): In participating in the general debate on Tanganyika, we have perhaps two special expressions of gratitude to make. First, we express our gratitude to the special representative for doing his best, with all patience and courtesy, to take the place of the official who has usually appeared before the Council but who has been prevented by illness from coming this year. To that official, we extend our good wishes for a speedy recovery. Secondly, we are grateful for the fact that within a few months we shall be seeing for ourselves, through the forthcoming Visiting Mission, what is going on in the Trust Territory.

My delegation must confess to a certain difficulty in assessing the basic problems and judging the progress made in the Trust Territory since the Council last examined the matter two years ago. We are not thinking of the ordinary improvements which have taken place in various fields and which we are entitled to expect from any reasonably efficient administration in any territory, Trust Territory or otherwise. In fact, it would be surprising if we were not told of some such improvement after two years -- a few schools here and there, new hospitals, a few more Africans receiving higher education, and so forth and so on. We have heard about these normal improvements, and we recognize them. But what we find most difficult to grasp is this: How is the real problem going to be solved -- the problem that we have the vast majority of the

population, nearly eight million Africans, taking second place in every way -- politically, economically and socially -- to the immigrant minorities of Europeans and Asians?

We do not want to be misunderstood in posing this question. We know very well that it is a problem that arises in other countries, some of them very close to Tanganyika. We know that in some of these other countries the problem has been handled in a way that has led to dangerous and explosive situations, especially where the immigrant communities have claimed a kind of superiority -- and, with it, special political, economic and social privileges -- over the rest of the inhabitants.

All that we have read and heard tells us that, by contrast, Tanganyika has so far avoided, generally speaking, the worst manifestations of that kind of situation. We should like to think -- and we hope we are correct in our thinking -- that this is at least partly because Tanganyika, being an international territory, is in full view of the public opinion of the world. We should also like to think -- and it seems a fact -- that this international exposure of Tanganyika has also helped the Administering Authority to stand fast against any tendencies toward extreme racial theories and doctrines on the part of the immigrant minorities.

It seems to us, in fact, that, because the Administering Authority can count on the full and legitimate support of the United Nations, it could make Tanganyika a model example, in the first place, of how to ensure that the majority -- the African majority -- plays its full role and exercises its proper rights in the development of the country, and, in the second place, of how to establish the conditions under which the immigrant communities are entitled to stay there or are justified in staying there.

Tanganyika, we repeat, could be made a model example of how to solve this problem of mixed races which have, so far, never really mixed at all, just as some other countries in Africa are giving a model example of how not to solve it.

The PRESIDENT: I am sorry that I must interrupt the representative of Syria. I appreciate the desire, on occasion, to compare one Territory with others. But we have followed a rule in this Council, unlike the practice in Committees of the Assembly, that we do not criticize, for example, the administration of a representative's own country. We draw no analogies. I appreciate that in respect to this Territory there may be a tendency to say that in other parts of Africa, remote from this, there are differences. However, I want to confine this debate to conditions in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, without references to another Territory which we are not considering. If such references are brought in, I shall rule them out of order.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): On a point of order: This is a general issue, I think, which concerns all of us. I entirely agree with the President that the debate ought to be confined to the subject before us, but, with great respect, I should like to know whether his ruling applies to a situation in which a Trust Territory operates in common with another territory administered either by an Administering Authority or anyone else, and in which the matter therefore has a relation to the subject we are discussing.

The PRESIDENT: I appreciate what the representative of India has said: that there is a case in which there is a joint administration of territories. I shall wait until that arises. As at present advised, however, I feel that, if references are made in that respect to something which is a matter of joint administration, that is admissible. But that is not the point I am discussing now. This is a question of a reference to a territory quite apart from that, quite apart from Kenya.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I deem it essential to note that the Soviet Union delegation, in its statement on Tanganyika, will also have to touch upon the state of affairs which exists in Kenya since, notwithstanding objections made by members of the Council, there is an administrative union between the Trust Territory of Tanganyika and Kenya and Uganda. How can one intelligently discuss Tanganyika

without touching upon Kenya and Uganda if there is common legislation, common services, common administration? We shall therefore have to touch upon a territory other than the Trust Territory. It is the Administering Authority, in your mind you, which has brought us to this situation. It is not our fault. Since the Administering Authority has instituted this administrative union, we are bound to discuss them all together.

The PRESIDENT: When we come to questions that arise out of the administrative union, that situation can be dealt with. So far as the administrative union of territories is concerned, that does seem to me to give rise to other considerations.

Mr. ASHA (Syria): I very much regret that the President found it necessary to interrupt me. I was not referring to any particular country; I was merely giving examples. If one examines the record, it will be seen that I have made no mention of a specific country. I think that a member of the Council should be able to give examples, omitting references to particular countries, without being interrupted. I have not deviated from my subject. In fact, I have some praise for the Administering Authority in Tanganyika, which I am going to express in a few minutes. I am trying to show the Council that a problem which is not yet explosive can be solved without having an explosion.

The PRESIDENT: I shall be gratified if the representative of Syria will continue.

Mr. ASHA (Syria): We think that it is the sincere desire of the Administering Authority to make a good example of Tanganyika. It pleases us immensely that Tanganyika, even though it contains many of the same elements, has so far avoided the worst manifestations of the "colour line" and the claims of racial superiority. But it worries us that Tanganyika has achieved that much without really solving the problem or even producing any clear idea of a possible solution.

We cannot help saying this to the Administering Authority: you have no serious race trouble in Tanganyika but you have many of the elements that have led to serious trouble elsewhere. You have nearly 8 million Africans, 80,000 Asians and 18,000 Europeans in the Territory. In almost every way we can think of -- politically, socially and economically -- we find that we have to put them the other way around when we consider the part they play in the life of the Territory: Europeans first, Asians second and Africans last. I am not saying that this is the way the Administering Authority wants things to be done. I am only saying that this is the way things are at the moment.

The Europeans are fewest of all but they have more seats than anyone else, even among the unofficial members, in the main organs of the Government. And the Visiting Mission told us that they were strongly opposed to having equal representation of the three communities in spite of being outnumbered by the Africans by something like 400 to one. On the official side, Europeans also still hold all of the key posts in the Administration.

The Europeans are fewest of all but they have an enormous hold on the private economy of the Territory. Look, for instance, at the details given in the annual report concerning the export and import trade: exports, £47 million; imports, £37 million. These are impressive figures if we are tempted to spread them over a total population of 8 million people. But can we really do so? From where did the £47 million in exports come? We take that answer from pages 290, 291 and 301 of the annual report. Exports of sisal were £21.7 million,

practically all from Europeans. Exports of minerals were nearly £6 million, practically all from Europeans. Those two items alone total £27 million, over half of the total export trade. We are gratified that it is the Africans who produce most of the coffee valued at £5 1/2 million and cotton valued at nearly £5 million. They probably also produce most of some of the other items listed there: oil seeds and nuts, hides and skins and so on.

But the fact remains that the few thousand Europeans produce more than half the products exported and 7 million Africans produce less than half. Furthermore, it is true that these Europeans who are the smallest part of the community hold only a small fraction of the land of the Territory. But we cannot overlook the observations of the Visiting Mission that most of the alienated land it saw was of good quality and situated in areas enjoying good climate and rainfall. This economic disparity between the few Europeans and the many Africans must of course reflect itself in the social field.

We have been told by the two Visiting Missions that the African standards of living are low. We are left to assume -- and there is every reason to do so -- that the European standards of living are relatively high, naturally so. They have presumably gone to Tanganyika to improve themselves and to live better than they could in their original countries. But the gap between African and European living standards must often be an enormous one, when we think of the European sisal grower earning perhaps several thousand pounds a year and the African sisal worker earning from 23 to 29 shillings per month.

We see that in the educational field the Europeans, Asians and Africans are divided into the same separate compartments as they are in the political field, and it is clear that the minority of European children enjoy better facilities and higher standards of learning than the majority of African children.

I want to emphasize that I have said all this only by way of stating the problem or some of the main elements of it. I have no doubt whatever that the Administering Authority is fully aware of the problem and I also have no doubt that it is determined not to leave Tanganyika in this dangerous state of unbalance. I readily accept that the policies and intentions of the Administering Authority are directed towards gradually correcting this situation so that the Africans in particular will play a much fuller part in their own country.

For instance, we recognize that the Administering Authority went against the opinion of the local European settlers in proposing that the three races should be equally represented in the Legislative Council.

We also recognize that the public finance policy of the Administering Authority helps in some way to offset that lack of balance which I have mentioned in the export trade. Through taxes and customs duties, it siphons off a good part of the Europeans' profits and applies them as public expenditures to the good of the country as a whole. We also recognize that the Administering Authority wants to encourage Africans to become better and more modern farmers and producers, to play a bigger part in the production of exports, and at the same time to raise their standards of living closer to that of the Europeans. We also recognize that the Administering Authority wants to raise the standards of African education and is spending far more money on that than ever before.

What we have uncertainties about and with respect to which we must rely on the next Visiting Mission to investigate thoroughly is whether these good intentions are being applied fast enough, whether they are going far enough and whether they add up to a clear picture of the ultimate objective.

Our previous Visiting Missions have had these same doubts; so has the Trusteeship Council itself.

Let us again take the political field, for instance. Nearly two years ago, the Council took note of the proposal to reorganize the Legislative Council so that the three racial groups -- European, Asian and African -- would be represented by equal numbers of members on the unofficial side. I think that it is fair to say that the Council recognized the boldness of the scheme compared with the situation in other Territories, where you have this same problem of immigrant communities. Nevertheless, the Council did not think that this proposal faced up to the real problem, that is to say, the problem of abolishing the idea of treating the three races separately. It expressed the opinion that the communal interests should be subordinated to the interests of the Territory as a whole, and it suggested that one way of approaching this objective would be to establish a common electoral roll with appropriate qualifications.

Two years have passed. We see no common electoral roll; we do not even see the Legislative Council reorganized, as was intended, with seven members from each race. There are seven Europeans, but there are only three Asians and only four Africans.

Let us take the question of the regionalization of the Government. In the past the Council has welcomed and encouraged the idea of setting up provincial councils where the people would have a better say in local affairs. Then came an investigation and proposals for regional government were set forth. The Visiting Mission was concerned that the whole thing should not stand still while the investigations were going on, but the fact is that everything on this level has stood still. We cannot even find a mention of the provincial councils in the annual report.

We find the same thing in local government matters. Proposals, counter-proposals and amended proposals have been made and investigations have taken place. The Councils which the Visiting Mission thought would be working within one year from 1951 still remain on paper. Furthermore, we must admit that

we are not at all clear as to how these new forms of local government are supposed to fit in with the existing system which seems to be based mainly on the chiefs and other traditional rulers. We believe that something should be done and done without delay.

There are certain steps which have been taken to persuade the peoples of the Territory to become responsibly interested in government. This can be done through a constitutional change. The special representative told us that such a change was under consideration and that a statement would be made shortly as to the changes to be effected, but we were told that he did not know when those changes would be carried out. The representative of the United States referred to the question of experiments in secret ballots. My delegation urges the Administering Authority to expand the experiment and to encourage it. With its abundant knowledge of traditions and customs of the Territory, it can, we are sure, do a great deal to further such a policy which would be of immense value to the peoples of the Territory.

