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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 20 June 1957, at 2.30 p.m.

President:

Mr. HOOD

(Australia)

Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika:
annual report on the administration of the Trust Territory of
Tanganyika [4a] (continued)

Note:

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(71 p.)

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF TANGANYIKA: ANNUAL REPORT OF
THE TRUST TERRITORY OF TANGANYIKA (T/1286, 1304, 1317, 1318; T/L.772)

Agenda item 4a (continued)

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, special representative for the Trust Territory of Tanganyika under United Kingdom administration took a place at the Council table.

General debate (continued)

Mr. KESTLER (Guatemala) (interpretation from Spanish): The basic problem in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika under United Kingdom administration is that of a multi-racial population in which the vast African majority and the non-African minorities are divided as a result of the fact that they enjoy different degrees of cultural, social and economic development. Speaking more precisely, it may be recalled that, according to data supplied by the Administering Authority, the population of Tanganyika at the end of 1955 was made up of 8,205,000 Africans, 25,000 Europeans, and 94,000 Indians and Pakistanis. We feel, therefore, that any policy to govern the future orientation of the Territory within a democratic framework must bear in mind the necessity of the development of a society as a unit, not failing to recognize that the participation of the various groups in seeking solutions to common problems must be in direct relation, not only to the number of members of these racial groups, but also to the legitimacy of their interests. A policy of this kind must be reflected in the actions of the Administering Authority, and that is why we wish to speak to this basic problem in evaluating the progress achieved in the Territory in the political, economic, social and cultural fields.

Just as in other Trust Territories, the political advancement attained by Tanganyika, in our opinion, may be and indeed must be considered from the point of view of two different levels. It must be approached from the point of view of central Government and from the point of view of local government as well. It is superfluous to stress that at both levels it is necessary, in turn, to bear in mind not only the degree of development of representative institutions, but the dynamic character of such institutions through the participation and influence in such bodies of the native elements of the Territory's population

It is with this point of view that we shall analyse political development at the central Government level. Here we find organs which are unduly complex in a manner unwarranted in a society such as Tanganyika, but organs which are rather scarcely representative in that they represent only certain groups of the population, or do not represent broad groups of the population in a sufficiently representative fashion.

To bear this out, I think it will be sufficient briefly to recall some of the data which has been submitted to us. According to the annual report, the Territory is administered by the Governor, assisted by an Executive Council which is made up of eight official members and six non-official members. The Government Departments are under the direction, co-ordination and supervision of an official member of the Council, who is directly answerable or responsible to the Governor, and it is also the special concern of one of the non-official members.

The laws of the Territory or the ordinances of the Territory are decided upon by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council, this Council being made up of thirteen members on the Government side, or eight ex-officio members, who are officials of the Government; six non-official members of the Executive Council and seventeen appointed members, of which eight are non-official. There are also thirty representative members with the following distribution: 10 Africans, 10 Asians and 10 Europeans, one for each race for each one of the eight Provinces, and the capital, Dar es Salaam, plus three members representing general interests.

It is fitting to note that fundamentally the legislative functions stem from the Administering Authority. With the advice and consent of the Council, the Governor enacts laws for the administration of justice, for the handling of revenues, for the maintenance of peace, order and good government in the Territory. Not only, however, can the Governor refuse to accept the advice of his Executive Council, in which case he must report on the matter to the Secretary of State for Colonies and state the reasons for his decision, but he can also refuse his consent to a project which has been passed by the Legislative Council, in which case the Governor sends the project on to the Secretary of State for Colonies for the determination of the pleasure and decision of Her Majesty as to whether the project is to be approved or rejected.

Although during the year under review such reserve powers were not used by the Governor, the matter of principle involved subsists nevertheless.

The special representative, in his initial statement, informed us that certain constitutional changes were about to be made, and these undoubtedly represent an improvement upon the system as I have just described it.

In point of fact, the idea is to introduce, as of 1 July, a ministerial system and to appoint six non-official deputy ministers, of whom four will be Africans, one Asian and one European; so that one African and one European have been appointed for the new Social Services Ministry, an African for the Ministry of Natural Resources, an African for the Ministry of Local Government and Administration, and another for the Ministry of Lands and Mines, and lastly, an Asian has been appointed to the Office of Chief Secretary.

We should point out, moreover, that all these new Deputy Ministers will be ex-officio members of the Legislative Council and when matters relating to the Departments under their administration come before the Executive Council, they will attend meetings of that Council and take part in the discussions therein. Moreover, a law for elections of the Legislative Council has been passed, and the Government proposes to carry out elections in September of 1959; so that all representative members of the Legislative Council may be elected members, and on this basis it may be possible to set up a Committee of the Legislative Council to take up subsequent constitutional reforms.

These unquestionably are very important steps in the constitutional development of Tanganyika. The appointment of six non-official Assistant Ministers, as stressed by the Administering Authority itself, not only opens the way to the introduction of a complete ministerial system, but it also provides an opportunity for Africans to take part in Government activities so that they can gain experience in discharging highly responsible posts which may be open to them in the future. On the other hand, the possibility that representative members of the Legislative Council may be elected to their posts will make that body a more democratic one.

(Mr. Kestler, Guatemala)

However, the objections of principle which were pointed to earlier still remain. The parity representation which is provided to the three major racial groups on the non-official side does not fulfil the fundamental tenet of a democratic government, which, as is well known, endeavours to have legislative organs which faithfully reflect the electoral body by providing to various social groups representation on the basis of their numerical strength.

Moreover, although representative members will not secure their posts on the basis of racial distinctions as has been assured by the Administering Authority but on the basis of electoral districts, we feel from the point of view of a realistic approach to political life that if these racial divisions are maintained each member in the Legislative Council may not choose to defend general interests but rather the interests peculiar to the racial group to which that member belongs.

Naturally, this compels us to suggest that for the time being it is advisable, if not indeed necessary, to correct the principle of parity representation that has been adopted by granting each racial group representation more in line with the numerical strength of that racial group. We should also like to express the hope that in the very near or immediate future any racial distinction will be eliminated as regards the organization of institutions in the Territory.

In approaching the question from the point of view of local government, we find that in urban areas there is also a type of local multi-racial government and that in rural areas governmental powers are generally exercised by African Native Authorities made up of councils of chiefs, which exercise legislative and executive powers, which have their own treasuries and sources of revenue and which evaluate their own revenues. It is hardly necessary to say that here again we express the hope that in the very near future racial distinctions as they apply in this case will also disappear -- and this for the same reasons as were adduced earlier.

On other occasions the Council has voiced the hope that the Administering Authority would pursue its efforts to extend the network of local government bodies, and the Council has taken note of the attention that has been devoted to the training of local government personnel in two residential training schools, in Msumbe and Pasiansi.

(Mr. Kestler, Guatemala)

For this reason we cannot but note with satisfaction the changes which have taken place lately in the Territory in the field of local government. The Administering Authority informs us that under the Local Government Ordinance four new inter-racial councils were established between 1 January 1955 and 1 January 1957 in Dodoma, Inringa, Morogoro and Moshi; and that negotiations have been completed for the establishment of an additional such council in Mbeya, and that another is planned for Tabora in 1958. Moreover, we are told that in January 1958 some 60 per cent of the non-official posts on the councils of the peoples of Morogoro and Arusha will be filled by elections and that elections have in principle been agreed to in the municipality of Dar es Salaam and in the councils of Lindi, Dodoma, Moshi, Mbeya and Mwanza, it being hoped that these latter elections will take place in 1959. Finally, we are told that in the rural areas the main development planned is the conversion of the Native Authorities to District Councils. We are confident that the Administering Authority will continue its efforts and will give even greater impetus to this very important aspect of the political life of the Territory.

On other occasions we have stressed the fact that it is very important for the political life of the Territories to train natives so that they may occupy high posts in the Administration. We must acknowledge that in Tanganyika this problem has been given very serious consideration and that not only have training centres been established but also programmes on a co-ordinated basis have been set up to encompass various public and social services. In his introductory statement the special representative informed us that today there are thirty-one African District officials actually in service and that it is planned to have eight additional such posts in 1957-58. My delegation is confident that the Administering Authority will continue in this course, will train natives for responsible posts and will provide them with opportunities to participate actively in the exercise of public office.

Referring to the question of suffrage, the Administering Authority has informed us that in accordance with the Electoral Law recently passed by the Legislative Council the Government proposes to establish in the Territory, at the beginning of next month, a register of all those qualified to vote, so that after 31 December 1957 it will be possible to begin to draw up electoral rolls;

(Mr. Kestler, Guatemala)

that these electoral rolls will enter into force on 30 June 1958; and that, finally, steps will be taken to organize the elections which will take place in four or five electoral districts during the month of September 1958.

(Mr. Kestler, Guatemala)

We are told, moreover, that in addition to meeting certain residence requirements the voter in order to qualify will have to be twenty-one years old and meet one of the following alternative requirements or qualifications: He will have to have attained standard VIII or a comparable standard; he will have to have an income of \$150 a year; or he will have to be or have been active in certain posts which are specified by law.

These changes call for some brief comments both favourable and unfavourable. There can be no doubt that the very fact that elections are contemplated for the legislative body represents per se a step forward in the field of political advancement. Nonetheless, this is a small step since large sectors of the population are prevented from participating in such elections. We may say in passing that the same groups of the population are to assume a larger number of responsibilities and duties. We feel that the restrictions to which we have alluded are not really warranted. For these reasons, we trust that the Administering Authority will very soon envisage the possibility of reconsidering its position and, to reflect the aspirations of all members of the community, will introduce universal suffrage not only for elections to the central Legislative Council, but also to the local representative councils or local bodies.

As regards the activities of political parties, the Administering Authority has expressed a desire to continue with a policy which will foster the establishment of such political organizations. The 1954 Societies Ordinance established a register of societies in general, and this has led to an improvement in the basic structure of such organizations. We are told that at the end of 1955 approximately eighty associations of a political nature were included in this register. Nonetheless, we have noted that the activities of such associations are limited and that they are subject to many restrictions. On the one hand, these political associations seem to be subject to discretionary powers vested in the Administering Authority, which can refuse to register such political associations or cancel their registration, and thus affect their very existence if and when it is felt that this register is being used by these organizations for purposes which are prejudicial to the maintenance of peace, order and good government. On the other hand, these organizations have not been given an opportunity to participate actively in the political life of the Territory.