With respect to the membership of the Executive Council we urge the Administering Authority to appoint more Africans to membership of this body. We were surprised to hear the statement of the representative that:

"I think it must be borne in mind that it is not only a question of finding an African who is suitable and who can take part in the Executive Council; it is also a question of finding an African who can be spared from his local duties in his tribe, whether he is a chief or a native authority. It takes up a considerable amount of time to be a member of the Executive Council." (T/PV.508, page 6)

Are we to believe that a tribe cannot spare one man to serve on the Executive Council? Suppose that the chief or the Native Authority dies or leaves the country, are there no qualified persons to replace him? I do hope that the special representative does not believe it to be so.

We also urge the Administering Authority to appoint qualified Africans to senior administrative posts. One cannot understand why, after a tutelage of a little less than forty years, not a single African holds a senior post in the Administrative services of his own country. Forty years is a long period of time

to train people. Many Africans in neighbouring and other Territories hold such high posts. We therefore again urge the Administering Authority to intensify its efforts in this direction since the only way to achieve self-government -- which is our goal -- is by the exercise of self-government.

Another problem which was touched upon during the questioning period was the use of Swahili as an official language in the Legislative Council. The special representative told us that the Administering Authority and the Government of Tanganyika are fostering this language. We do not believe that this is sufficient. The Territory must have its official language, a language of its own, a language to be used by the representatives and the inhabitants of the Territory. We do not think very encouraging the statement of the special representative that he did not think there is any intention on the part of the Administering Authority to declare Swahili an official language. We fail to understand the reasons, and we therefore again ask the Administering Authority to try to advance this language and to declare it an official language within the shortest possible time.

With respect to the judiciary, my delegation views with some concern the statement made by the special representative, in reply to a question put to him, to the effect that the Administering Authority does not intend to give the indigenous population of Tanganyika the right to choose its own justices and judges. Perhaps this is a premature operation. We do not expect such a step to be taken within the next year or two, but we are of the firm belief that, as the people progress, they must exercise this right. The Administering Authority should train young, legal-minded Africans to such posts as those of judges of the court and, if necessary, it should send them abroad for specialized training and then perhaps appoint them as junior judges so that they may gain the necessary experience. Later they may perhaps be appointed and elected to these high offices.

My delegation took note of the statement of the special representative to the effect that there are several difficulties in trying to legislate, in trying to create any form of Tanganyika citizenship.

The special representative referred also to the report of the Special Commission for Constitutional Development, and in particular to those paragraphs of the report which deal with suffrage. According to the Special Commissioner, the question of suffrage should be linked to citizenship, and he emphasized the difficulty that may, and will, arise in the drafting of a law which will create a form of Tanganyikan citizenship. When my delegation pressed for a reply to a question as to how soon the Council can expect a citizenship law to be passed, the special representative said: "I am not in a position to state if and when a law will be enacted to establish Tanganyikan citizenship". I do not wish, at this stage of the debate, to refer to other questions and answers on this very important problem; nor will I endeavour to analyze and comment on the report of the Special Commissioner, but I feel it my duty to urge the Visiting Mission, when it pays its next visit to Tanganyika, to give this problem its most careful attention and to ascertain from the people of the Territory their views and desires in this connexion. I am confident that the Administering Authority will also give its fullest consideration to this vital question and that it will supply the Council with a detailed account of the measures taken, or to be undertaken, to reach a solution. I trust also that the Drafting Committee will give the matter the attention which it deserves and that a recommendation to the effect that the Administering Authority should be urged to take the necessary measures to enact legislation covering both universal suffrage and citizenship and status of the people of the Territory at the earliest possible time should be made.

I come now to economic advancement in the Territory. I have already referred to the enormous hold on the economy of the Territory by the few Europeans who live there. My delegation views with concern this disequilibrium and urges the Administering Authority to encourage and assist the population to cultivate sisal and other important crops, or, at least, to have a share in the European enterprises which monopolize these particular crops.

We also urge the Administering Authority to intensify its efforts with regard to the problem of land tenure and to enact the necessary legislation with a view to establishing rights to land, as has been done in a number of other Trust Territories in Africa. We note the appointment of a special officer to advise on native land tenure, and we await with interest the results of his conclusions in the next annual report.

We also note that the Administering Authority is taking steps to revise salary scales for civil servants, and we trust that the gap between the salaries of the different races will be narrowed so that the standard of living of the Africans can be raised and their lot improved.

With respect to industrial development, we repeat what we have already stated, namely, that the Administering Authority should encourage and assist in the development of light industry - such as, for example, the textile industry, since the Territory produces abundant raw materials, especially cotton. Apart from providing permanent employment for a great number of natives, these industries will contribute materially to a more balanced economy of the region. As an incentive, the Administering Authority might provide financial assistance to the indigenous inhabitants by exempting them from the payment of import duty and local taxes for a period of years, so that these infant industries may flourish and stand on their own feet.

In the field of agriculture much remains to be done. Better farming methods, additional agricultural training centres, and the introduction of modern machinery should, in the opinion of my delegation, receive the Administering Authority's most careful consideration. The African cultivator must practise a form of profitable agriculture rather than subsistence agriculture.

We note with satisfaction the co-operation of the Administering Authority with the Technical Assistance Administration and the specialized agencies. We trust that such co-operation will continue and that the Administering Authority will seek such assistance whenever the occasion arises.

We note with great satisfaction the statement of the special representative to the effect that steps are being taken to encourage and increase the number of prospecting licences held by Africans, and we urge the Administering Authority to take every possible measure to help the Africans to obtain a share in the exploitation of the mineral wealth of the Territory. Assistance must also be provided in the setting up of a number of native mining enterprises.

Turning now to social advancement, the information available to the Council and the questions to and replies from the special representative reveal beyond any shadow of doubt the low standard of living of the Africans in this Territory. There has been no noticeable improvement during the past few years. The low salaries and wages to which I have referred, compared with the salaries and

wages received by Europeans, constitute a problem for consideration. When wages and salaries range from \$2.10 to \$5.00 per month, I do not see how there could be any improvement in the standard of living. We therefore recommend that the Administering Authority should give this matter its fullest consideration and include, in the next annual report, all proposed measures which have been taken, or are to be taken, with a view to raising the standard of living of the indigenous inhabitants.

We share the disappointment of the representative of China in his reference to the question of corporal punishment. Apart from the increasing number of offences punishable by whipping during the past few years, the most disturbing statement advanced by the special representative was that the committee which was appointed to canvass public opinion came to the conclusion that it was advisable to retain this type of punishment. I do not know exactly how the committee conducted its enquiry, nor how it came to its conclusion, but I am sure that no community would ask that this type of punishment should continue to be inflicted on offenders. We express our hope that this matter will be dealt with by the Administering Authority and that measures will be introduced to abolish without further delay this kind of punishment in the whole of the Territory.

In connexion with a question which my delegation put to the special representative on the granting of holidays with pay, we urge the Administering Authority to take all measures to see that weekly holidays are granted to the Africans. The argument advanced by him that the question of absenteeism is one of the reasons why employers are reluctant to give holidays with pay does not seem very convincing or just. If an employee is absent without a legitimate reason, the employer may deduct wages for the particular day or days on which this worker did not report for work, but if his absence was the result of illness, we believe that the employer should pay the employee. He should also give him one day of rest every week.

Some kind of labour legislation is needed to regulate this very important problem, including the number of working hours per day.

In this connexion, we wish to urge the Administering Authority to enact special legislation to provide a pension system for African workers in industrial establishments. To our knowledge, no such system exists at the present time.

On medical and health services, we note with satisfaction the increase in these facilities, but we believe that further expansion is necessary. We also believe that discrimination in the admittance of Africans to all hospitals should be abolished.

My delegation has the following comments to offer on educational advancement. The revised ten-year plan is still inadequate to meet the needs of the Africans. The percentage of school children in primary schools in 1956 has been set at 36 per cent, and the special representative told us, in reply to a question put to him by my delegation, that "it is hoped, from the rate at which we are now proceeding, that the percentage will be higher". How much higher was not stated. The fact remains that at least more than half of the children of school age will be unable to attend school for lack of facilities. We hope that the Administering Authority will revise again the ten-year plan so that a solution may be found to this most pressing problem of educating the children of the Territory.

We realize that the proportion for expenditure on education has steadily increased. But our main concern, as I have stated, is over the fate of those children who are unable to attend schools. During the question period, I asked the special representative about the possibility of introducing compulsory and free education. I am not going to press at this time for any specific action on the part of the Administering Authority, but I hope that it will keep these two questions under constant review, since compulsory and free education cannot be introduced unless schools are available to take all the children in need of education. With respect to secondary schools, we believe that African students should be admitted to all secondary schools whether they are for Europeans, Asians or others. We believe that no discrimination should be allowed at this level or other levels of education.

The establishment of a university for 8 million Africans is a necessity. We do not minimize the heavy expenditure involved in such an undertaking, but a modest start can be made. The Administering Authority may establish special courses of college level, which will be a nucleus for the future establishment of a university. Such a recommendation has been made for other Territories, and we trust that the Administering Authority will give it its full consideration.

With respect to information about the United Nations, we wish to express our thanks to the Assistant Secretary-General for his statement made in the Council yesterday. We take note of what he said, and we look forward with deep interest to hear more about the arrangement for the implementation of General Assembly resolution 754 (VIII), and to the report of the Secretary-General, which we shall examine during the forthcoming fourteenth session of the Council. The United Nations can make a valuable contribution, and we trust that the Administering Authority will co-operate fully to that end.

My final remark is the following: We must count on this year's Visiting Mission to try to bring back to us a clearer picture of what the objective is in this Territory and what is being done to reach it. Above all, how to change the society of Tanganyika over from three very different and very separate racial communities to a single Tanganyikan nation with the bonds of common and equal citizenship and common idea of national consciousness and pride -- how to do this in good time, so that it is achieved before tensions and rivalries grow up to split the races even further apart -- how to ensure that Africans will rise to their full share in the life of the Territory, through economic development and through great improvements in living standards and equal opportunities for education.

We think that in a Territory like Tanganyika, with this problem of mixed racial groups that does not occur in many other Trust Territories, the United Nations and the Administering Authority together have a rare opportunity to prove that peoples of different colour, origin, religions and traditions, can live full, fruitful and peaceful lives within the borders of a single nation.

We believe that the members of the Visiting Mission will be well aware of their responsibility to bring an impartial and constructive judgment to the assistance of the Administering Authority in this difficult task.

Mr. LOMES (Australia): My delegation has studied with care the excellently prepared annual report of the Government of the United Kingdom on the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, and has been very favourably impressed by the steady progress maintained in all fields.

Any discussion on the political development of the Territory in the principal organizational spheres is probably premature at this stage, since the reforms recommended by the Special Commissioner on Constitutional Development are still under study by the Government of Tanganyika and the Administering Authority. We note that a statement will be made shortly in this respect, and my delegation will await with much interest the outcome of the consideration of this report.

In the course of his opening statement, the special representative informed us that towards the end of 1953 a comprehensive local government ordinance was enacted implementing the recommendations of the Special Commissioner as to the setting up of county councils, town councils and local councils. He observed that in the application of this legislation, it was the intention to establish early this year at least one county council, several town councils, and perhaps some local councils. However, it appears that the Administration's excellent intentions were met by unexpected opposition in that the Chagga, one of the most progressive tribes, viewed with suspicion the proposal to establish the Kilimanjaro County Council, and regarded the existing Chagga Council established along tribal lines as satisfactory and did not desire this to be superseded by a county council.

While this attitude of this tribe is somewhat disappointing, my delegation completely supports the policy of the Administering Authority that it is of particular importance in such vital matters as constitutional development to carry the mass of the people with it, and not to impose any changes upon them until every possible endeavour has been made to secure their full and willing co-operation.