(Mr. Kestler, Guatemala)

It is our opinion that political parties, as organs which serve to reflect public opinion, are of paramount importance in any democratic system. That is why we trust that the Administering Authority will intensify its efforts so as to provide these associations with broad legal guarantees and safeguards affecting not only their existence, but also their functions and the activities of their members.

Before I leave the question of political affairs, I should like to refer to the matter of the attainment of self-government or independence.

My delegation wishes to reiterate the position which it has maintained in the past in connexion with other territories. We feel certain that, in line with the procedure approved at the tenth session of the General Assembly, the Drafting Committee which will be appointed in due time for this Territory, will give close consideration to this problem since it is a problem which is involved in the application of definite resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council.

We would now like to comment on economic affairs. At the beginning of our statement, we may say that possibly it is not too venturesome a generalization to say that Tanganyika is one of the African territories which has the best statistics as well as the lowest per capita income. This conclusion was reached in the study of the East Africa Royal Commission in its report of 1953-1955. The data provided by the Administering Authority bear out this characteristic of the economy of the Territory. The gross product figures for the Territory embodied in the initial statement of the special representative can be taken as depicting this situation although they are provisional figures. In accordance with these figures, the per capita product in Tanganyika in 1952 was estimated at £17. In the same year, the estimate of the per capita product in Northern Rhodesia was £50 and in the Union of South Africa £100.

A comparison of the per capita income which results from these figures obviously places Tanganyika in a position of inferiority vis-à-vis the two most advanced African countries to which we have just referred. If we single out this fact, it is not because we wish to criticise the results achieved by the British administration in Tanganyika. We feel, however, that this gives the proper perspective to the peculiar problems which confront the Territory. The special representative in his initial statement spoke in very convincing terms on these problems. We shall return to this later.

(Mr. Kestler, Guatemala)

I should now like to speak about another characteristic of the economy of Tanganyika, and that is the following: the proportion of monies devoted to subsistence agricultural activities is very high if we compare the situation in the Territory with that of other African regions. The following figures taken from the East Africa Royal Commission Report will bear out this contention: the monetary value of subsistence agriculture in Tanganyika amounts to 40 per cent of the total gross product, whereas in Northern Rhodesia it amounts to only 5 per cent, and in the Union of South Africa it is less than 2 per cent of the total gross product.

We can in general terms infer from this that the economy of the Territory is, which is the case in many under-developed countries, struggling between the boundaries of poverty and backwardness. In the case of Tanganyika we should bear in mind particularly that the low income level deeply affects the rural population, and the rural population represents seven-eighths of the total population of the Territory, the majority of whom are still engaged in subsistence agriculture.

We must acknowledge the impact of the rather unfavourable natural resources of the Territory upon the economic conditions which we find in the Territory. The special representative has very comprehensive knowledge of the Territory and has very ably described four of the most significant problems which arise in the economic field. These problems are: the serious limitation of water supply; the existence of the tsetse fly over broad areas of land which encompass approximately two-thirds of the total area of Tanganyika; the relative inadequacy of communications; and the lack of known mineral resources.

The first three factors are intimately connected with the whole question of economic development, for the eradication of the tsetse fly presupposes the productive utilization of reclaimed land, and this in turn raises the problem of irrigation. At a later stage of economic development, the need of communications would become quite evident so as to provide an outlet to the new commodities which would thus be produced.

From all this it is quite clear that it is of great importance to have proper planning so that all efforts undertaken in the Territory may be used in such a way as to broaden the basis of the economy in order that there can be trade within the Territory. This presupposes that gradually the area where subsistence agriculture prevails will be limited or reduced in such a way as to benefit broad sectors of the rural population which are still living at a very primitive level.

(Mr. Kestler, Guatemala)

I think it is only fair to acknowledge the progress achieved by the Administering Authority along these lines and to congratulate the Administering Authority for its determination to continue to seek solutions to these very important problems. In the field of achievements we must single out with gratification the Mlali plan near Morogoro, which provided for an irrigated area of 350 acres. Among projects which are under way, we wish to mention those under the care of the Makonde Water Corporation, which are designed to irrigate the Makonde plains. Among projects which are being studied and investigated by the Administering Authority, we may single out the Rufiji River Project which would extend agricultural or tillable land in Tanganyika by 1 million acres.

Our delegation would like to express the hope that the Administering Authority will persevere unstintingly in carrying out all these plans and that it will give preferential treatment to the native population, whose settlement in the new areas open to exploitation is of particular importance in the Territory.

We do not, of course, overlook the financing difficulties for the development of the Territory which are encountered by the Administering Authority. These difficulties stem from the low-saving capacity of the population, a population whose income level is quite low. To raise the income level of the inhabitants and to strengthen their saving capacity, it is necessary to bring into productive activity resources which are untapped as a result of inadequate development. But of course this development cannot be attempted without proper financing. Here we have the perennial problem which is encountered by under-developed countries.

The tax system of Tanganyika is based on the capacity of the inhabitants to contribute. This tax system provides for all current expenses, but only for very few capital expenditures. That is why a large number of public investments have been financed by resorting to loans. The public debt in the Territory has reached the substantial sum of £11 million sterling, which represents more than 60 per cent of the territorial revenue as estimated for the year 1955-56. The new economic plan for 1956-60 is to be financed by means of new loans which will cause a new rise in the public debt to more than twice its existing level. This reflects the laudable desire to speed up the progress of this Territory. We venture to give our support to these plans of the Administering Authority, and we are pleased to note that these same plans have won the support of the Legislative Council.

(Mr. Kestler, Guatemala)

In giving our support to these plans, however, we wish to make it clear that we are doing so because we are confident that care will be taken not to assume so many commitments that the Territory's finances will be placed in an untenable position, and, in any event, that the Administering Authority will be prepared to provide financial assistance if that should be required.

In connexion with these same problems, we are gratified to note the Administering Authority's statement that, following a tendency which has developed of late, greater emphasis will be placed upon capital expenditure of a productive nature. Such a course is very necessary at the present stage of the Territory's development. In view of the growing and understandable demand for social services, as well as for educational and health services, the existing resources and the resources that will become available as the result of an increase in production must be used to meet the cost of these ever-increasing services sought so urgently by the population.

We should also like to draw attention to the significant fact that the participation of indigenous farmers in the cultivation of cash crops seems to be playing a rather important role, even though coffee, cotton, copra, tobacco and sisal represent the major fields of activity in this respect. It does not seem that the indigenous inhabitants have shown any interest in the cultivation of wheat, tea and sugar cane. It would be very interesting to know the reasons for that lack of interest. That is why we hope that information on this score will be submitted to us in due course.

In connexion with the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the cultivation of cash crops, we note the network of co-operatives functioning in the Territory. I think that the Administering Authority has a right to be proud of the progress achieved in that domain. We have been informed of the role played by co-operative societies in the milling of coffee grains, and we have also been told of the assistance which these co-operative societies provide to their members in the way of financing, through the granting of loans at harvest time. Such financial assistance is of particular importance since the indigenous inhabitants are as yet not prepared to have recourse to banking institutions; in any event, the indigenous inhabitants cannot provide enough security to receive bank loans.

(Mr. Kestler, Guatemala)

My delegation has noted with interest that the Administering Authority and the Government of Tanganyika have been giving close attention to the delicate problem of land tenure, in the light of the recommendations embodied in the study of the Royal Commission on Land in East Africa. Enough has been said on the negative role played by a system of collective land holdings, based on tribal customs, in an expanding economy. The most acute problem may arise as a result of the difficulties encountered in substituting advanced agricultural techniques for primitive methods, thus making it possible not only to supply the population with foodstuffs but also to establish commercial surpluses which, in turn, would lead to larger savings and investments. This matter is so important that we wish to express the hope that satisfactory results will be achieved as soon as possible, but not, of course, at the jeopardy of the interests of the indigenous population. The interests of the indigenous population must be safeguarded at all costs through guarantees that the land will remain in indigenous hands, that the land will directly benefit the indigenous inhabitants, and that the basis will thus be provided for a free and independent Tanganyika.

In the social field, we note that in 1956 the Administering Authority drew up a plan for the development of medical services in the period 1956-1961 and that this plan has been approved by the Legislature. We also note that a committee is now preparing recommendations concerning priorities for the implementation of the various proposals. According to the special representative's opening statement, this plan contemplates the establishment within the period 1956-1961 of forty rural health centres which will not only cure diseases but will provide preventive medical care. These centres will ultimately replace the dispensaries, which do not provide preventive medical care. The special representative has also informed us that the hospital building programme will be continued; that during 1956 new hospitals were completed at Ukerewe and Singida and a new maternity unit at Nzega; that good progress was achieved in the construction of six new district hospitals and a new ward block at the Tanga hospital; that the building of a third outpatient clinic was started in Dar es Salaam and of a maternity unit at Lindi; that the extension of the Mirembe Mental Hospital at Dodoma continued, with the provision of accommodation

(Mr. Kestler, Guatemala)

for a further forty patients; that the new General Hospital and Training Centre at Dar es Salaam was opened in October and, although this hospital is not yet completed, some sections are already in operation; and, lastly, that a health education section has been established in the Medical Department. There can be no doubt that all these achievements represent very important steps forward towards the solution of the Territory's health problems. We feel, however, that much still remains to be done.

(Mr. Kestler, Guatemala)

Certain diseases, such as cerebral spinal meningitis, gonorrhoea, malaria and pulmonary tuberculosis, far from having declined, have considerably increased. Statistics on cerebral spinal meningitis show 221 cases of this disease in 1953, 239 in 1954, and 460 in 1955. As regards malaria, we note that there were 136,906 cases recorded in 1954, and in 1955 the number increased to 145,159. The number of cases of gonorrhoea recorded in 1954 was 27,056, and in 1955 the number rose to 33,017. As for pulmonary tuberculosis, we note that in 1953 there were 4,359 such cases treated, but that this figure rose in 1954 to 4,990, and to 6,010 in 1955. During the questioning period, the special representative explained this phenomenon, attributing it to a better diagnosis of the diseases and to the fact that the population, having become aware of the benefits of medical treatment, have turned to the medical services more frequently than in the past. We are confident that the Administering Authority will continue to give its attention to these problems, which are of an urgent nature.