It is of interest to note that, while it will not be possible in the circumstances and at this stage to establish any formally constituted county councils, it is proposed to establish an inter-racial consultative body in the Moshi district on which it is hoped that several members of the Chagga Council will sit. The establishment of this body, which is, as the special representative aptly calls it, a "shadow" council, may well lead to a greater understanding on the part of the people of the advantage of such councils and to a greater measure of experience for the people in the working of such bodies. It is observed that another "shadow" council on an inter-racial basis is being established in Sukumaland. It is observed also with interest that the setting up of local councils to replace the administrative and executive functions of Native Authorities has been pursued and that marked success has been obtained in certain areas where "shadow" local councils appear to have stimulated considerable enthusiasm among the inhabitants on matters of local interest.

In the field of judicial organization my delegation has noted with interest that the number of resident magistrates has been progressively increased, and that since 1948 the establishment of resident magistrates, which was then only nine, has risen to twenty-one in 1952, while estimates for 1953 provide for a further increase.

In the economic field my delegation has observed with satisfaction that continued development has taken place in almost every phase of the life of the Territory, and that particular attention has been directed to the importance of communications and to the development of natural resources. It has been noted also that, partly because of the fall in the price of sisal, which is the Territory's principal export, the Administering Authority's attention has been forcibly directed to the need for increased production and for greater diversification of effort. We observe that steps to achieve this have already been taken, and my delegation has the fullest confidence that the Administering Authority will take all necessary measures. We also note with interest that new industries established in the Territory are now becoming productive, and there is no doubt that such industrialization will contribute substantially to the national income. The Administering Authority

should be complimented also on the energetic research programme for greater production of cotton, coffee and food crops. The experimental stations established appear to be functioning very satisfactorily, and it is hoped that the people will co-operate fully in the production of new crops.

In the field of industry we note that continued attention is being paid to local handicrafts, and that these local industries are, in some cases, of considerable value. In the food industry also it is noted that industrial processes include meat-canning factories, the preparation of a variety of meat products, fruit canning, flour and oil milling, tea, coffee and sugar factories, fruit juice extraction and brewing. There appears also to be a considerable dried fish industry. Dairy industries also appear to occupy an important place. It is a matter of great satisfaction to read that these activities are developing and expanding.

In accordance with the Administering Authority's policy communications have also been given particular attention, and good progress has already been made in major road construction and further improvement in railway services. The work on the construction of the new direct road between Morogoro and Iringa should, in particular, we feel be noted by the Council, and the Council might also observe that a large programme of road surveys has been put into operation. My delegation has found considerable interest in the development of co-operatives in the Territory. These, of course, play and will continue to play an important part in the development of the Territory. We have been informed by the special representative that by the end of 1953 198 co-operative societies were registered, representing an increase of 46 over the previous year. The part played by co-operative societies is, we think, well illustrated by the considerable development of the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union, Limited, which has expanded its activities into many fields, including the marketing of agricultural products, the supply of agricultural requirements and the provision of loan and saving facilities. My delegation has been interested to hear that this co-operative union, and a similar one at Bukoba, have at their own expense sent students to the United Kingdom to study co-operative methods. The importance which the Administering Authority attaches to this form of joint endeavour has been clearly shown by the increase during the last two years of the staff of the Department of Co-operative Development,

and there appears to be no doubt that, with the clear increase in the interest of the indigenous inhabitants, the co-operative movement will expand considerably throughout the Territory.

Before passing from the discussion of economic development my delegation feels that it should comment on the storage of grain which the Administering Authority has wisely encouraged to guard against unfavourable years. The special representative has pointed out to us that, notwithstanding the fact that the years 1952 and 1953 have not been favourable for agricultural production, the grain storage department was able to contribute considerably to relieving the situation and to reducing the amount of grain which would otherwise have had to be imported at high prices.

In the field of social advancement my delegation has noted that general progress appears to have been maintained. In the field of health my delegation has noted that a new building development was agreed to in 1952 and that plans included the early erection of hospitals in those few administrative districts where there is at present no government hospital. The Council might well take note of the completion of new buildings at the tuberculosis hospital at Kibongoto, and the new hospital at Korogwe. It might also take note of the active interest which was taken during the year under review in the technical facilities afforded by the World Health Organization in carrying out approved schemes to raise standards of health in the Territory. My delegation has noted that schemes requiring technical assistance are being investigated with the assistance of the East African representative of the World Health Organization, and we have no doubt that the Administering Authority will, in cases considered necessary, avail itself of facilities made available by this organization. The report also indicates that material progress is being made in environmental health activities through the appointment of more medical officers and health inspectors, and also through the special emphasis being given to the public health functions of district medical and health officers. The Council might note with satisfaction the advances made in the fields of communicable diseases control, notably smallpox and plague, the medical supervision of employed labour, rural sanitation and the dissemination of public information on matters of health by means of broadcasting and the vernacular press. The Council might also note the

supervision of the health of school children and the dissemination of public health education and information by district medical officers throughout their own districts.

In the sphere of labour my delegation has read with much interest the statement of policy included in the 1952 report in respect of the labour supply. It is of interest to us to note the realistic approach of the Administering Authority to this important question, and we feel that the Council should warmly approve the Administering Authority's policy.

With regard to housing, my delegation has been impressed by the careful planning of the local administration, to ensure the success of housing and town-planning projects. The importance of this question is emphasized by the fact that there is a perceptible drift of Africans from the country districts to the towns, and adequate housing appears to be of the greatest importance. The Council should, we feel, take note of the statement in the report that twenty-five town-planning schemes -- and, within the framework of the latter, five development schemes -- are in various stages of preparation.

In the field of education, my delegation has been impressed by the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the formulation of educational policy at both central and local levels. The special representative was good enough, in reply to a question which I addressed to him, to outline the functions of the local education committees on which Africans are represented, and of the Advisory Committee on African Education, which is a body established to advise the Director of Education on general policy.

The establishment during the year 1953, outside the Ten-Year Education Plan, of the Natural Resources School is, in my delegation's view, another important development. It is observed that this school, when completed, will make provision for some 450 African students, and will give training, not only for junior service personnel of the Agricultural, Veterinary and Forestry Departments, but also for teachers working in rural areas.

The general development of the educational services in the Territory appears to me to be satisfactory, and the Ten-Year revised Education Plan is proceeding on sound lines. It is noted that the number of children enrolled in primary schools is steadily increasing and, if the present rate of increase is maintained, the target set for the Education Plan will be reached even before the date envisaged -- that is, 1956.

My delegation approves of the emphasis being placed by the Administering Authority on the development of primary schools, but, at the same time, observes that steady progress has been maintained in the expansion of middle and secondary schools. This expansion is showing good results in that, at the end of 1953, there were eighty-eight students from the Territory at Makerere College in Uganda, sixteen students at universities in England, and a further sixteen attending other higher training courses in the United Kingdom and elsewhere.

My delegation has also been greatly impressed with the success of the Pare Mountains community development and mass literacy campaign, which has been accepted with such enthusiasm by the people that the Administration has been overtaxed in controlling and directing it. Other adult literacy programmes have also been gratifyingly successful, and UNESCO, which had assisted in organizing the Pare scheme, has rightly commented favourably on the Administering Authority's activities in this field. I feel that the Trusteeship Council, also, should warmly commend the Administering Authority for its initiative in this respect.

The development in the Territory during the year under review indicates quite clearly to my delegation that a firm foundation is being laid in all domains, and it is to be hoped that the Trusteeship Council will note the advancement with due appreciation.

In conclusion, I should like to express my delegation's appreciation for the valuable contribution made to our debate by the special representative of the Administering Authority, Mr. Grattan-Bellew, who has performed his onerous duties with great distinction.

The meeting was suspended at 3.55 p.m. and resumed at 4.20 p.m.

Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand): My delegation does not propose to comment in detail on the developments and problems in Tanganyika. The annual report, supplemented by the information given us by the special representative, sufficiently illustrated the complexity and the extent of the task that confronts the Administering Authority. I shall confine my comments to a few questions which are of particular interest to my delegation.

In general, the year under review has been one of steady progress. My delegation has formed the impression that, while there may be no noticeable development of a territorial consciousness or a community opinion, the absence of racial and tribal discord in Tanganyika is in itself encouraging. In this part of the world, Tanganyika is a peaceful island in a sea of troubles. The primary concern of the Administering Authority must be for the welfare and interest of the indigenous inhabitants, but the Administering Authority has shown that it considers hardly less important the active encouragement of inter-racial harmony in all matters, whether of policy or of practice. We therefore welcome the proposal to form an inter-racial Kilimanjaro County Council, and believe the Administering Authority's intention to persevere with attempts to persuade the Chagga people to accept it is sound.

The Administering Authority, in our view, has wisely awaited the formation of a favourable opinion before introducing reform of the Legislative Council. The acceptance of the principle of racial political equality, despite the initial misgivings of some racial groups, augurs well for a continuation of progress in racial tolerance in the Territory, in spite of less fortunate developments elsewhere.

In the absence of a more homogenous social structure, and considering the vast size and relatively sparse population of the Territory, we approve the emphasis being placed upon the development of local councils. It seems clear that at this stage of its political and educational advancement, the rapid development of territorial political institutions would court the risk of placing power and responsibility in the hands of politicians who could not claim to be representatives of the people.

In the absence of a more homogeneous social structure, and considering the vast size and relatively sparse population of the Territory, we approve the emphasis being placed upon the development of local government. It seems clear that, at this stage of the Territory's political and educational advancement, the rapid development of territorial political institutions would court the risk of placing power and responsibility in the hands of politicians who could not claim to be representative of the people. It is therefore unfortunate that the Administering Authority's plans for the setting up of county, town and local councils have not met with a more reassuring reception from the populations concerned. At the same time, it is gratifying to note that the Administering Authority is persevering in its endeavours, and the Council, we feel, should express approval of the policy that the Administering Authority is trying to put into practice. We appreciate that these measures cannot be imposed upon an unwilling population.

The economic condition of the Territory in general continues to be satisfactory. To attain self-sufficiency in food production is a matter which deserves continuing attention. The special representative remarked that 1952 was an unfavourable year for the agriculturalist. This situation, together with the failure of the rains in 1953, resulted in a food shortage in some areas. The foresighted policy of providing grain storage facilities fortunately succeeded in averting more serious consequences. However, my delegation would urge the Administering Authority to give priority to developmental schemes designed to increase the output and improve the conditions and methods of the African farmers. This policy entails continued attention to the construction of roads; improved water supplies; more credit facilities for agriculturalists; improvement of cattle herds; the transfer, where possible, from pastoral to mixed farming; and the use of manures and fertilizers.

These measures are clearly not applicable in all parts of the Territory, and their application will depend to a large extent on the result of preliminary surveys of the land by competent agricultural officers. They must also depend to a great extent upon an expansion of agricultural training and education.

The opening of the Natural Resources School is an admirable step in this direction. In this matter the development of the co-operative movement is most heartening. Where European settlement is lacking to provide example and incentive to the indigenous farmers, co-operative movements, carefully supervised, may fill the gap.

In making these suggestions, I speak with great diffidence, realizing the obstacles which confront the Administering Authority, such as the poverty of the soil, indigenous systems of land tenure, the infestation of the tse-tse fly, the conservatism of the indigenous peasant, extensive rather than intensive cultivation, lack of funds, and the general state of health of the rural population.