We note with satisfaction that, as a result of the establishment of health education services, the population in rural areas participate more actively in public health work through the channel of local government organization.

In the labour field, we regret to note that compulsory labour still exists in the Territory. During the questioning period the special representative told us that such compulsory labour was subject to severe restrictions and applied only to portage and other minor types of work, primarily local in nature. He said that, in any case, it will be progressively abolished. My delegation hopes that complete abolition of such form of labour will be achieved in the near future, for we feel that it is contrary to justice and to the principle that all work must be remunerated with fairness.

We have observed that there are no set limits to the working hours per day determined specifically by law. The special representative informed us that, in some cases, this situation is covered by collective bargaining agreements between employers and trade unions and that by providing over-time payments, the working day is considered to be eight hours. We feel, however, that the social and cultural inferiority of the inhabitants of the Territory is such as to call for more effective legal protection in the case of individual labour contracts, and we hope that the new laws to be enacted will give proper and thorough protection to this situation.

(Mr. Kestler, Guatemala)

We regret that corporal punishment is still applied in the Territory. The special representative, in reply to questions which we put to him on this subject, told us that public opinion had been in favour of retaining such a measure for adults and youths in connexion with certain types of offences; that corporal punishment is applied with very severe limitations, since it cannot be used in the case of women, men sentenced to death, or men over forty-five years of age. It seems to us, however, that such restrictions are not really very stringent. We do not understand what purpose could be achieved in applying corporal punishment to a man sentenced to death or to one who has reached the age of forty-five, if the purpose of such punishment is to rehabilitate the offender. This leads us to urge the Administering Authority to reconsider this matter in order that this type of punishment may be abolished completely as soon as possible.

In considering the degree of development in the field of education, we again have before us a valuable document provided by UNESCO (T/1304). We should like to thank that agency and its representative here, Mr. Salsamendi, for the manner in which they have co-operated in the work of the Council. We regret that other specialized agencies, particularly WHO, have not made a contribution of this kind in order that we might have had a more accurate picture of conditions in the Territory in the various fields which are the concern of these specialized agencies, as well as of great significance in the development of the Territory.

The educational policy followed by the Administering Authority continues not only to stress technical and academic training, but also to endeavour to build up a community all the members of which will assume political, economic and social responsibility, so that the complete mental, physical and spiritual development of the individuals can be attained. This policy seems to be quite in line with the conditions in the Territory, and we feel that we can support it.

(Mr. Kestler, Guatemala)

We note considerable progress and achievements in this sphere. Expenditures for education have progressively increased and the construction of school buildings is also continuing. Moreover, the objectives established in the ten year plan for African education were attained in 1955, that is to say one year before the date which had been originally set for the achievement of a figure of 310,000 for enrolment in the schools. What is even more encouraging is that the special representative has informed us that the figure will be further improved during 1957, and that in standards one to four 361,000 pupils will be enrolled and for standards five to twelve another 40,000.

We are told that a new plan for 1956 to 1961 continues this emphasis on primary education and on the extension of middle, secondary and vocational education, and we hope that this plan, like the earlier one, will prove successful.

As regards secondary education, the increase in school enrolments has continued, but has not been as speedy as in the past, and we hope that the Administering Authority will continue its efforts to improve the number of pupils attending secondary schools. During the questioning period, the special representative drew attention to the encouraging progress which had been made in the field of vocational education. We are told that in 1957 the Ifunda Trade School graduated 501 students and that in April 1957 the new trade school at Moshi was opened with an initial enrolment of ninety six students. We are also told that a group of fifteen students in the Department of Engineering of the Technical Institute which is being established in Dar-es-Salaam successfully began their studies. During this year at the latest, the buildings for the Dar-es-Salaam Institute will be completed to house the one hundred students who are now attending commercial or business courses in temporary premises in the city. Moreover, the special representative has informed us of the considerable progress achieved in the number of African students being educated abroad. There are many African students holding scholarships outside East Africa and the number now being educated in the United Kingdom if I am not mistaken, is approximately four hundred. The special representative told us that during the academic year 1956-1957 the number of Tanganyika students at Makerere was one hundred and sixty-seven

(Mr. Kestler, Guatemala)

and that in 1957-58 there will be fifty-two new African students of whom thirty-four will be taking scientific courses while the rest are taking art courses.

In regard to the number of teachers, the figures provided by the special representative are also encouraging. He told us that in 1957 188 men and 40 women were undergoing training for the first grade and 1,330 men and 575 women for the second grade. We note, however, that the increase in the number of women engaged in teaching is relatively slow. This situation, we are told, derives from the educational system itself and from the fact that more schools have been built for men rather than from the status of women in the Territory. We hope that this situation will be improved as a result of continuing resolute efforts. In that connexion the special representative pointed out that thirty-eight new middle schools for women will be built under the new plan and that this will bring about a gradual increase in the number of women who are prepared to be teachers. We feel that these efforts can be supplemented by a broad educational campaign designed to create a proper consciousness of the role of women in modern society.

Appreciable advances are also to be noted in the field of culture and research. The programme of scientific research in the Territory is very extensive and covers not only geology, meteorology and applied chemistry but also subjects which are of immediate and practical interest to the inhabitants such as agricultural and health questions. In the cultural field the Administering Authority has expressed its desire to provide the inhabitants of the Territory with facilities to express their artistic and cultural aspirations.

(Mr. Kestler, Guatemala)

Mention has been made of the fact that special consideration is being given to the establishment of an Academy of Arts and Sciences. We hope that funds will be found to finance this Academy since it is of great importance for the cultural development of the inhabitants. We feel that the efforts made by the African Music Research Society and other similar institutions are of great benefit to the artistic development of the community since these activities tend to encourage singing, dancing and other local cultural activities.

We hope that the Administering Authority will keep this interest alive by increasing the progress in this field which is of such importance to the development of community life.

We cannot come to the end of our statement without referring to two negative aspects of the educational picture in Tanganyika and we feel that these defects should be overcome. We are referring to the fact that fees are being charged in Government primary schools and to the fact that there is a separation or distinction on the basis of the racial origin of the students. As regards the first defect, we feel that these measures are unwarranted. The fees charged are so small that such monies could well be attained by other channels without in any way jeopardizing the operations of primary schools, particularly since education in the primary grade is of very great importance. Families in the Territory are very poor and rather than add another financial difficulty for the families, we feel that it would be far better to encourage these families to send their children to school.

As regards the other matter of racial distinction in school, our delegation has already repeatedly expressed its views. We shall do no more therefore at this time than to express the hope that such practices will disappear by means of constant and progressive change in the immediate future.

In conclusion, I should like to place on record our thanks to the permanent representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Andrew Cohen, as well as to the special representative, Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, for the very patient and courteous way in which they dispelled our doubts during the questioning period and for the manner in which they supplied all the necessary information so that we might have a better appreciation of the conditions prevailing in the Territory.

The meeting was suspended at 3.55 p.m. and resumed at 4.10 p.m.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(interpretation from Russian): The question of conditions in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika is being considered at the twentieth session of the Trusteeship Council under circumstances which are profoundly different from the entire preceding period of trusteeship. In brief, this situation is characterized by the serious upsurge of political activity on the part of the people of the Territory and the intensification of their aspirations for independence. As the New York Times pointed out in an article on 31 March, "in the last few months the rumble of battle has been heard in Tanganyika."

The political movement in the Territory has become so extensive as to be impossible to overlook, and, as it appears to us, the Administering Authority is beginning to appreciate the significance of the social processes taking place in the Territory. At the present time, however, what is decisive is how deeply the Administering Authority is able to take to heart the wisdom of the words uttered here by Chief Mwarealle II, Paramount Chief of the Wachagga, who said that any concessions which were made grudgingly and late would be useless. Up to now we have seen that the Administering Authority has acted without taking proper account of this undoubted truth.

The first response -- the first both in time and in importance -- of the Administering Authority to the demands arising from the political situation in the Territory was the decision to hold elections in the Territory. The significance of this measure is self-evident and requires no commentary. However, the question now is not whether or not elections will be held. Such a question would not be a legitimate one. This is so clear that even The Times of London noted in its issue of 31 May:

"Delay or postponement of the elections for any reason could lead to an irreparable disturbance of the tempo of political development. The question now is how democratic the elections will be and whether the method of holding them will correspond to the hopes of the people of the Territory."

Approaching the elections from this point of view, we must say that, in the form in which they have been conceived by the Administering Authority, the elections fall far short of the needs of the moment.

We have heard here the remarkable statements by the petitioners, who expressed what we cannot doubt is the opinion of the majority of the people of the Territory. What are their main demands and wishes? They ask for guarantees that the country will not remain under the domination of an insignificant minority. They ask for guarantees that elections will be held in keeping with the dignity of a people numbering 8 million.

At the present time their demands are even less than what we have mentioned. In spite of this, they are termed extreme nationalists threatening the interests of the minority. If one weighs impartially what was said here by the petitioners, there can be no doubt that they are not asking for any privileges for the Africans. We have heard their oft-repeated explanations that their aspirations are designed to free themselves from racial prejudices and that in a free Tanganyika the origin of the people who rule the country would have no importance provided that they had been elected lawfully and democratically by the people. The only concern of the petitioners who spoke here was to ensure that the people who make up 98 per cent of the population of the Territory should not be placed in an oppressed position after the termination of the trusteeship. Are these apprehensions groundless? Do not the bitter lessons of the past give these people the right to be cautious?

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One cannot wipe out of the memory of the Africans the millions of slaves taken away and mistreated. It is possible that in Tanganyika there may no longer remain any living witnesses of what occurred only fifty years ago when the entire south of the so-called German East Africa was destroyed. But one may be sure that they have not forgotten the loss of 120,000 Africans as a result of those events.