On the subject of tsetse fly infestation, we have noted with interest and appreciation the passage on page 214 of the annual report relating to the research, surveys and reclamation work carried out by the organizations concerned.

The seriousness of the problem of fly-infested land is demonstrated by the fact that of the 363,000 square miles which comprise the area of Tanganyika, the approximate area of land infested to such an extent that the keeping of cattle by Africans is considered uneconomic is estimated at approximately 220,000 square miles, i.e. almost two-thirds of the total area of the Trust Territory. The report states that from the long-term view the eradication of tsetse from the whole of Tanganyika or even from substantial areas of the size of an average province or group of provinces is regarded as a project beyond the normal financial resources of the country unless new and cheaper methods of tsetse eradication are discovered. Later on it is stated that during the last forty years several thousand square miles of the central province alone have been invaded and overrun by tsetse. I gather that the most effective method of eradicating tsetse fly is through the clearing of bush and the settlement of population. This method presumably has its own dangers, to mention only consequent soil erosion and loss of fertility, and it would be obviously uneconomic at the present stage to clear areas not required for settlement. However I would appreciate the assurance of the special representative that resettlement of the indigenous population and expansion of areas required for grazing and cultivation are not hampered by any avoidable difficulties in relation to the eradication of tsetse fly from infested areas. On the credit side of the ledger the decrease in the incidence of human trypanosomiasis is noteworthy.

In the field of public health my delegation has noted the satisfactory expansion of existing services, the increased proportion of public expenditure on health and the construction of new hospital buildings.

My delegation has formed the impression that while good progress has been made in the development of curative medicine there is room for further expansion of preventive medicinal services. We consider that the importance of training African girls should not be overlooked. In reply to a question concerning the training of African girls in maternity and child health, the special representative

has drawn to the attention of my delegation the fact that selected girls of mature age and character are being trained as public health nurses. Twelve girls began a two-year course of training at Tukuyu in January 1952. I understand that on the completion of their course the nurses will work at rural maternity and child welfare centres and will undertake domiciliary visiting. Older women who are likely to have greater influence in the villages are preferred for this type of work as it is hoped that they will eventually exert a valuable influence on community health.

I note also that associated with this training of health nurses there is a scheme for the training of village nurses undertaken by approved missions. My delegation believes that this is a useful programme and hopes that it can be considerably expanded. Our experience in Western Samoa, where admittedly the status of women in the community is higher and quite a different social situation prevails, has been that the extensive training of young women as nurses has paid considerable dividends. Even though many girls do not finish their studies, they return to their villages to marry and carry with them the rudimentary knowledge they have acquired of hygiene and maternity and child welfare. They are thus able to take part in local women's committees which have exercised a beneficial influence on the health of their communities and the care of children in particular. As soon as the Administering Authority finds it possible we should like to see the introduction of more extensive health survey teams, particularly for the diseases of malaria, yaws and tuberculosis. When this stage has been reached the Administering Authority will no doubt consider the availability of assistance from the specialized agencies concerned to undertake large-scale campaigns against these diseases.

In conclusion, I should express my delegation's appreciation of the contribution made by the special representative to our understanding of conditions in Tanganyika. We wish him and the Administering Authority every success in their determined and sincere efforts to assist the people of Tanganyika to achieve the goals set for them in the Charter.

Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) (interpretation from French): Of the three Territories placed under British administration which we are examining in the course of this session, that of Tanganyika seems to my delegation to offer the least reason for satisfaction. In his introductory statement, the special representative of the Territory said that the Administration was disappointed to find the very slight notice taken in the Territory of the report of the Special Commissioner concerning constitutional development. My delegation is perhaps less surprised at this fact after considering an observation of the Visiting Mission of 1951 which pointed out that, beyond the tribe, the population showed no interest concerning questions of a certain importance, to political questions and to the future of the Territory.

The Powers charged with the administration of Territories have always attached too great an importance to a policy which we consider to be too static, that is to say backward: that of exaggerated respect for tribal customs. That policy which might perhaps have been defended with some appearance of justice at the beginning of this century when it was able to resolve difficulties without changing the customs, today gives rise to considerable dissatisfaction; everywhere, where they have renounced deliberately the undertaking of any serious action, the population has been allowed to live in the narrow circle of the satisfaction of their immediate needs, of contentment in the exercise of a fictitious authority.

My delegation, when it considers the thirty-five years which have passed since the Territory of Tanganyika was put under the control of the British Government, which elsewhere has shown a great deal of dynamism, cannot but be surprised to read in the annual report for 1952 this remark of the Administering Authority:

"Although stress may be laid upon training at the local level of representative institutions, the participation of the natives in the consultative and executive organs of the central Government increases from year to year and is limited only by the lack of qualified persons."

Now, this participation of the indigenous inhabitants amounts to one single person in the Executive Council. He is, at the same time, one of the four members of the Legislative Council as compared with eight ex-officio members, seven appointed officials, fourteen non-appointed officials, all these people being Europeans, and three Asians. The education of the population is carried out with singular slowness. There still remains to be studied in terms of the future the significance of the representation of the population, African, European and Asian, and of the construction of a tripartite social system.

Numerous questions have been asked of the special representative of this Territory during the questioning period. One is justified in wondering whether some grave difficulties will arise from vested interests at a certain moment and if it will be possible to find a happy solution to what already seems to be a minority problem.

My delegation has noted with regret that as yet universal suffrage does not exist in the Territory whereas advanced elements of the population have clearly expressed the desire to have some electoral representation. This, too, is one of the recommendations of the Special Commission for Constitutional Development.

In the economic field, if we note an increase in the exportation of certain products such as sisal, coffee, cotton and so on, the general internal situation is at present precarious. The Administration itself has declared, through the mouth of the special representative, that it has not worked any miracles. In fact there has been no significant, no important change in cultivated areas. If we can minimize the difficulties which have been met -- erosion, the lack of water, the tsetse fly -- greater effort should be made on behalf of the indigenous population in order to encourage them to use modern methods of agriculture. It is fruitless to put all the blame upon the habits and customs of the natives if nothing is done to correct the evil.

The indigenous chiefs, says the Administering Authority, grant land without discrimination to any cultivator who asks for it and thus encourages the gradual impoverishment of the soil. The native does not worry much about the future, and he moves his household gods elsewhere as soon as the land ceases to yield anything. The Administering Authority should not only address the necessary warnings to the indigenous chiefs but should, if necessary, take energetic action.

My delegation has noted with satisfaction the policy followed by the Bukoba Native Coffee Board which is in line with the recommendations which we made in connexion with the Coccoa Marketing Board in British Togoland. Here we see that the Administering Authority has answered the requirements of the coffee producers concerning the vast profits made because of the rising price of coffee on the world market. In the light of what was said in answer to a question, the special representative said that the additional profits have been divided among the coffee producers themselves. If those coffee producers subsequently have requested that a part of those profits should be used for the development of the region, they have made that request quite voluntarily. The Administering Authority has not evoked the spectre of inflation or the risk that the usurers may have the money come into their possession in order to impose a measure which would deprive the producer of the fruits of his labours.

In connexion with social advancement my delegation will stress two points. The first is the very low standard of living of the natives. The Administering Authority may well stress the difference which exists between the urban regions and the rural regions to the advantage of the latter which, under normal conditions, do manage to pull through by producing their own food and by having no worries as regards accommodations. It is no less a fact that the general way of life of the indigenous inhabitant is still very primitive, without even having to compare it with the farmer of the Metropolitan country.

The labour of these indigenous farmers is cheap labour since the monthly wage varies between two and six dollars. It is difficult to see how an individual can see any other prospect before him than the satisfaction of his most elementary material needs on the basis of a salary as miserable as this. The lodgings constructed by the Administration, instead of calling for a monthly rental of two or three dollars, cannot be afforded by the masses of the people. They will only go to the "happy few". It would be extremely interesting to see the next report of the Administering Authority and of the Visiting Mission concerning the average family wage in the different areas of the Territory such as in the rural and urban areas.

My second observation concerns the question of corporal punishment which we come up against every time we have anything to do with trust territories. We have been told more than once that the Administering Authority would like to suppress this form of punishment but that it would come up against the hostility of the indigenous authorities; however, it was pointed out that the number of crimes for which this punishment is administered has been considerably reduced, to such an extent that there is no need to talk of it any more. Unfortunately, as regards Tanganyika, there is an entirely different state of affairs. We have heard the special representative tell us that the total number of 1,103 sentences meted out for corporal punishment in 1952 was less than in 1951; however, it has increased again in 1953. The conclusion to be drawn from that, from the point of view of the Administering Authority, is that the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Trusteeship Council concerning the abolition of corporal punishment is much more than a mere problem.

Am I to argue that the reason invoked by the Administering Authority for maintaining corporal punishment has never convinced by delegation? Either the Administering Authority is not doing its civilizing work or it is doing it. In the first case the reason would be valid if the natives were brutes and were treated as such. In the second case a reform can and must be imposed in order to inculcate a sense of human dignity in the population. In the first case,

the Administering Authority purely and simply makes use of a survival of slavery and puts the blame on somebody else. In the second case, it must comply with the letter and spirit of its civilization.

Finally, in the field of education, my delegation will repeat an observation which it has already made concerning school fees. However small they may be, in the present stage of development of the mentality of the population, with its low standard of living, these fees constitute a hindrance to the development of education. We need only compare the results achieved by the Administration in British Togoland where primary education is free to see that there one can see the main solution to the problem of illiteracy. The number of children has doubled from one year to the next.

The report of the Administering Authority states that education is not obligatory in Tanganyika and that that cannot be thought of so long as adequate facilities do not exist for all children of school age. My delegation considers that the inverse argument should be used: if instruction to children were compulsory, it would lead the Administration to appropriate the necessary money for this education.

We may at least ask the Administering Authority to show a greater interest in the "bush schools" which already have more than a quarter of a million children attending them. My delegation greatly fears that those schools do not operate under the same conditions as those in the northern part of the Cameroons to which we have drawn the attention of the special representative of that Territory.

Speaking of the non-existence of higher education in the Territory, the special representative said that the problem is not so much that of constructing university buildings as that of recruiting the necessary teaching staff and pupils. My delegation agrees with the special representative to a certain extent. Awe-inspiring but empty buildings would merely constitute a symbol of nonsense. However, we should be careful to see that this need for higher education will continue to make itself felt. What we are urging now and asking is that at the lower level every facility should from now on be put at the disposal of the population so that it can prepare its élites.

I hope that the special representative will kindly accept the thanks of my delegation for the good grace he has shown in replying to the questions posed by my delegation in the course of this debate.

Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) (interpretation from French): The Council would display a most unrealistic attitude if it expected that, from one year to the next, any spectacular progress in a Trust Territory could be achieved. Those who understand the situation which exists in undeveloped countries realize more and more that progress takes time. By reading the report of the experts who were consulted by the Secretary-General concerning the expanded programme of the Technical Assistance Administration, it will be observed that those experts, who are quite disinterested persons and who are extremely desirous of helping the United Nations in this particular work, found that by means of the expenditure of vast sums of money it might be possible to improve the standard of living and the productivity by 2 per cent per annum. It would require enormous effort to achieve that, but still it would not mean that the annual reports of the Administering Authorities would show any sensational progress. The Trusteeship Council has the right to expect the Administering Authority to do its utmost to advance the progress of the Territory with which it is concerned, but it has not the right to expect the Administering Authority to perform miracles -- miracles which, I might add, have never been performed anywhere in the world.