Should we be surprised when the representatives of these people manifest alarm for their future and call for equality of treatment? Can we call it a demand for some kind of privileges when the petitioners who spoke here speak of their willingness to share potential political power with others on the basis of complete personal equality? In spite of this, they are accused of extreme nationalism. At the same time we are asked to consider as a manifestation of racial equality granting to a people of 8 million less than is given to 3,000 Europeans permanently residing in the Territory.

We are opposed to any privileges whatsoever for any race or nation. We are in favour of complete equality of all races and nations. Therefore we are also in favour of making sure that these 3,000 are not deprived of the right to elect and to be elected, provided that the condition of complete equality is observed. If, among these 3,000, ten or even twenty true patriots of the country are found who deserve universal recognition expressed in free elections, it would be a manifestation of true equality were they to be elected to the legislative organs of the Territory. The decision, however, in this question must be left to the people.

When the number of voters among the 8 million population with the help of a whole system of restrictions is whittled down to a level comparable to the level of the number of voters among the 3,000 Europeans, it is absurd to speak of any kind of equality. But that is not all. Each voter is asked to vote for three candidates, one from each race. If he does not do this, his ballot is considered invalid. Thus we are dealing with the fact of forced voting. This is the way the principle of racial equality preached by the Administering Authority looks in practice.

With reference to the forthcoming elections, we cannot leave aside those restrictions on the freedom of political activity which have been imposed on the Tanganyika African National Union. The activities of the Administering Authority in this question appear to us to be unjustified, and we hope that all restrictions

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will be lifted without delay. True equality of races and nations is possible only with the introduction of universal suffrage for all without exception, under which the worth of a candidate would be determined not by his affiliation with a particular race, but only by his personal services to the people. Unfortunately the Administering Authority does not display any aspirations in this direction.

The Governor has stated, and the special representative has confirmed here, that the Administration, far from introducing universal suffrage, does not even intend to take the question up in the near future. If the Administering Authority does not wish to be late with its concessions, it must not oppose the introduction of universal suffrage; and the sooner and the more willingly it does this, the more it will contribute to the benefit of the people of the Territory.

As regards the multi-racial principle carried out by the Administering Authority, it must be stated with all clarity that in practice this principle means fanning the flames of racial discord, mistrust and hostility among the various races inhabiting the Territory. Instead of coming together on the basis of mutual assistance and co-operation, people are forced to live behind artificially created barriers and to fight to maintain those barriers. We find a manifestation of this vicious system not only in the elections system, but everywhere, and in particular in the organization of public education.

Much has been said concerning the creation of multi-racial schools. Nevertheless not a single African is admitted to the schools for Europeans. Whatever attempts are made to cover up these acts, one thing is clear -- that those Europeans, the majority of whom are not permanent residents of the Territory, who claim a dominating position in the country do not wish to admit African children to the schools in which their own children study. I have already said once and I consider it necessary to repeat that the Governor of Tanganyika himself confirms that Europeans are afraid that if the doors of their schools are opened the students of other races will flood these schools.

Then why the reference to the difficulties of teaching all children in one common language which we have often heard from representatives of the Administering Authority? It goes without saying that we are wholeheartedly in favour of instruction in the native language, but we are no less firmly opposed to any restriction whatsoever on the rights of Africans to choose the school to which they want to send their children. We are profoundly convinced that the time will come

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when, in a free Tanganyika, teaching will be carried on in the native languages not only in elementary and secondary education, but in higher education as well, and the Europeans residing in the Territory will be proud of their knowledge of these languages. This in no way will reduce the respect of the Tanganyika people for all other languages, including the beautiful and rich English language. If the Administering Authority does not wish to be late in this matter as well, it should hasten to eliminate all racial obstacles in the field of public education and it should make every school accessible and available to all races.

We have carefully studied the documentation describing the economic development of the Territory. Unfortunately, we have not come to encouraging conclusions. If one approaches the matter from the point of view of purely quantitative changes, of course one might come to the conclusion that there was progress in the field of the economic development of the Territory. However, such an approach will be one-sided because it would not take into account the qualitative changes which, in the present case, would be of more decisive significance. In order to assess the situation, we will not be ill-advised to listen to what the Administering Authority says. It is literally as follows: "The general economic situation of the Territory remains the same as described in the preceding report. The national economy is based chiefly on agriculture and breeding of livestock, and the chief products remain sisal, coffee, cotton, hides and vegetable oils."

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What can one see that is qualitatively new in this conclusion? Like ten years and forty years ago, the production of raw materials for export is developed. What should be especially emphasized is that an analysis of the development plans of the Territory shows that the same thing is being prepared for the Territory in the future as well. The special representative has stated clearly that the industrial development of the Territory is not provided for in any plans. All the attention is focused, as in the past, on the development of the plantation economy and partly on transport required for the export of raw materials. It is hardly necessary to say that such an approach cannot bring the Territory closer to independence.

No matter what Territory we may be considering, we hear the same complaints of the lack of possibilities and funds for the development of those Territories. We hear the same things constantly with respect to the Territories of Africa, the same Africa which is already furnishing 93 per cent of the diamonds extracted in the Capitalist world, 80 per cent of the cobalt, 56 per cent of the gold, 53 per cent of the chrome, 56 per cent of the manganese, 27 per cent of the copper, and, as was rightly pointed out by one of the petitioners, 70 per cent of the cacao, 60 per cent of the uranium and 60 per cent of the coconut oil. It seems that all these resources are not enough to create a native African industry.

In Tanganyika there are enormous reserves of mineral raw materials, and this is confirmed by such an authority as Mr. Bisset, Director of the Department of Geological Surveys. In this expert's report, the need for an early development of the means of transport in the central regions of the Territory is emphasized. He stated: "With an appropriate development of water supply, power resources and the means of transport, it is considered that Tanganyika possesses the mineral resources necessary to attain a good degree of industrialization."

In addition to the existence of large deposits of coal, iron, limestone, and dolomite, the existence is also known of titanium, copper, lead, diamonds and a number of precious non-ferrous metals. It would be interesting to hear what will be said after this by those representatives who have referred to the poverty of the mineral resources of the Territory. Would it not be more true to say that the interests of the Administering Authority and those of the Territory do not

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coincide on the present question? The Administering Authority is interested in the export of raw materials and not in the establishment of industry. This becomes especially clear if one takes into account the particular significance of such crops as cocoa and sisal, which have received the term of dollar-crops not by accident.

The special representative was kind enough to state that in some years exports from Tanganyika to the dollar area had reached £10 million sterling, but he was not able to state what percentage of that amount was placed at the disposal of the Territory. Perhaps a reply to that question may be found in the following two statements. On 12 November 1947, the then Minister of Finance, Sir Stafford Cripps, said: "The whole future of the sterling block and its ability to survive depend on a rapid and broad development of African resources." On 11 December 1956, Mr. James Griffiths admitted in the House of Commons that: "The United Kingdom could not survive the dollar crisis without the aid of the colonies." It turns out that this is where the dollar gains from export goods from Tanganyika are directed.

The special representative stated that foreign companies in Tanganyika do not receive any profits. It is known, however, that in 1955 British colonial companies received £200 million sterling clear profit and invested on the whole only £71 million sterling. Probably some part of these profits was also derived in Tanganyika. At the same time we are constantly assured of the absence of funds for the industrial development of the Territory.

It should be pointed out that the development of agriculture is also of a very special nature. The economy of foreign planters is put in the foreground. As the Royal Commission on Land Questions recognized, the basic problem of the Territory is the low productivity of the average African farmer, who is engaging in a subsistence economy. This admission has at least the value of correctly revealing the real state of affairs. It shows the true picture. When behind the general facts of agricultural production one finds a stagnant position, indeed occasionally a regressive position, with respect to the majority of farmers, one cannot be satisfied with the particular achievements of a small group of European planters. We must be concerned about the growth of the standard of living of the majority of the population.

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An indication of the fact that insufficient attention is paid to the development of the economy of the native farmers is to be found in the fact that loans given by the Land Bank are practically unattainable by Africans since they have difficulty in giving guarantees to obtain loans. Let us note in passing that loans from the Housing Fund are just as unattainable by Africans.

We consider that it is also necessary to draw the attention of the Council to the question of the alienation of the land of the indigenous population, which is continuing in the Territory. In the year under consideration, the Administration alienated 133,229 acres of land. In this connexion, we believe that the Council must recommend to the Administering Authority that it should review its attitude on this question.

In the field of social development, we consider that it is necessary to recommend, especially to the Advisory Committee, that an end should be put immediately to the numerous unfortunate manifestations of racial discrimination, that obstacles should be removed to the political activities of parties and public organizations, and that the rights of women and the improvement of their status should be advanced.

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We consider it completely inadmissible that corporal punishment should be maintained in the Territory. In fact, corporal punishment is widely used for the African population of Tanganyika. We hope that an end will soon be put to the application of this kind of punishment.

The petitioners who spoke to the Trusteeship Council expressed their views, very clearly and very convincingly, on one of the most important questions facing the Territory -- namely, the question of establishing a time-limit for the achievement of independence. The arguments advanced by those petitioners in favour of the establishment of a time-limit require no additional support; they are convincing and indisputable. The people of the Territory not only must know the purposes of trusteeship, but must be told -- as they are lawfully demanding to be told -- of the borderline beyond which their independent life will begin. The people of Tanganyika do not find it easy to contribute victims to the struggle without knowing when they will enjoy the fruits of victory.

One cannot but regret that the Administering Authority's intentions in this respect do not open up encouraging prospects. Thus, the special representative, Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, stated in an interview in the newspaper Tanganyika Standard that many years would pass before there would be a sufficient number of qualified Africans in Tanganyika to allow the Territory to begin successful self-government. We cannot agree with such an assessment of the Territory's progress towards independence. We are profoundly convinced that, once the people of Tanganyika have taken into their hands the government of their own country, they will be able in a short period of time to train all the experts and specialists, from the bottom to the top, required to rule their country.

As is known, the petitioners who addressed the Council mentioned a definite period -- a period which is not a particularly small one, taking into account modern rates of development. We consider the period more than adequate for bringing the Territory to independence. The Soviet Union delegation therefore warmly supports this demand by the petitioners. We are convinced that the very establishment of this period would be so strong a factor that the people of the Territory would be stimulated to find the path to independence in a considerably shorter period of time. This would represent an achievement not only for the people of Tanganyika, but also for the United Nations. We have no doubt that the

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people, counting among their ranks such educated and wise leaders as the petitioners who spoke to the Trusteeship Council -- and those petitioners are by no means alone in the Territory -- will be able to take into their own hands the government of their country in the near future.