An examination of the report before us shows that the efforts of the Administering Authority are constant and that progress continues on a firm basis. Its effort is reflected in the budget of the Territory, which, in 1948, amounted to £7,000,000 and in 1953, five years later, to about £18,000,000. There is a limit to the possibility of expanding a budget, and there is also a limit to what can be done, even by pouring in all the money one cares to pour, because human achievement takes time.

It suffices to consider the problem involved in the field of education, for example. It is not enough merely to provide the money for building schools or for the establishing of ordinary schools. Time must elapse between the time when a child enters school and the time when he leaves, sufficiently educated to hand on his learning to his brothers in the Territory. Between these two stages is half a generation. And this is a fact, in spite of all the good-will and the financial effort of a government. By doubling the budget, it may be possible to

double the number of children who can be admitted to the schools, but, in doubling the budget for education, it does not mean that the length of time during which these children will attend school is reduced by half.

I should like to make a few observations in the fields of social advancement and education.

In the social field, I said to the special representative a few days ago that we should like to have statistics indicating the population by province and the development of such population by province, since it is possible that the situation varies considerably in different provinces. In particular, there are some figures which might give rise to concern because of the difference in the number of males and females in a certain population. We have found in other Territories a disparity between the sexes with regard to numbers, indicating some social evil which might be grave in character and which would require the taking of special measures by the Administering Authority -- for example, the prohibition of recruitment. At the same time, we should be glad to receive statistics concerning the employment of manpower, especially according to province. We find in this respect that, in certain provinces, the number of workers employed is very high, which presupposes the idea that other provinces are obliged to contribute and even that immigrant workers are required. It would be interesting to be able to follow, province by province, the proportion of workers in relation to the entire masculine adult population capable of working.

The Belgian delegation has read with satisfaction the circular concerning the employment of natives, which is to be found on page 329 of the report. In a Territory where considerable difficulty is encountered concerning the recruitment of manpower, where there is an actual lack of manpower, the instructions of the Administration are realistic and, at the same time, respect the general interests of the workers and of the populations in different regions.

As regards medical assistance, we note that, on the whole, about 10 million cases have been treated and that the total expense for such services amounted to £1,500,000. This figure testifies indirectly to the efficiency of the medical service, since, obviously, there could not have been 10 million visits made if the population had not learned, through experience, to appreciate the efficacy of this service.

Concerning education, the number of personnel in all categories in this field totals 5,000, which is a most encouraging figure. The total number of children in the government-assisted establishments is approximately 215,000, of whom more than 60,000 are girls. This proportion of nearly 30 per cent of girls is a very high one for Africa and shows a serious effort on the part of the Administering Authority. The Belgian delegation also notes with satisfaction that the Administering Authority is prepared to accept any co-operation which is offered to it; that it grants subsidies to missions agreeing to undertake public education, on the condition that such missions conform to the programme of education, that the staff is properly qualified, and that religious liberty is fully respected.

The Administering Authority assists to the extent of almost 50 per cent in the cost of construction and 95 per cent for salaries of the teachers. My own experience tells me, however, that for organizations which depend on the charity of Christians in a metropolitan country, an expenditure of even 50 per cent for building expenses constitutes an obstacle to many efforts which might be made if the financial means were greater. I believe, therefore, that the Administering Authority might consider whether it is not possible, when the budget so permits, to go further with subsidies and grants for the construction of new buildings.

In this connexion, I should like to say a word concerning the large population of school-age individuals who go to what are called "bush schools". There are 6,600 of such schools in the Territory, giving a type of education which does not reach a standard which, in the opinion of the Government, calls for assistance by means of subsidies.

But I should like to draw the attention of the Council to the fact that one should not despise either the effort represented by such an attendance in schools or the utility, for the population in general, of this type of education, though it is very rudimentary. In many countries we have found that in order to fight against illiteracy, one has to go to all those who know how to read and ask them to teach somebody else who does not know how to read. You have thereby achieved results which, from the strict point of view of an anti-illiteracy campaign, represents something positive because the effort has continued.

It seems to me that the bush schools do offer an education which at least attains the standard of education which one who has just learned to read may offer, but who has no pedagogical training and who is merely helping a friend of his to learn how to read. It does at least represent a familiarization not only with reading and writing as such but also with the very content of education which is offered in such schools and which does give to the population some elementary notions of hygiene, of agriculture, and so on.

On the whole, therefore, we have studied the annual report for 1952 with satisfaction and we note that the country is making progress. It is making serious, sure and constant progress under the aegis of the Administering Authority.

In conclusion I should like to thank the special representative and ask him to convey our best wishes to Sir John Lamb who was not able to be present here this year because of his health.

Mr. HURE (France) (interpretation from French): A study of the situation in Tanganyika makes it necessary to bear in mind the special conditions prevailing in the country: its large size, the variety of its climate and its vegetation, the differences between its mountains and the lower sections, and of course the various ethnic groups, as well as the backwardness in access to modern civilization. These are all essential elements which enter into any judgment which may be pronounced.

From the political point of view, we understand the desire of the Administering Authority to foster the development and advancement of institutions while avoiding the disturbances which have affected other African regions. If democracy is contagious, it is only so in a certain atmosphere and climate. Otherwise, fever and agitation, rather than democracy, are likely to spread. This is likely to hamper rather than help in the achievement of the objectives of the Charter.

Agreements have been concluded between Tanganyika and neighbouring Territories which allow the use of the institution of common services. We have been glad to note that the United Kingdom feels that political education must first be carried out on the village and district level. This is a rational and effective method which seeks to lay the foundation before building the facade. At the same time, this method is not particularly spectacular and it may therefore not enlist the support of those who prefer rather theoretical measures than concrete achievements. It is, however, the duty of the Administering Authority to proceed wisely and to take into account time and achievements rather than illusions. If the Council wishes to assist the Administering Authority it should realize that there are special conditions there.

As to the political institutions of the Territory, their membership and status has been changing and devolving to the benefit of the indigenous inhabitants. The same applies to the local institutions. Of course there is the problem of the chiefs, the traditional and indigenous authorities, which have been traditionally recognized by the government and on whom powers have been conferred by law. They should become vehicles of political and administrative progress. A too-rapid disturbance in traditional and political institutions would create a political vacuum which would lead to anarchy and chaos, or else to a forcible and authoritarian reaction which would be reminiscent of old colonialism.

We agree with the Administering Authority when it seeks to convert indigenous chiefs to democracy and to lead them to the point where they would take into account the wishes of the bulk of public opinion. Paragraph 34 of the working paper prepared by the Secretariat, document T/L.419, states that no electoral laws exist in the Territory as yet and that the bulk of the population does not yet understand the concept of popular representation.

We do note with satisfaction, however, that the principle of the election of the members of the Legislative Council and of some regional and local councils has been adopted by the Committee which deals with constitutional matters.

In considering the field of economic advancement, great difficulty is caused by the low level of local foodstuff production. Attempts are being made to improve techniques and to set up reserves for periods of shortage. We have noted with satisfaction the institution of small interest loans to Africans engaging in industrial and commercial activities. All measures designed to increase indigenous participation in the economic life of the Territory is of course to be welcomed.

Along the same line of thought we congratulate the Government for its role in dealing with the land question. They have taken into account the interests of the indigenous inhabitants and the economy of the Territory. No region can expect prosperity without industrial development.

We note that the Administering Authority has undertaken prospecting for coal deposits and that this prospecting has confirmed the existence of substantial deposits. The same is true with regard to some metals. We know that plans are under way for the same sort of work in the field of petroleum.

As far as social conditions are concerned, we welcome any further steps in the advancement of the role of women. The role of the missions in that respect should not be underestimated. It is a matter of fighting prejudices and age-old customs. We cannot expect the Government of Tanganyika to announce from one year to the next substantial or spectacular progress. It is to be noted, however, that the Government has been working actively with a view to eliminating the discrimination which I have mentioned.

In the medical field we have, at any rate, noted great progress in the struggle against contagious diseases. We appreciate the efforts made by the Tanganyikan authorities, especially in the institution of effective medical and sanitary services in a great number of districts.

In conclusion, I wish to refer to the educational field. In accordance with the ten-year plan, expenditures for education have risen considerably. In addition to schools for educating children, we are also interested in adult education work, because this will reduce, within a foreseeable time, the great

discrepancies in intellectual and cultural standing. The special representative has spoken about the enthusiasm of some of the indigenous inhabitants with regard to mass education. This, of course, will constitute the greatest guarantee for the success of this important enterprise.

I would not wish to conclude without thanking the special representative for his courtesy and the effectiveness with which he has assisted the Trusteeship Council in its proceedings.

Mr. EGUIZABAL (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. President, I shall adhere to your directive in connexion with the limitation of this debate, and I will refer strictly to the narrow limits of the report which we have studied. I shall say only a few words and I shall try not to comment in detail upon things which have been done. I will, however, make a few suggestions and comments in connexion with the replies and the requests for further information.

We should like to begin by saying that Tanganyika, like a mosaic of customs, tribes and languages, constitutes a very serious problem. It is a complex political and social problem which, as has been pointed out by the representative of Belgium, cannot be solved in one day. We understand that.

But we know the great experience and beneficent mission of the Administering Authority, which cause us to believe that what we desire is not some type of long-term raincheck. Without ceasing to be objective -- after all, we are all seeking objectivity -- I shall state briefly the views of my delegation on the report.

From an examination of the report, it is clear that this Territory, like other Territories in West Africa, have not made any great progress. There is evidence that very little progress has been made toward the final goal, which is self-government and independence -- the purpose of the international Trusteeship System.

In the political field, we note with satisfaction that action has been taken to make it possible to bring about the constitutional reform which was approved not long ago. But we also note that the functions of the legislative council are very restricted and its membership is rather limited. It seems to us that some change should be made regarding its composition and powers. Some change is also needed in those cases where the Governor appears to enjoy the right of veto over the decrees, laws and ordinances of that council. He seems to have a certain right of review. He can review all the action and decisions taken by the legislative council.

We also believe that the establishment of a single electoral roll, as suggested by the Visiting Mission, would be an excellent step towards establishing a feeling of unity, a feeling of territorial consciousness, which would form the basis -- as we said in 1952 and as the Council said in a resolution adopted at its eleventh session -- for the establishment of Tanganyikan citizenship. We find nothing in the report -- perhaps I have overlooked it -- concerning the implementation of that resolution or the measures which the Administering Authority may have taken in order to comply with this request.

Another method of implementing that resolution would be the improvement of education. Swahili, as the special representative told us and as we understand from the report, constitutes the lingua franca of the Territory. Together with English, it should, if possible, be declared the official language of the Territory.

Turning back for a moment to the legislative council, we should prefer that instead of its being nominated, it should be elected. The representative of China made some suggestions in this regard in his statement yesterday. He pointed out that although the electoral system might be limited in the beginning, it could be expanded later on as the indigenous inhabitants increase their experience and civic education.

Another point is that the number of Africans in the executive branches of the service should be increased throughout the Administration generally. That is one way of implementing the Council's recommendations on the participation of the indigenous population in the administration of Territories. It would also be one way of meeting one of the obligations voluntarily assumed by Administering Authorities when they signed the Trusteeship Agreements with the United Nations.

As regards the economic field, the picture frankly is not very encouraging. At the present time the trade balance is unfavourable. We note also that during the previous year the revenue fell considerably. I recall that in examining the report for the year 1951 at our session in 1952, we noted an increase in the revenue and we commented on it with satisfaction. In carrying out a comparison now, we find that there is some difference. Let us hope that the Administering Authority will be able to take steps to bridge the gap which, in fact, is delaying any development which it may have in mind.