Mr. KIANG (China): I must crave the Council's indulgence, since my statement on this subject will be somewhat longer than my usual statements.

Since the Council decided to defer its examination of the 1955 report on the administration of Tanganyika, we have been anxious to receive the full and latest information on conditions in that Trust Territory. My delegation has therefore listened with the greatest interest and care to the statements of the representative of the United Kingdom and the special representative from the Territory. They have brought to the Council the much-needed up-to-date information. Since Mr. Fletcher-Cooke has only recently assumed the post of Member for Constitutional Affairs in Tanganyika, whatever he has said in this Council has been given the closest attention. His answers to various questions have added to our understanding of the developments in the Territory during the past two years. I need hardly say that the voice of a gentleman with the personal practical experience and liberal views of Sir Andrew Cohen will always be heard with understanding when he intervenes to reassure this Council.

This time, the Council has heard two well-known petitioners: Chief Maresalle II and Mr. Nyerere. We all know their background very well. I think that both have made their eloquence and views felt in this Council. Their words have given us much food for thought. I believe that our friends from the United Kingdom can at least take comfort in the contribution that their civilization has made to the success of the petitioners' excellent performance, with which my delegation has been more than impressed. Mr. Nyerere, by his moderation and statesmanship, has helped to clear a great deal of air in our debate on such an important Trust Territory.

In his lengthy, well prepared and altogether impressive opening statement, the special representative has guided us on a tour of the Administering Authority's achievements in Tanganyika during the past twenty years. In recalling those twenty years of progress in the Territory, the special representative must at heart agree with many of us that twenty years ago no one would ever have predicted what we are

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seeing today: the growth of nationalism in Tanganyika. Today, we cannot help being amazed at the pace of progress in Tanganyika. Just as one looks back twenty years with so much gusto, one could also look forward with certainty to the attainment by the people of Tanganyika of their self-government or independence in the not to distant future.

I must say that the special representative was right in conveying to the Council the sense of an inter-relationship between the different fields of advancement. He said that economic, social and cultural progress must be pursued with vigour if political progress is to be successful and well-founded. We agree that without social, educational and economic advancement there can be no political advancement. Thus, the political advance has not outstripped, so to speak, the economic and social progress of the Territory. It will be in this same order of progress that my delegation will offer a few observations on some salient points connected with the recent developments in Tanganyika.

It can be said with great satisfaction that the Administering Authority has continued its efforts to expand and improve the Territory's medical and health services. The new plan for the development of medical and health services during the period 1956-1961 is indeed a laudable one.

We should certainly like to see social advancement unmarred by the continuing practice of corporal punishment and penal sanctions for breach of contracts. We hope that in the next annual report the Administering Authority will be able to give us some encouraging information on this matter, to which the Trusteeship Council has always attached great importance.

A great deal of information has been furnished to us by the special representative in his replies to questions on education. We are happy to note that a new plan, covering the period 1957-1961, for further developments of African education has been approved by the Legislature. We hope that the necessary funds will be provided for the implementation of this commendable plan. In view of the educational qualifications laid down in the new electoral ordinance, it is even more urgent that greater efforts should be made to provide the necessary educational facilities to qualify more Africans as voters.

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Tanganyika has, however, remains without internal facilities for higher education. With the exception of scholarships for overseas or for technical training in the neighbouring Territories, most students who have qualified themselves have to leave their own Territory and go to Makerere College in Uganda. In saying this, I do not mean, in any sense, to belittle that College. Although a decision has been made to establish a university college in the Territory, it is most disappointing to learn from the special representative that the establishment of this higher education institution will not become an active proposition for some years to come. The importance of the provision of higher education in the Territory needs no further emphasis on our part. Everyone knows that a nation can be truly self-governing in a modern world only when its citizens can themselves undertake the various technical and professional tasks which our modern life demands. In Tanganyika, a sufficiently large class of highly educated and experienced persons is essential if the people are to manage their own affairs. They should not make a habit of depending upon experts from outside. In saying this, I am not unaware of the fact that even an advanced society needs to employ an expatriated foreigner who has the rare qualifications required for the performance of certain highly technical tasks.

If we look at the British publication, the Inter-University Council Reports, we see a very interesting picture of higher education in both East and West Africa. In East Africa, Kenya and Uganda -- with populations much smaller than Tanganyika -- have in fact more university students, both male and female. The situation was the same in the former Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration.

In the field of education, there are still other areas where greater efforts can be made. We have in mind the question of school segregation between the races, the question of compulsory education, the problem of school fees, the education of girls, and the expansion of middle-school education. In respect of all these questions, we hope that the Administering Authority will give careful consideration to the observations which UNESCO has kindly offered.

I now come to the economic development of the Territory.

Tanganyika, although the largest in area and population of all the Trust Territories, is seriously handicapped in its economic development by the shortage

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of water and infestation of the tsetse fly. It is under such stubborn and hostile physical conditions that some 99 per cent of the population is obliged to live on about one-third of the land; two-thirds of the land is virtually unworked, uninhabited and unexploited, as the special representative has told us. Thus, it is not in the ordinary sense of the word that we say there is plenty of land in that country of "rolling plains", as described to me yesterday by Chief Marealle II. In all fairness, it must be said that the Administering Authority has struggled vigorously to reduce those natural limitations which have imposed themselves so severely upon the economy of the Territory -- which itself is one of subsistence.

In the economic sphere, the Administering Authority has unquestionably made great efforts in the matter of co-operatives, loan funds, and water development, for the purpose of enhancing the productive role of the Africans. In the development of the economic resources of the Territory, the Administering Authority will still have to seek outside financial and expert assistance, without which a number of African production projects would remain on paper. I think that Chief Marealle II told the Council the other day how badly capital is needed for agricultural development and industrial and commercial undertakings. Here is what Chief Marealle II said in this regard:

"What all this really boils down to is that something must be done, and done quickly, to help to develop the dependent parts of Africa so that the wealth which lies buried in the earth and the vast undeveloped areas can be utilized to the full. We need enormous amounts of capital, machinery and technical knowledge, and we feel that if the United Kingdom cannot meet all these needs from its own resources, it should use its good offices to obtain the necessary assistance elsewhere ... " (T/PV.817, page 77)

How rightly Chief Marealle has put his finger on the meaning of what he himself has said about a realistic partnership in Tanganyika. Since so much of the economic development of the Territory must depend upon the capital investment and technical knowledge for which the Africans must look to sources other than British, it is only natural that the Africans should make every effort to retain the goodwill and interest of the immigrant populations from Europe and Asia who

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have contributed so much to the economic life and development of Tanganyika. I am sure that the Africans will welcome in the same spirit the flow of foreign capital into the Territory. In order to inspire the confidence necessary to stimulate the active participation of foreign capital, the Africans will not fail to dispel any doubts which any incoming Europeans and Asians might cast upon the good intentions of the African population.

On the question of capital, we are in agreement with the 1954 Visiting Mission which expressed the view that financial assistance should be sought to finance those projects which form such a promising new approach to the economic development of the Territory and to the essential need for helping the Africans to gain their proper place in the economic field and to acquire the capital and skills required for the establishment of an African middle class.

Like all other parts of East Africa, Tanganyika has the same explosive problem of land. We all know that the question of land is the most sensitive subject in the African mind; but, to solve the land problem in Tanganyika, the land must be removed from matters of politics and tribalism. Let land become a commodity -- one might call it a "laissez-faire" commodity -- available for individual ownership, as any other kind of property. Unless and until the Africans have good and secure title to land through individual ownership, no capital can be raised from the land.

The Africans should be persuaded to understand that, in order to get away from a subsistence agriculture based on the primitive conditions of the past, they must adopt a policy of individual land tenure with individual title to it. This is the best, if not the only way, and is also the first step towards improving their land. My delegation is, therefore, happy to note that the debates in the House of Commons on the report of the East African Royal Commission on Land and Population will not have any adverse effect on the discussions on the land proposals which are to be held in the Legislative Council next September. I am also glad to hear from the special representative that, so far as Tanganyika is concerned, the Royal Commission's report has not been shelved.

It is also most reassuring to hear from the special representative that the new Assistant Minister in the Land Ministry, Mr. Makwaia, who was a member of the

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Royal Commission, will be able to bring his wide experience and influence in order to remove any doubts, should such exist in the minds of some of his compatriots.

I am sure that the representative of the United Kingdom will agree with me that, once the present system of land tenure in Tanganyika has been reformed, one great barrier to economic progress in the Territory will be removed. This, undoubtedly, will help to break down tribal divisions, suspicions and land reserves and will, indeed, help the Africans to turn their attention to the of wealth and improvement through their own individual efforts and profits.

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Let me now turn to the last and most important field of development in the Territory -- the political advancement.

May I, first of all, say a word about the civil service in the Territory. More than once has my delegation spoken about the great importance of the indigenous civil service in the Trust Territories. We believe that for any new independent country the immediate need is to secure the co-operation of all the talent and ability available in the country. It would be a threat to the political stability of any newly independent country if it does not have enough men with adequate knowledge and experience of modern technology to administer their affairs and to render themselves fit for a more advanced civilization. It is for this reason that I would like to urge that the Administering Authority exert much greater efforts to build up the public administration personnel in the Territory. For this purpose, adequate training facilities have to be provided. I am sure the Administering Authority shall be able to seek some technical assistance in this matter from the United Nations. In saying this, I fully recognize that the British Administration, true to its own traditions, must have paid closest attention to this important matter.

This Council's Visiting Mission under the chairmanship of Ambassador Dorsinville, will soon set out on its journey to the Trust Territories in East Africa. As the Visiting Mission will study, among many other things, the question of political development in Tanganyika, my delegation feels inclined at this juncture to withhold its own observations on many of the political issues concerning the Territory. However, in the meantime, we shall confine ourselves to one or two questions arising from what we have so far heard from the special representative and also the two distinguished petitioners.