Another problem which is inherent in the Territory is that of food. The problem is not catastrophic but it is rather serious. The Territory is not self-sufficient despite the fact that it is potentially wealthy with considerable amounts of natural resources. It is a fact, as the representative of the United States very aptly stated yesterday, that Tanganyika at the present time is a vast laboratory. We have learned of the various experimental centres which are scattered throughout the Territory. We hope that something will result from this in the not too distant future.

It is necessary and proper to recognize that there has been work satisfactorily done by the Administering Authority and that it has achieved something. However, the Administering Authority should face urgent problems and find urgent solutions to them, keeping in mind the final solution in the future. In making this comment, I am referring to the series of experimental

centres which will very soon be yielding fruit.

As regards communications, we note that the plan is developing as desired and as formulated. However, we should like this plan to proceed at a faster pace. We do realize that it will not be easy to construct a nation overnight.

In the social field, we find two problems facing us. First, we note the existence of corporal punishment. My delegation finds it inconceivable that at this stage in human civilization, this vile plague of inhumanity should exist, when man, who overlooks his human dignity, ignores the dignity of his fellow creatures. Therefore, with all due respect and with every feeling of goodwill, we urge the Administering Authority to find some means to suppress the system of corporal punishment.

We have been told that some kind of investigation was carried out by an investigating body which went to various parts of the Territory to ascertain the opinion of the indigenous inhabitants, but that that opinion was opposed to the suppression of corporal punishment. Nevertheless, we do not regard this as a reason which should be viewed by the Administering Authority as having any character of finality. If the morale of the indigenous inhabitants is to be raised and their dignity as human beings increased then, of course, the Administering Authority, although it may encounter some slight opposition at the outset, should draw up a law, and once that law became understood by the native mind, as the result of education, it would give excellent results. And that is a process which would not take many years. Furthermore, legislation itself provides means for its own application and institutes punishments for those who fail to comply with it. We are not in favour of coercive measures at all, but it is necessary to have legislation and then to find means of ensuring that it shall be complied with. At first they might be methods of persuasion and reasoning. We find that there were 542 sentences of corporal punishment, and that the indigenous local courts imposed 561 sentences of whipping. It is stated also that 4 persons were subjected to corporal punishment in 1952 for offences against prison regulations. But whether there were four, five or six cases is not important. It is enough that there should be a law permitting this kind of punishment, and that is why we ask that it should be abolished as soon as possible. What is more, the Council itself has recommended such abolition. We hope that the Administering Authority will pay heed to this and we should be grateful if something could be done.

There is another problem connected with the social life of the Territory. It relates to the condition of the women in the Hava tribe. In reply to a question which I put to him, the special representative stated that during the past year only one social visitor -- or an official of that kind -- had gone up to that part of the country. I understand that the problem is difficult because of the refusal of the men of the tribe to accept modern ideas. But in view of this it is necessary not only to intensify the activity of the social service visitors but also to increase their numbers so that the people concerned may be encouraged, by disciplinary measures if necessary, to leave the area and to go to the large cities. I do not know whether I understand the situation

in its entirety because I have never been to the spot, but I have made my deductions from information obtained from the 1951 report.

In the field of education my delegation has noted with pleasure the results achieved through the co-operation of all concerned. We hope that this co-operation will continue to increase and that there will be further satisfactory achievements in this domain. We suggest, in this connexion, that there should be a campaign against illiteracy -- a campaign on an intensive scale and on a permanent basis -- which I might call a "Swahili-ization" campaign. That is the only way to raise the intellectual level of these people and lay the foundation for positive development in the future. It has been said very often that education is the pivot of progress on which depends the stability of any society.

We consider also that elementary education, at least, should be free and compulsory. As for the education given outside the official schools, it should follow the lines of state education and should, accordingly, be government-supervised. Although it may be asking too much, we consider also that it is time to set up at least one centre of higher education in the Territory, as has been recommended by the Trusteeship Council previously.

In conclusion, I should like to thank the special representative for his co-operation, which has been of great help to us in the examination of this report. I should like also to thank members of the Council for listening to me so patiently.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): I should like to join my colleagues in the tributes that have been paid to the special representative from the United Kingdom for the great courtesy and patience he has shown in answering questions and in enlightening us on the state of the Administration in Tanganyika.

My delegation, in addressing itself to the problem of Tanganyika, cannot help being impressed by the general concern of the Trusteeship Council or observing the very close interest, not of a political or military character but in cultural and historical connexions in this part of East Africa extending, even according to the historical survey now before us, to the pre-Christian era. It is a factor of much importance because, as I said on a previous occasion when dealing with another African territory, we are too prone to look upon these

territories as areas where we are purveying civilization to backward peoples. Here is a territory which has a history going back nearly three millenary, and where the populations have come from various parts of the world -- almost a laboratory experiment in the construction of a multi-racial community.

But before I address myself to the various problems which have been raised by this discussion, and in connexion with which my delegation wishes to make observations, I should like, in his absence, to pay tribute to Sir Edward Twining, the Governor of Tanganyika. From the structure of government and administration that is presented in this report it must be clear to the Council that the responsibility for the trust of the Administering Authority rests in the Crown of the United Kingdom, and that the Administration in Tanganyika is the machinery through which it operates, so that the representative of the United Kingdom before us is really the person who speaks on behalf of that Administering Authority, and in Tanganyika he is represented by the enlightened Administrator who is free -- by repute and to the knowledge of our people -- from prejudices of race and from any desire to impose colonial rule on these people.

That is not to say that paternal rule and the cult of good government does not sometimes stand in the way of pushing forward the gospel of self-government. Sir Edward Twining, working in the context of a continent where the social and political problems in the North are different from those in the South, has kept this Territory free from the impacts of narrow and violent gospels on either side and has brought to Tanganyika an atmosphere of peace and reconciliation.

We have wished to make that statement because there are in this multi-racial community large numbers of persons who, although they were perhaps born in Tanganyika, are of the origin of our peninsula. Out of the seventy or eighty thousand Asians in Tanganyika, at least three fourths come from the peninsula of India.

I should now like to address myself to the fact that, here again -- as in the case of Togoland -- we are dealing with a Territory over which, for a period of thirty-five years, the Administering Authority has had the responsibility of ruling and of preparing the people for self-government. Hence, in 1954, we are not merely surveying the progress made from 1947 to 1954; we are asking ourselves this question: to what extent has the world community discharged its trust, and to what extent is it on the way to discharging that trust speedily and fully, in this Territory?

We should not like to yield to anyone in paying a tribute to the sacrifices and enlightened labours of large numbers of colonial administrators, civil servants who are far away from their homes, voluntary workers such as missionaries, and other social service workers. We must also pay a tribute to successive administrations which have achieved some success in this land neglected by civilization for some time, this land which fell prey to the incursions of Western imperialism in the nineteenth century and whose local peoples resisted those incursions almost until the beginning of the First World War. I shall refer to this aspect of the matter as I deal with the various sections of the report.

On the political side, Tanganyika presents a contrast to the West African Trust Territory with which we have been dealing. In that West African Trust Territory, it was a problem of a small area inhabited by populations having very much of a tribal character, populations whose tribal organizations were, not identical, but similar and who had similarly emerged from German rule as a result of the First World War, populations who are administered side by side with another British territory and who are, we all hope, in one way or another marching towards self-government.

In Tanganyika, however, we have an entirely different proposition. In the first place, that Territory has neighbours about whose situation we can be less happy. In the second place, although the United Kingdom took over the mandate on 28 June 1919 and the responsibility of trusteeship on 13 December 1946, there is still no such thing as suffrage in the Territory. Here, it is not a problem of whether more people are going to be enfranchised, whether women are deprived of the vote, whether property and literacy are qualifications for voting. The report quite frankly and honestly states: "There is no suffrage in this Territory".

In this connexion, I should like to digress for a moment in order to join an issue with the special representative of the United Kingdom. When my delegation pointed out that, owing to the policy of not extending suffrage to the populations of the Territory, the Administration was really depriving its own nationals and the nationals of other countries of the right to vote, despite the fact that the common law gave those persons that right in their own States, we were not for a moment suggesting that the British citizen who went to another territory carried the common law with him, in the sense that he could enforce that law on a foreign territory. Our point was this: Here is a land which is under United Kingdom administration, which, subject to the Trusteeship Agreement, has come under the control of British conceptions of citizenship and law; and it is true that, in other places where the British have gone, the common law of the United Kingdom has obtained. Hence, the neglect in Tanganyika has

occurred because, since the advance in the field of suffrage has not been made as regards the African populations, the others must follow the pace of the slowest.

There has been little or no progress towards self-government or independence in this Territory. As regards the political aspects of the situation in Tanganyika, there is very little about which we can be happy -- except, perhaps, that there has been no violent conflict. It may be that when there is no violent conflict, there is no progress. But when there is violent conflict, we are told that these people are violent and therefore cannot be given democratic institutions. In this connexion, I would remind the Council of something which was said by a great Prime Minister of the past: If people agitate, they are in the wrong, and if they do not agitate, they do not want anything -- so where are they?

There has been, as I have said, no progress towards self-government and independence in this Territory. To us, the most tragic aspect of the situation is this: Where institutions having the semblance of representative bodies have been established -- as in the case of the lower African units -- those institutions do not seem to be part of a continuum which will result in national administration; they are a separate apron, and any development in that direction is not likely to lead to national independence.

It is our duty to state the following fact, of which we should like the Trusteeship Council to be constantly aware: Over and above everything else, the responsibility for these Territories lies in the way of their preparation for and early achievement of independence. That, so far as we understand it, is the basis of trusteeship; that is its purpose; and everything else must work towards that goal. In that respect, we have a very backward position in Tanganyika. Neither in the organs of central government nor in the organs of local government are there any persons who exercise authority there because of their position in relation to their peoples. They are all appointed, directly or indirectly, by the representative of the Crown -- the Administering Authority -- and they are therefore handpicked in that way.

Now, the objection which I have just made is not only theoretical. As I shall try to point out later in my observations, the situation which I have described has come in the way of the Territory's development. That is true even at the present time. When there is a proposal for reform, a request for an opinion is made to this very appointed authority. I shall refer to that fact later.

Hence, whether we speak of the local government or the central government, of the legislative organs or the executive organs, there is no one -- and here I leave aside any questions of race -- who can, under any definition or description, be called a person who enjoys any representative capacity.

On the economic side, the report before us shows advances on which we would congratulate the Administering Authority. We would also express the hope that the progress will be maintained. At the same time, it would be very wrong not to try to read those advances in terms of the Territory and the population. Again, looking back to the introductory part of the annual report, we must say this: Here is a territory where commerce with other parts of the world has gone on for two or three thousand years. From the eighth century onwards, in modern times, the Territory was visited by Arabs who established trading settlements and towns, all of which have gone into decay.

There is nothing about this Territory -- from the point of view of climate, or physical conditions, or the composition of the populations -- which should make us believe that there can be no social organization. What is more, the populations have shown a great capacity for assimilation. In the relevant section of the annual report, we read that those populations have an ultra-modern approach to the whole idea of social organization, and they do not permit religious considerations to influence their day-to-day life. In other words, they are ideal subjects for the preparation of a secular state.