We agree that important steps have been taken in the constitutional changes, in the Territory for which the Administering Authority deserves our commendation. The adoption of the elections Ordinance is indeed a measure of first class significance, as the representative of the United Kingdom has described. This measure also demonstrates statesmanship on both sides. I say this because I consider the measure as a compromise for which only concessions from the African representatives on the one side and the Administration on the other have made that possible. All that has really been gained is the advancing of the final elections. Instead of 1962, it will be 1959, that is, four years ahead of the original time-table.

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In connexion with the elections Ordinance, provisions have been made to the effect that one of the alternative qualifications is for the potential voter to have an income of £150 a year. While it is not my intention to argue at this juncture either in favour or against the amount so fixed and as we are somehow under the impression that so far as Africans are concerned very few of them enjoy an annual income of the prescribed amount, we therefore express the hope, and indeed we have the confidence, that in the next few crucial years vigorous economic measures will be taken so rapidly to raise the per capita annual income of the African population so as to render much more meaningful this income qualification as provided in the elections Ordinance.

Another measure of significance is in relation to the Executive. I refer to the appointment of six Assistant Ministers who are expected to take part in the formulation of policy at the highest level. This is indeed the beginning of the final introduction of a Ministerial System.

These two political measures of reform are all significant steps forward. But both of them reflect the full play of the principle of parity representation. The common roll has been introduced with clear safeguards for minority representation. We fully understand the meaning of this compromise parity formula. Now, the question which arises in our mind is whether this parity representation is acceptable to the Africans who are 98 per cent of the population against one per cent Asian and only one third of one per cent European? And also whether such a parity representation constitutes a sound foundation for the political development of the Territory.

Yesterday Chief Maresalle greatly impressed my delegation with his remarks on the partnership in Tanganyika. It is indeed only through a realistic partnership that the immigrant communities will be able to continue to contribute their share in the development of the Territory and the Africans will themselves be benefited by such co-operation from their European and Asian partners. But it would be very wrong for the Territory to perpetuate the parity representation in a society which is not at all a plural one but predominately African. In the evolution to common citizenship, it would be much wiser for the immigrant communities to believe in orderly and progressive adaptation. In a primary African state, it is inconceivable that the European community, whose tradition of self-government I well understand, should have a predominant voice in government. In a partnership with the Africans,

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the minorities, not to say very small minorities, must sooner or later have to yield their special claims. It is in the long term interests of the so-called joint enterprise that they must do so.

As I said earlier, we fully appreciate that the parity representation only serves as a temporary arrangement. Just as the representative of the United Kingdom said yesterday, no one has ever regarded the earlier arrangements as being in the category of the laws of Medes and Persians or thought that they should never be subject to change. Since the "parity" legislature has already had a three-year life, the time has come for a reappraisal of the desirability of parity representation. Whatever franchise is extended in the meaning of that formula, such measures are bound soon to be antiquated under the impact of the rapid developments we see elsewhere in Africa.

Before I leave the political field, may I say how reassuring are the words from the representative of the United Kingdom when he re-stated that the Administering Authority had tried to assure the people of Tanganyika that the maximum freedom in the Territory would be promoted and that the Administering Authority was carefully considering permitting the leaders of the Tanganyika African National Union to address public meetings. I am confident that the Administering Authority will show good faith by granting such permission without undue delay. Such a move on the part of the Administration will certainly contribute to a better atmosphere conducive to the imminent elections which will take place before long.

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In conclusion, I wish to express our thanks to the special representative for his assistance to this Council in our examination of the conditions in Tanganyika. We are also very grateful to Chief Marelle, the Paramount Chief of the Chagga people, and to Mr. Nyerere, President of the Tanganyika African National Union. Both of them have contributed a great deal to our understanding of the problems with which both the people and the Administration are struggling with all earnestness in the Territory.

Mr. IALL (India): At the very outset of our statement, we should like to welcome, even though it is a bit late to use that word now, Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, the special representative of Tanganyika. I might say that during our meetings on Tanganyika we have been impressed with his desire to give us full and helpful information, and also with his modesty, if I might use that word, in telling us when he could not supply the information and offering to supply it in due course. We feel that his presence here has been of considerable help in this consideration of Tanganyikan affairs.

In Sir Andrew Cohen, the representative of the United Kingdom, whom Mr. Krishna Menon welcomed to this Council a few days ago, we are fortunate to have a man of outstanding ability whose experience as an ex-Governor in a neighbouring territory enables him to interpret the aspirations of colonial peoples, and this has been proved more than once. We have noted with particular interest the very special emphasis placed by Sir Andrew Cohen on the expansion and improvement of education and the recognition by the Administering Authority that this is necessary in order to help the people to prepare themselves for the responsibilities which lie ahead of them.

We interpret this statement to signify a clear recognition that transfer of responsibility to the people's elected representatives has become both inevitable and imminent, and that in the light of the rapidly changing political situation it has become necessary to place a greater emphasis on the expansion of education.

Before I come to my remarks on Tanganyika I would also like to thank the absent petitioners for their presence here at some of our meetings and for the statements which they made. They were both very impressive statements, the one which was made by the Paramount Chief of the Chagga people, and the one made by the President of the Tanganyika African National Union. Both statements were made in moderate terms and with great sincerity, and I for one was certainly extremely impressed with the political flavour of Tanganyika as it appeared from those statements.

This brings me to a few remarks on Tanganyika as we see the issues now before this important Trust Territory. On the political side, the first question that arises to our mind is this: Where does Tanganyika stand today? The facts of the present political situation are clear enough and I will go to the speech of His Excellency the Governor of Tanganyika to the Legislative Council on 30 April 1957 -- that is not so many weeks ago -- for those facts.

The Governor tells us that ever since he assumed office in 1949 he continued conversations with the leaders of opinion on political matters. Then there was the appointment of the Committee called the Constitutional Development Committee, composed of unofficial members of the Legislative Council. Towards the end of 1951, after eighteen months of deliberation, this Committee submitted a unanimous report, which is the basis of the present situation, the parity representation of the three ethnical groups in the legislature. Then, also, there was the Franchise Committee, and the report of that body became the basis of the present arrangements for the franchise with which we all are now familiar: the income qualification, the educational qualification, and the rather interesting qualification which one acquires if one serves the Government in some form or other. This is very interesting because I am sure that in some respects that would be regarded as a method adopted by the Government of producing moderate and favourable votes. We do not look upon it necessarily in that way; we look upon it as a method of designating people who have some maturity and experience. However, it is a very interesting qualification, undoubtedly a transitory one, because as soon as the franchise widens, interesting qualifications like that become anachronistic.

(Mr. Lall, India)

But I was referring to the present position. Then we have the franchise, and we also have, as the Governor tells us, his decision to appoint six unofficial Assistant Ministers. I may say that he also tells us that the Executive Council will now be composed of Ministers, not of members, which is not just a change in the nomenclature; it is a change which does illustrate the onward march politically of this Territory to responsibility. That is why they will be called Ministers. The Assistant Ministers will be closely involved in all aspects of the Administration's work: the running of the departments, the contact with the people, the talking to the people, and all the political life that is a necessary part of budding responsible government.

These are some of the facts of the present situation, and they are heartening facts. We would commend the Administering Authority for these developments. They are interesting and they are part perhaps of the necessary development at this stage in Tanganyika. But when we ask the question where Tanganyika is today politically, we cannot think only of the present constitutional facts, which are clear enough, but also of the main political currents and aspirations of the people of Tanganyika.

In this respect we are indeed in the happy position of having heard these two petitioners whom I have mentioned, the Paramount Chief of the Chagga tribe -- who I believe would be regarded by every standard, even by the Administering Authority, as a very moderate gentleman -- and, on the other hand, Mr. Julius Nyerere. About his statement we can say, based on our own analysis of his statement, that he is a most sincere nationalist. His political philosophy, we feel, is in the liberal tradition of the modern world and we believe that there can be no question of his being styled an extremist.

The very striking fact which has emerged from the statements of these two petitioners, one an avowed nationalist, and the other an avowed moderate, is the large measure of common ground between them. One has to refer only to the very important matter of political objectives in this Territory.

I should like to quote what Mr. Nyerere said in this connexion. He said that he was asked a question in the Fourth Committee:

"How long did I think our country was going to take to be independent? I said ten to twelve years. Is that not believing in gradualness? I could have said: 'Self-government now'."

(T/PV.818, p.28-30)

And then Mr. Nyerere goes on to say:

"I listened with great interest to the statement yesterday by the Mangi Mkuu" -- I believe that means the Paramount Chief -- "How long did he think we should take to be independent? Ten to fifteen years. What is the difference between the two statements?" (Ibid.)

One might well ask what the difference is. There is no substantial difference, and this in the important matter of political objectives.

(Mr. Lall, India)

But there is another shaft of light that one can throw on that particular point. These are the views of the two petitioners, who are Tanganyikans, but what did the Visiting Mission to Tanganyika say three years ago? I believe that some of the members of that Mission are present in this room too. The Mission said that in its view Tanganyika would achieve self-government or independence "within twenty years", that is to say, within seventeen years from today, which brings us close to the estimates of the two petitioners themselves.

So it would appear to us that for the most part the political currents created in Tanganyika are going at the same pace and in the same direction and, furthermore, that that pace and direction were regarded by a body of observers from the United Nations, from this Council indeed, as appropriate.

So much, then, for the political aspirations of the people and the views of the Visiting Mission. It seems to me that the Visiting Mission had much the same aspirations for the people of Tanganyika as the people of Tanganyika had for themselves, and I think this Council is to be congratulated that it has heard petitioners who are so close to the objective facts, as it were. Now, what is the position on the other side, as it were -- the side of the Administering Authority -- in this matter?

Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom): Excuse me for interrupting, but I have always thought myself on the same side as the people of any Territory I was concerned with.

Mr. LALL (India): I am glad that Sir Andrew said that, because that is what I am going to establish in a moment. Anyway, I withdraw that part of it: "the other side". What is the position on the side of the Administering Authority?

Firstly, I want to refer again to the statement by His Excellency the Governor. He is on the spot there, and this is what he said:

"Our oft-proclaimed policy is that as soon as one step has been consolidated we look forward and plan the next."