In the economic field, while there has been advance, related to the populations of this country, related to its size and related to its vast resources, both in its forests and under its soil, there is a great deal of leeway to be made up. There again, I should like to refer to another aspect which has already been mentioned by the representative of Syria. That is that these figures do not actually reveal the incidence of economic progress in relation to the indigenous population, because the diamond mines and the sisal industries, which constitute the volume of national exports and the reverse volume of national imports, the volume of national income and national revenue are things which have relation to the masses of the population only in the sense of 400,000 of them being wage-earners.

We have been given the figure of somewhere about 180,000 persons who are wage-earners on the land. They are presumably landless agricultural labourers and we have not been able to find out whether they work right through the year or whether by some estimate they are merely returned as working people. If they are agricultural labourers, it would be interesting to know in the next report for how many months or weeks in the year they work, and how they live for the rest of the period, whether they are engaged in subsidiary occupations or whether they just eke out an existence as most landless agricultural labourers in backward countries do.

We find that there has been an improvement in the volume of exports and the volume of imports and that there is a favourable balance of trade. In fact, there is a favourable balance of trade in the joint territories of Uganda and Tanganyika which has done a great deal towards balancing the loss of trade in the neighbouring Territory of Kenya. That seems to be the function of these Territories, to bridge the dollar gap so far as the metropolitan country is concerned and to make up the deficits of their northern neighbour. It does not come from me, it comes from the European community in the place. There has been a favourable balance of millions of pounds of trade between these two Territories.

There are no separate figures for Tanganyika, but it has very little relation to the progress that has been made, because when one turns to the degree of industrial expansion, one finds in another part of the report that the import of capital goods into Tanganyika during the period was £625,000. That was quite a considerable amount of money fifty years ago, but precious little at the present time. The capital goods can be regarded as an index of the industrial advance that has been made in any particular place.

Again, I notice that in the field of the development of co-operation, instead of there being a slight advance there has been a slight decrease in both the number of societies and the number of the people covered by them. So far as my memory serves me, the number has decreased from 136 to 124, or something of that kind.

It would be unreal to expect that in this part of Africa any Administering Authority, any self-government, any United Nations, or anyone, could deal with such problems as the tsetse fly and the vagaries of the climate and weather, which impoverishes the populations on a large scale, in a short time, but it would be worth examination by competent surveys to find the degree of progress that has been made and how long it will be before the Territory reaches a situation where these matters are not a danger to the civilization and to the populations of the place. I propose at the end of these observations to make some suggestions in this matter in the hope that they will be incorporated in the report.

On the social side, the Council will have noticed that, apart from agriculture, employment is mainly in the mines and in the few industries that exist. The wage figures are given as being from 15s.0d. to 30s.0d. per task. We have not been able to ascertain what period a single task takes, so it is not possible at the present moment to say how this works out in terms of daily wages. However, there is no doubt that wages are extremely low, and in the next report we should like to see more statistics in that direction. I shall deal with the problem of statistics at a later stage.

I want to make a suggestion which I shall introduce into our summary as well. This suggestion is that the Trusteeship Council should request the International Labour Office to make a survey of this Territory. If there are no funds available for this purpose for people to work in the field, there must be sufficient material for them to produce a preliminary analysis in this direction. It is the experience of Asian countries, where backward conditions of labour existed, that the attention of the International Labour Office has always turned the searchlight of publicity on those conditions and ultimately led to the alleviation of labour standards. We are particularly concerned with mining labour in Tanganyika, in spite of the fact that one of the main mining employers, the Williamson Diamonds Ltd., is a good employer by all repute. We should like to know whether the proximity of a territory where the native populations are treated worse than animals has got any reaction on Tanganyika, and we should like to be assured that in a Trust Territory for which the United Nations is responsible there are no conditions in labour, either in law or in practice -- I want to emphasize the latter -- which in any way violate the conventions on the standards of labour that are generally regarded as desirable in advanced countries and in countries where the treatment of labour under humane conditions is regarded as a necessity. Therefore, we would submit that the Trusteeship Council should request the International Labour Office to give attention to this problem, and we would request the Administering Authority to consider whether, in their own interest and in the interest of the advancement of this Territory, it would not be desirable for these facts to be examined so that corrective measures may be introduced. The International Labour Office, like other specialized agencies, in the view of my delegation, has a greater responsibility towards these Trust Territories even than towards other countries, because these Trust Territories are the special concern of the United Nations.

In the field of medicine, as has already been pointed out by the representative of Haiti and other representatives, the facilities are extremely inadequate and there is a considerable need for expansion. All this goes

back to the position that very little seems to have happened in this Territory, as it appears from the report, since 1929, the time of the depression, though how the depression affected this Territory is not very clear to us. Then there was the uncertainty in the international situation, and no doubt Hitler's propositions about living space seems to have brought about a situation where there has been no social advancement in Tanganyika. Is it not possible now to make up for that last time and to introduce measures and a volume of personnel which would bring the benefit of medical social services on a vaster scale into this Territory? The problems of smallpox and plague, not unusual in tropical countries, have been largely brought under control in places where they existed before. There are areas where, forty and fifty years ago, conditions were very much the same and epidemics of smallpox and the plague were regarded as great calamities against which there was almost no resistance. But we have now reached a time in social and medical advances where in no part of the world should epidemics of this kind be anything but rare occurrences.

There is very little recorded in the annual report about advances in rural sanitation, all of which, in our opinion, relates to political backwardness. There cannot be any social, educational or any other advance until there is social responsibility arising from the establishment of political institutions, where the responsibility is shouldered by the populations in a democratic way. Independence, therefore, has not merely a theoretical basis, it necessarily must have a social basis for the happiness of people.

In the field of education, a European child costs the Administration £223 a year, an African child costs the Administration £8.5s a year, and an Asian child costs £31 a year. I am sure it is not contended that the European child is so uneducable that it requires thirty times as much effort to teach him. It can only mean that the quality of education given to the European child is very much higher, and probably that the conditions in which the education takes place are also very much better.

I am prepared to admit, as a matter of practical affairs, that most of these children -- the Europeans or, in some cases, the Asians -- are children of administrators who have given up their homes to serve their country, or even, to go to an extent which socially is not defensible, that they contribute a larger share toward the revenue and therefore are entitled to a good education. And my country does not believe that progress is brought about by pulling down the level of the high to that of the low. But the position still remains that it costs £8.5s for the education of the African children -- that is, such as are educated. And I want again to recall the observation we made some time ago: that universal education or widespread education in any of these Territories is impossible until the populations are fed. Even if they went to school, they would relapse into illiteracy. Therefore, the problem is connected with the economic conditions.

The Administration of Tanganyika, we are glad to note, has a ten-year plan, and we hope that as a result of the ten-year plan there will be a much greater advance in literacy in this area. Here we do not speak without experience or understanding, or even sympathy, for the Administration. We ourselves have a vast problem of illiteracy, but we have not found that it is incapable of being tackled. We venture to say to the Trusteeship Council that the idea that there is resistance to literacy on the part of populations is not supported by experience.

The report also shows a sharp rise in the funds of the local authorities for primary education, but the increase is less striking in proportion to the total of education.

There have been improvements in the methods of cultivation, a factor of very great importance in a Territory of this kind. Coming from a land where human society has been cutting down timber for the last four thousand years and has converted fertile areas into deserts, we understand the importance of improvement in methods of cultivation.

Similarly, the Administration has provided one of the primary needs for the prevention of famine in providing installations for the storage of grain.

The report also speaks of improvement in the methods of communication, which must be extremely difficult in this area. We look forward to seeing in the next report how far these communications open up the hinterland of the country.

I have already referred to the co-operative societies. The whole of the financial system of this country -- I do not mean the budgetary system -- is totally under the grip of European, mainly British and South African, capital. And here, in our own interests, we have to point out that there is reference in this report to the National Bank of India. It is neither national nor Indian; it is just a bank. Therefore, we do not want it to be understood that our people are money-lending in this place and are controlling the business. The whole of the effective banking system in Tanganyika is under British and South African organization. I do not for a moment suggest that the African community at the present time can develop this banking system without other operation. But it is very necessary to see to what extent, in a colonial country -- the structure of the economy is colonial -- the grip of finance capital on these people is likely to leave them in the position of being merely dumping grounds for manufactured goods and the producers of raw material.

There is another aspect which we took up with the special representative during the questioning period, and I hope that the President will not think we are coming back to it unnecessarily. It is depressing to see that, in this community where there is no vast economic advance, there is a vast increase in the volume of money. There is nothing so depressing as having too much money in a community where there is no advance in production. The advance in currency from 1951 to 1952 was very nearly 50 per cent. Unless there are sufficient goods which this money can buy, it simply means inflation, which means that the cost of

living has gone up in that place, and to a greater extent its economy has become colonial -- largely a factor in the maintenance of the stable position of the sterling area elsewhere. If you take the total of note issue and coin issue, in 1951 it stood at £7,592,404, and in 1952 it stood at £10,550,904 -- an increase of very nearly 3,000,000 on a basic 7,000,000.

I should now like to deal with the whole question of vital statistics in the Territory -- and I am sure that the representative of the United Kingdom will bear with me and will not think that I am making unfair observations. After thirty-five years of administration, there are no vital statistics. Even in India, we had vital statistics; we at least knew how many people were dying, even if we did not do very much about it. But in this Territory there are no vital statistics; there is no registration of births or deaths, no means of finding out what the infantile mortality is. What is more, I was amazed to read in the report that the last census was taken a long time ago. Usually, there is a ten-year census in every British territory. There is an estimate of figures, which simply means that the populations are just incidental in the life of the community. There is another aspect of that matter that worries one: a census is taken of the non-African populations, but not of the African populations. That reminds me that the representative of the Union of South Africa said in 1921 at the League of Nations that "we have a population of one and a quarter million". Somebody asked: "What about the others? Do you mean the Afrikaners?" -- and he said "Yes".

When even a census is not taken in a Territory, it is something very extraordinary. This is the first instance in a British territory where one has not been able to get all the statistics. Two things always happen under British administration; there is an attempt to balance the budget, and statistics are provided. The statistics usually come out three years after the time, but they do come out. In this particular Territory, while progress is taking place -- and we have paid what our country sincerely feels is a tribute to the administrators and particularly to the Government of Tanganyika -- it is amazing to find that no attempt has been made to measure the degree of progress or to give an indication of it.

There are two other matters on which we should like to express our appreciation. In contrast to its northern neighbour and its southern neighbour, this Territory has no pass laws. There is not that violation of the dignity of man whereby one is a foreigner in his own land and must carry the badge of his existence around his neck. We should like to offer our congratulations and pay our tribute to the Administration for the fact that there are no pass laws in Tanganyika.

There is, also recorded, to the credit of the African communities, a very high standard of mutual assistance, especially in times of trouble. The question therefore arises: when you have a situation in which a community has this sense of mutual assistance, why should there be any impediments to the setting up of representative institutions? A community that has the sense of mutual assistance has the first and most essential element of democratic government.

I come next to another difficult problem, land alienation. I do not make any apologies for using these words "land alienation". They are of British coinage. They have been used in territories where this problem has existed, notably the Punjab. Land alienation is a real problem in these territories. I should like to quote the authority of a great colonial administrator, Sir Frederick Lugard, who afterwards became Lord Lugard. He said:

"European ownership on a large scale has in all cases resulted in the demand for alien or for compulsory labour by which alone large foreign-owned interests can be kept going." (Wright, Mandates under the League of Nations, The University of Chicago Press, 1930, page 557).

He goes on to say:

"The requirements of the settlers, to put it bluntly, are incompatible with the interests and advancement of the agricultural tribes." (Ibid.)

On this same page of this book, the following is quoted:

"Wherever this principle (dual development for the white settler and the natives) has been admitted in East Africa, the native has been deprived of land which he has regarded as his own and because of land shortage created in these various territories (except in Southern Rhodesia) he has been obliged to work for the European employers." (Ibid.)

There is no doubt, so far as our delegation is concerned, that there is a settler problem in Tanganyika. At least 3,000 square miles of land have been alienated to the white settler. He is creating a problem which at the hands of a wise administrator like Sir Edward Twining was removed -- and we have somebody else. The personal rule in this area is a matter of very great importance. It would lead to the problem, as I said the other day, of "highlands for the Whites and lowlands for the Blacks".

The following was stated in 1929:

"The Tanganyika Government seems to have yielded to the pressure engineered mainly from Kenya, and on 11 December 1926, the Governor announced a policy of encouraging non-native settlement where possible without depriving the native of sufficient land for his use." (Ibid., page 558)

You cannot deprive the natives of sufficient land because, like the Desert of the Sahara, it is all over the place.

"It is significant that the German Government in East Africa before the War, realizing the effect of extensive European development, restricted the alienation of land in order to reduce the demand for labour ..."

"The antagonism between white settlement and the mandates policy seems to be recognized by the white settlers ... (who) frankly hopes that the territory will become a Crown Colony." (Ibid.)

Therefore, this is a very old disease and today, we have alienation.

From our point of view -- I know the special representative does not agree with us -- we think that when land is handed over for 99 years and it is not likely that at the end of the 99 years it will go back to the person who originally had it, it is alienation. Three thousand square miles of territory have been so alienated. The result of it is to create a large population of landless labourers who are the landless proletariat, who have no subsidiary occupations, for whom no social service is provided and the homes in which they live form a part of the ties which keep them as semi-slave labour on the land.

This problem of land alienation is one which it is worthwhile to consider as to whether, at least in spirit, it is in harmony with the responsibilities of the Trusteeship Administration.

My country and the Government of India fully subscribe to the doctrine, the practical wisdom and everything else of what is called a multi-racial society. That multi-racial society is possible only if one part, whether it be Asian or European, does not create a monopoly in land. The African is wedded to his land. The one way to make the settler an alien to the other community in that country is to make him the possessor of land and for the other to become the landless helot.

We should now like to address ourselves to another problem on which we want to make some observations: the racial situation in Tanganyika. We want to say at once that there is no problem here of the kind that prevails in other territories. In law, there are no racial discriminations in all British dominions. But the discussion that has gone on in the Trusteeship Council has clearly indicated that in regard to elections and representation there are differences. There are differential levels of enjoyment of amenities among Africans, Asians and Europeans. In regard to land alienation, the white settler is in a privileged condition. With regard to schools and education and hospital beds, he is in a privileged position. There is one incident which was reported where an African who, because he could not be admitted into a European hospital finally arrived too late for treatment by the time he got to another hospital. There are also demarcations in taxation in this regard. I would not like to labour this point very much more except to draw attention to it because it is not the policy of the Government to promote racial discrimination. In effect, it is because self-government is withheld, because there is no universal franchise and because it is thought that the pace cannot be too quick. All these are the consequences.

There is no territory under British hegemony which is on a theoretical or doctrinal basis of racial discrimination. But in practice these things do exist in the sense that I have mentioned.

That takes us to the next point on which our Government and our people have considered views based upon our experience: the introduction of the communal system of administration, government, elections and everything else in Tanganyika. The support for this comes from the settler classes. We have due regard that the discharge of the trust responsibilities both in their letter and in their spirit is possible only on the basis of the recognition of the common status of all individuals in this Territory irrespective of their race. On the one hand, we have a situation where a Committee was appointed in 1949. It made a report in 1950 or 1951. Then, another special Committee goes out in 1952 and we are still where we started. All recommendations are in principle in favour of a common goal. There are tributes paid to it from some quarters.

But, in fact, the insistence upon communal representation in Tanganyika is indeed very ominous. What is more, in fact and in practice it goes beyond even these divisions into Asians, Africans and Europeans. Certainly, as far as Asians are concerned, there is a tendency, willy nilly -- and there are so many facts to illustrate it -- for ^{the} Administration, according to its certain specific views, to introduce compartments into the Asian community and even introduce an Asian community into one section of the Territory. We are a land who have suffered disastrous consequences by the introduction of this principle. There is no way to create a multi-racial society except by the introduction of a common electorate with such safeguards as may be necessary to see to it that the weaker do not go to the wall and that they are properly represented.

We also notice that while there are 18,000 Europeans, 70,000 Asians and 7,000,000 Africans, their representation is in inverse order. The more numerous you are in the country the less numerous you are in the legislature. Again, as a matter of practical wisdom, we are quite prepared to recognize the fact that the majority of the population may be vastly distributed over the Territory and that present educational conditions remain backward. Their capacity for exercising their functions and of legislating may not be equal. However, when that is all said and done, it does not appear to us that the decision that exists at present or even the decision that is proposed is fair to the African population.

One view that we have heard expressed is that between the African and the non-African there should be at least a fifty-fifty division, and that half should be shared by the non-African population. At any rate, the present position is that the smallest minority of 18,000 Europeans have the larger degree of representation both in the present institutions and in the institutions to come. An election based upon race or on communities, even dividing the community into various sections by nomination, is intended to fractionalize this Territory and to create at least the reflection of a doctrine which the United Kingdom has abandoned in other places of dividing the people in order to keep its hold. That will be the result of it but not its motive. We do not attribute any motives in this matter. We believe that it is going

down the slippery path and it is far better to face this issue now and with speed to establish in Tanganyika a system of representative government where the common role is adopted.

We are told in various places in the report that this has been put to the Legislative Council and that the Legislative Council is against it. What else do you expect? In these Legislative Councils are people who are handpicked by the Administration on this basis. It is just like stating that I went to the hospital and I did not see a healthy man. Naturally, they are there because they are sick. Similarly, in this Legislative Council there are people who are selected on this basis, who are there by the favour of the Administration and who probably will not be returned in an election. What is the use of getting their imprimature on a system which is against their interest?

It sounds very good on paper when you say, "We asked the legislatures and the legislatures will not agree to it". That would be all right provided the legislatures are proper legislatures, if they are democratically elected and so on. But here you have an extreme where both the executive and the legislative are nominated by the Government and one goes to those nominated people and asks if it is all right.

There is another aspect to this matter. I read the report on this and I find my distinguished countryman, Mr. Chopra, saying: "We are happy under the benign administration of the British Government". I can see his point of view for this reason -- he wants the Crown's protection to be retained in the same way as Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland do not want to be associated in the Union. The whole of this position in Africa is vitiated by the situation that exists in that Territory which does not honour the principles of the Trusteeship Agreement. We must consider that when the protest comes in such a way as where the African chief says, "Oh no, our people cannot vote", it may well be that if those people did vote he would not be the chief. In the case of the Indian, with the influx of other populations with racial ideas, where permanent majorities are being created in the federations and in Central Africa, he is so afraid that one protection, however autocratic it is, may be removed. That would not detract from the fact that here is a territory which for two or three thousand years has seen the mixing of the populations by migration, by intermarriage and by racial admixtures of all kinds right through history, a society that is Asian-African-European at the moment after Asian admixtures going back at least fifteen hundred years or more, with the Arabs settling down, intermarrying or otherwise mixing with the races in Africa. There is no justification in this place whatsoever; it is a great political blunder; it is something that would make the advance of self-government well-nigh impossible. It would probably lead to divisions in the country and to racial strife in the future if, at this moment, the Administration is not able to stand up to the settler element and if it goes down under the pressure of the Union of South Africa or under the pressure of neighbouring territories or under the pressure of the merx who have the land and who are the main supporters of the Administration from a financial point of

view. If they do not stand up to the settler element, which is the main opponent of equitable considerations and the right of representation, the Government is likely to be in a position where it will gradually slip from one position to another and whereby the fractionalization of its electorate is bound to follow.

We have already expressed our opinions in regard to the other Territories, and I have scrupulously taken care to see that the references I made were only by relationships. However, we now come to a problem where I am not in this difficulty. I call your attention to paragraph 6 of the working paper (T/L.419). This paragraph relates to the "maintenance of law and order" and was raised on behalf of my delegation during the question period. It is stated in the middle of paragraph 6:

"The second matter involved published reports to the effect that the Tanganyika Government had accorded permission to a screening party from Kenya - ten Africans led by a young European - to enter the Trust Territory for the purpose of interrogating certain Africans of the Kikuyu tribe suspected of 'Mau Mau' activities, and that the party had been convicted in a magistrate's court of assault, upon evidence of gross brutality towards persons who had been interrogated."

I am not expressing my regret that those people were convicted. We should like the special representative in his answer to enlighten us on certain points. First of all, we should like to know whether this raiding party under Brian Walter Hayward and the Kikuyu Home Guards had the previous permission of the Tanganyikan authorities when they came onto Tanganyikan territory. Secondly, we should like to know whether the Tanganyika police co-operated with these persons and whether it is true that the Kikuyus were starved for about four days in order to get confessions, whether third-degree methods were adopted and whether Tanganyika police participated in this third-degree method. We should also like to know if different forms of torture were employed against these people and if one man committed suicide. There is nothing secret about these things as most of them came out during the trial. In support of what I have said, I should like therefore to illustrate what the defence counsel and the Court said -- not the prosecutor -- it was said by the man who was defending --

The PRESIDENT: I realize that this matter has been referred to here and that it is perfectly in order, of course, to refer to it. As regards whether it is proper or really relevant to read out a statement by the counsel for the defence, we have no possible means of verifying any statement he makes; and his view of the case which he makes is a matter which I leave to the good judgement of the representative of India.

Mr. KRISHNA MENON (India): With great respect, you cannot come to that judgement until you have heard it.

The PRESIDENT: No, but I think it is unfortunate that we should be prolonging this discussion in this way. I noticed that the representative of India, during the course of a previous discussion, said to me himself that he did not have a verified copy and that he did not propose to proceed with the interrogation of the special representative on it. He is now doing it in his speech, and I suggest to him that it is somewhat irregular, to say the least.

Mr. KRISHNA MENON (India): I am only dealing with it in order to discover whether the Tanganyika police co-operated in this matter. Here you have a man defending his own client and saying something about his client; it is not a matter of charging him. There has been no attempt to conceal or deny that they partook under orders in acts of horror in the most vicious form of war, civil war. The statement says:

"It is too much like training a dog to bite and then having made him thoroughly vicious that you slip his chain, let him out unto the public and then expect him to behave."

I do not want to labour this point any more. We are concerned about this fact, as you would be if there were vast numbers of populations for whom the United Nations had responsibility or if the delegation concerned had a close affinity with a neighbouring territory where this affair was going on. We do not hold the Administration of Tanganyika responsible for what is going on in Kenya, but we certainly have the right to ask because the special representative

has told us, it is in the report and it is part of the Constitution that the judicial system of this country is tied up with all of the East African territories. The High Court of Tanganyika is part of the Supreme Court of East Africa. If that is so, then can it be that one kind of law prevails in one place and another kind of law prevails in another place? That is the only question I want to ask. I have no desire to transgress beyond my rights in this matter and if the President is of the opinion that my reference to a matter that is intimately connected with Tanganyika is out of order, then I am extremely sorry and I leave it there. That is all I have to say.

The PRESIDENT: We will meet again tomorrow at 2 p.m.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.