What does Sir Andrew Cohen say? He says quite a lot, but I am only going to use a little of it at this moment. He says:

"Under the Trusteeship Agreement and the United Nations Charter, our task in the political sphere is clear; it is to promote the political advancement of the inhabitants of Tanganyika and their progressive development towards self-government or independence." (T/PV.820, page 31)

I would suggest to you that in essence these statements by the Governor of Tanganyika and the representative of the United Kingdom, while they perhaps do not completely meet the position of the petitioners in detail, do amount to common objectives.

I want to go a little further into this matter because we feel that, if we study these statements carefully, there is much more than a ray of hope here for Tanganyika and for this Council. If I may turn again to Mr. Nyerere, he said to us:

"There is nothing that points to the hope that one day our country may become a democratic state, and we feel that a statement to that effect is important in order to remove our fears that our country may be dominated in future, as other plural societies have been, by an immigrant minority." (T/PV.818, page 3)

It would be a very sad thing, in our view, if that were the position that obtained for the Tanganyikans.

Then, again, he says:

"We have not even been promised that when Government changes the present form of representation it shall be changed in the direction of increasing African representation." (T/PV.818, page 7)

Another very sad fact, if that were the case.

In this respect I think that these discussions here have proved really of great value, because let us now see what Sir Andrew Cohen has said about this particular matter. He said:

"Our whole policy, record and national outlook as well as the terms of the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement are a full and sufficient guarantee that this development will be democratic." (T/PV.820, page 31)

We were told that there had been no statement or promise that there would be a real democracy developed in Tanganyika. Here we have it now -- a guarantee. Sir Andrew Cohen tells us that the whole policy and so on of the Administering Authority are "a full and sufficient guarantee that this development will be democratic".

That, then, is a bridge which we have been able to build at this meeting of the Council, at least in semantics. We have been able to clear up a point where there has been misunderstanding. Nor is that all. Sir Andrew Cohen then draws attention to a statement which was made to the General Assembly last February by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. This is what the Minister of State said:

"as the educational, social and economic progress of the African community in Tanganyika continues, the participation of Africans in both the legislative and the executive branches of government is bound to increase". (T/PV.320, page 31)

Here is another bridge. It is no longer true, then, that there is not a statement to the effect that there will be another step and that that step will lead to increased participation of the Africans. We are glad of these statements, because they seem to us to clear up some of the points in that region in which there has been, unfortunately, room for misunderstanding.

As I have said, there is no misunderstanding on the objectives. Tanganyika has to advance to self-government or independence in the full sense of those words. That is clear. The Administering Authority is clear about that; the Charter is clear about it; and so is the Trusteeship Agreement.

Where there is misunderstanding is in the matter of whether this is going to be done now and how. We have two points stated by Mr. Nyerere which I think have been met in substance by the Administering Authority by its statements here.

It follows also from these statements which I have been quoting, and indeed it follows from other remarks made by Sir Andrew Cohen, who has twice said that the arrangements which have been made for Tanganyika are not to be placed in the category of the laws of the Medes and the Persians -- and, of course, the Governor,

as I pointed out, has said, "As soon as we take one step we plan for the next step" -- that the present arrangements are transitional. The Administering Authority says so. In our view, the Asians and the Europeans can be said to be at the peak of their political influence in Tanganyika in these present transitional arrangements. Hereafter the next steps which are promised by both Sir Andrew Cohen and the Governor himself and which are necessitated by the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement will be in the direction of increasing African representation and participation and thereby meet some of the points raised by Mr. Nyerere.

(Mr. Lall, India)

This is what we have called more than a ray of hope in the situation -- and we say this with conviction, based not only on the words themselves but on the past record of the United Kingdom.

Mr. Nyerere has said repeatedly that there has been no statement which would assure the people that the development of Tanganyika would proceed toward a democratic State, but as I have pointed out that point has been fully met. Unfortunately there is still some reason for misunderstanding. There is still an unclear situation, which undoubtedly is the reason why political feeling in Tanganyika is becoming almost restive, one might say. It is easy for us who have been through somewhat similar processes to see how this is happening.

Let us examine the history of the present phase again for a moment. There was a committee in 1949. There was a unanimous report in 1951, but the full effects of that report will only come in 1958 and 1959. Then we hear that the Legislative Council is going to be kept in being for another three years -- that is, until 1962. Thus putting this one step into operation is taking as long as thirteen years. To nationalists that is rather heartbreaking. Let us face the fact that it is slow to them. It does behoove us to see what can be done to quicken this process.

I am glad to be able to see in these documents that though the present stage will not be completed until 1962 the Administering Authority has already realized that it cannot let the matter rest there until 1962. The Governor tells us in a speech on 30 April that as soon as the new legislature sits down in the legislative chamber he will take the next step of appointing a committee of the members of the new legislature to study further constitutional development. Here I would like to quote again from the statement of the Governor himself. He said:

"It is too early for me to attempt to define the precise terms of reference of this committee, but they are likely to include such questions ..."

These are the questions he mentions:

"1. In which additional constituencies should elections be held at the next general elections?" -- that is to say, I take it, an increase in the number of constituencies.

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special representative): This might assist the representative of India. He will, of course, recall that when those remarks were made it was Government's intention to have elections only in a few constituencies in 1958 and there was no proposal as to when the next elections would be held. Therefore that particular term of reference has really gone out altogether. It has been settled by subsequent decisions.

Mr. LALL (India): I will go on with this catalogue because I will then come to my suggestions:

"2. Whether any of the nine prescribed constituencies require revision by way of division or otherwise."

That might mean additional constituencies.

"3. Along what lines should the ministerial system develop?"

"4. Whether it would be advisable to make any change in the functions and composition of the Executive Council by establishing a council of ministers and a council of state."

Those are illustrative terms of reference. As the special representative has told us, one is already out of date, which again merely indicates that one has to move faster than even the Governor envisages. Events move faster than even the apex of the Administering Authority is able to conceive. That is very heartening in itself. But it seems to my delegation that just as it has been found that some of these terms of reference are already out of date -- and wisely the Governor has not said these are the only terms of reference; he has said these are illustrative -- it is also imperative that this committee should have the widest terms of reference possible in the circumstances of Tanganyika. We would suggest for the consideration of the Administering Authority that the terms of reference include the following -- and these, again, are illustrative and not exhaustive:

- (a) An increase in the number of constituencies.
- (b) Consideration whether some of the new constituencies should not be single member constituencies.
- (c) Ministers, as they are now called, of the Executive Council to be drawn from the elected representatives of the people.
- (d) A widening of the franchise.

(Mr. Lall, India)

Here I am not going to quote certain parts of the Governor's speech in which he says he does not think we can yet approach universal suffrage. However, I am going to quote other parts of his speech. In a very important part of his speech in which he talks of the local councils, he says:

"There are now 403 Native Authorities with formal councils at district chiefdom or sub-chiefdom levels, apart from many thousands of informal village councils, and membership of each of these councils includes, as well as the tribal leaders, elected representatives of the people in varying proportions from 30 to 50 per cent of the total."

If there are so many elected representatives in these village councils, which are really the workshop of democracy where people learn what this is all about, then with this experience it should be possible immediately greatly to expand the franchise. If the Governor or the Administering Authority feels that they cannot introduce universal suffrage this year or next year, that is one thing. But surely with this experience at the village level everyone will agree that there can be a vast expansion immediately of the franchise.

I would like to say here and now that in our own country we have found that even illiteracy, let alone the VIII standard or the IV standard qualification, is not a bar to a sensible use of the franchise by a rural community, especially by a rural community which is used to an active political democracy at the rural village level, which is very much the case in my country. Here, too, this seems to be more and more the case. We would encourage the Administering Authority to think that nice though it looks to have the qualitative qualification about standard VIII or standard X or standard IV, it is unnecessary. Let us assure them of this here in this Council. One hundred million illiterate people have voted this year in India for the Parliament of India and for the State Assembly, and have done so with good sense by and large. This question of the widening of the franchise is an important one. I wanted to make these comments and to refer to this basic factor of the rural situation now which is mentioned by the Governor himself.

Then, what does Chief Marealle tell us? He does tell us something to which I do want to refer. He says:

(Mr. Lall, India)

"We were, before, divided into many small villages and area chiefdoms" -- this is about Kilimanjaro, his own territory -- "but gradually these were amalgamated and resulted in some 116 large villages, seventeen area chiefdoms and three administrative regions under elected Village Headmen, Area Chiefs and Divisional Chiefs respectively. These organs of local government exercise real power through their councils, which are all mainly elected." (T/PV.817, p. 101)

I do not want to read again these pages of the Paramount Chiefs's statement, but one should mentally refresh one's mind about them, because there is this magnificent account of what is being done in Kilimanjaro and who is doing it. These bodies are mainly elected. In fact, I learned only yesterday that the Paramount Chief himself is elected. I had imagined that he had been Paramount Chief for twenty-eight generations.

With all these elections in Tanganyika, there is ample scope for a much wider franchise, and I for one hope that it will come quickly. I know it will pay dividends to the Administering Authority as much as to the people of Tanganyika themselves.

We feel that once steps are taken to increase the number of constituencies, introduce single member constituencies on the common electoral role, appoint elected ministers in the Government, widen the franchise -- one can always have a residential qualification and an age qualification for franchise -- we shall be entering the stage of responsible government in Tanganyika. Generally speaking, it is better that no one under twenty-one years of age should vote. All these are limitations, residence and age, and those should be quite enough. I see that the representative of the Administering Authority has not objected to this view. Once these things have happened, we shall be entering the stage of responsible government in Tanganyika and we shall provide a firm basis for the next step, which should be the introduction of full self-government. We would earnestly commend these steps to the Administering Authority, which has already very wisely indicated that it is setting up the machinery in the shape of a committee of the new Legislative Council which should make it possible to move in this direction constructively and rapidly.

(Mr. Lall, India)

I should say a word now about the local authorities. We are glad to note that there are more town councils now and I have already quoted the Governor's statement about the thousands of informal village councils which have been set up. In an agricultural community these village councils are of tremendous importance. For one thing they provide the basic training in democracy and they thus introduce an element of stability which is so necessary for the attainment of a truly democratic society. Incidentally, we should like to see direct elections to all these village councils also, district councils and chiefdom and sub-chiefdom councils, on the basis of a franchise in which the only qualifications might be residence and age.

I should like to say a word on the matter of political freedoms in the Territory. We heard a lot about this subject from Mr. Nyerere. It is gratifying to know that political activity on the whole has been increased in the Territory during the past two years. This is clearly illustrated by the fact that the number of political branch organizations that have been registered since 1955 has more than doubled itself. Moreover, press reports have shown an increasing political consciousness on the part of the people. I gather from Mr. Nyerere, however, that the press does not always report these political activities as he would like the press to report them. I can only tell him that that is the experience, I gather, of everyone who is in politics. We gladly welcome the registration of these new societies, and we would like to see a greater expansion of these activities.

Unfortunately, the Council has learned that the Registrar of Societies has found it necessary to cancel the registration of three branches of the Tanganyika African National Union and to refuse registration to two other branches. We do not wish at this juncture to comment on the merits of this action by this authority, but we would question, as Mr. Krishna Menon did last year, the continued necessity for such special legislation as the Registration of Societies Ordinance in the present circumstances of the Territory. It is our impression that such legislation is usually regarded as necessary in conditions of war or similar emergency. No such conditions prevail in this Territory, and the Administering Authority certainly has told us of no emergency or war; indeed, order and good government have been maintained ever since the signing

(Mr. Lall, India)

of the Trusteeship Agreement. We know that this Ordinance has been applied only to five cases, and we know also that it is not the purpose of the Administering Authority to suppress political or other societies. But the machinery created by this Ordinance does place the development of political life more or less at the mercy of one official, namely the Registrar, and it is to this aspect of the matter in particular that we feel that we should raise some objection.

In our view the ordinary penal law of the Territory should provide sufficient power for taking action against any particular society which falls foul of the law.

On this subject we should also like to refer to the temporary ban on public speaking imposed on the President of the Tanganyika African National Union. Here again we are not going into the merits of the action taken, but we would like to submit for the consideration of the Administering Authority that such action in the long run is most unlikely to produce desirable results for the peace and good order of the Territory. So far as we can see, there has been no breach of the peace, and the open air meetings of the National Union have been orderly and the crowds have behaved rather well. Furthermore, the President of the Tanganyika African National Union has said quite plainly that he did not make the statements that he was alleged to have made. At any rate, we are glad to hear that the Government is giving serious consideration to this matter and we hope that, with the advent of the forthcoming elections and in view of the recently declared statement of the President of the National Union, his party will contest the elections and that it will be possible for the Government to ensure guarantees of all freedoms for the purpose of conducting political campaigns in a normal manner.

Before I turn to fields other than political, I should like to point to another very hopeful aspect of the Tanganyikan picture. I refer now to the general agreement which exists on all hands that Tanganyika shall continue to be a plural society wherethere will be justice and freedom and equal rights for all.

I want now to refer again to statements which have been made by the petitioners. Speaking of African nationalist circles, the Paramount Chief told us: "If they can be convinced of the sincerity of the other communities and particularly of the settler element, it should not be difficult to persuade them to agree to a qualified partnership government setup." (T/PV.817, pp. 73-75)

Then he said something which was very heartening: "Finally, what we need desperately in East Africa is the Jamaican outlook. We need to think of ourselves not as Africans, Asians or Europeans, but first and foremost as Tanganyikans, with a common pride in our country and with privileges and obligations which we share in common." (Ibid., p. 106)

That is a striking statement coming from an African. For an African to say "We need to think of ourselves not as Africans" I think is a very striking statement and one which we should all take to heart and which should put us in good heart.

(Mr. Lall, India)

I should also like to quote what Mr. Nyerere said on this matter, because, in my view, he was no less emphatic. This is what he said:

"I should like to emphasize that I have said repeatedly in Tanganyika -- and it is impossible that this can be misunderstood -- that I do not want racial bitterness in the country. In Dar es Salaam I spent ten minutes of my speech" --

this, incidentally, is, I gather, the famous speech which was tape-recorded --

"Telling the Africans why they should not quarrel with the Asians and the Europeans in the country. I emphasized the fact that these are our neighbours and they are going to be permanently our neighbours, and that we do not want to do or say anything at this time that is going to leave bitterness in the country." (T/PV.818, page 26)

That, too, is a very heartening statement; it is a precise, emphatic statement; and I think that we ought to be glad that Mr. Nyerere made it. I am absolute certain that he meant it.

But there is another most important quotation in this same connexion which I should like to make -- a quotation from a statement by Sir Andrew Cohen. I said earlier in this speech that I would try to show how close together people get when they make statements -- that is perhaps the only justification that there is for these statements. This is what Sir Andrew Cohen said:

"Tanganyika has inhabitants of more races than one, genuinely belonging to the Territory, and all are entitled to the rights assured by the Trusteeship Agreement and the Charter. I believe that Africans in Tanganyika do generally recognize the contribution which has been made, is being made and will continue to be made by the immigrant races and that they generally realize the importance of this to their own progress and that of the Territory as a whole. I was glad to hear both the petitioners ... recognize this in general terms [in their statements]. (T/PV.820, page 31)

So far as I can make out, Sir Andrew Cohen was chiming in. In fact, we take his last sentence to indicate that in the last analysis there is no great difference in the approach to this matter between the petitioners, on the one hand, and the Administering Authority, on the other. There, again, is a good ray of hope in the situation in Tanganyika.

(Mr. Lall, India)

I should like now to turn to the economic aspect of the situation in Tanganyika. Since I have taken a little more time on the political side of the Territory than I had thought I would take -- which was ten minutes -- I shall speak rather briefly on the economic, social and other aspects.

On the economic side, we note with satisfaction that the trade of the country is on the whole developing satisfactorily. There seems to be scope for the expansion of cash crops like cotton and sugar, in particular, and we hope that the Administering Authority, with the collaboration of the people, will take rapid steps forward in this matter.

As to the Development Plan, we realize that there are financial difficulties, but we hope that the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund will take a particularly benign interest in Tanganyika, where a significant political experiment is being made and must be encouraged by economic development. We hope that Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will therefore think of giving Tanganyika an even disproportionately large share from this Fund.

I come now to a point of considerable importance on the economic side. I shall first state this point in general terms. It is our conviction that the long-term stability and prosperity of the Territory must depend primarily on the advancement of the African as a producer of goods and services and on his closer association with the principal forms of economic activity in the Territory. I want to refer the Council again to that fascinating account which Chief Marealle gave us of the development of the Kilimanjaro Co-operative Union. That Union has done a magnificent job among the small coffee growers. It has also established an agricultural school and is developing the water resources of the area so that cultivation can be expanded and extended to the drier parts of the Territory. This society has shown how the African producer can, through co-operation, develop the Territory, raise the standard of living of the African people and achieve general progress in the direction we would all wish them to take.

By and large, however, African production at the present time is relatively low, although co-operatives organized in this field have given an impetus to production. The direct impact of planning and economic development on African production is, we fear, not strong enough, and we would therefore welcome an extension of activities such as those of the Tanganyika Agriculture Corporation, which is developing the land in the interests of the African on a tenant-farmer basis.

(Mr. Lall, India)

We have noted with interest the emergence of the spontaneous movement which has been described as the increased African productivity scheme, inspired by the African members of the Legislative Council, who are now considering ways and means of increasing African productivity on the land. Here, again, the main drawback, according to one petitioner, might be the shortage of funds. We feel that projects of this kind, which are of national importance and have a direct bearing on African production, ought to be financed by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund.

This reference to land brings me to another matter of very great importance, in our view -- that is, the question of land alienation. We understand that since 1949 over 1.8 million acres of land have been alienated. From the figures which the special representative furnished in reply to a question put, I believe, by the USSR representative, we learned that most of this land had been alienated to non-Africans. In 1956, for example, only 2,742 acres went to Africans, as against 124,000 acres to non-Africans.

Let me say quite frankly that land alienation in Africa has come to have a connotation which is connected with the political difficulties of the Continent. We must frankly face this fact. We must examine as objectively as possible whether such alienations are really wise, particularly at this stage of the Territory's development, when the upsurge of the African people cannot but mean that they will want to work their own land and develop it for themselves.

Besides this important pragmatic political consideration, my delegation would express its doubt that alienations of the kind and degree that have taken place are really within the spirit of the Trusteeship Agreement. I have read article 8 of that Agreement very carefully, and, at this juncture, I would request all members of the Council to look at it. What does it say? First, it says that in all land laws the Administering Authority:

"shall respect the rights and safeguard" --

I repeat: "safeguard" --

"the interests, both present and future, of the native population."

That is the cardinal, governing sentence of this article.

But the next sentence is, in a sense, more important still. It begins by saying that:

"No native land ... may be transferred, except between natives".

True, there is a saving clause, but when the article contains two hard statements such as those which I have read out and which are the substance of that article, the saving clause can only mean that land may be otherwise transferred only in exceptional circumstances.

Let us read article 8.

"In framing laws relating to the holding or transfer of land and natural resources, the Administering Authority shall take into consideration native laws and customs, and shall respect the rights and safeguard the interests, both present and future, of the native population. No native land or natural resources may be transferred, except between natives, save with previous consent of the competent public authority...". (Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory of Tanganyika, article 8)

That is the saving clause: "save with the previous consent of the competent public authority". What can this mean? This means that transfer of land to non-Africans should be the exception. That is the spirit of this article, in our opinion. In our opinion, the consent of the chief, which is taken in these matters, cannot be the determining factor. The Trusteeship Agreement comes before any such consent and, in its terms, any land transfers to non-Africans can only be exceptional.

That is the spirit of article 8, and it is our view that it is in this way that this article should be interpreted in practice, particularly now, in Tanganyika. If there is to be consent, it should be the consent of the tribe as a whole, and it should be taken after the matter has been fully explained to the tribe as a whole over a considerable length of time.

That is our view, and we make the suggestion in all seriousness and all earnestness to the Administering Authority, taking into account the political factors in Tanganyika, the desire of the African people to develop, and their capacity for doing so -- which has been established and shown so brilliantly in the case of the Kilimanjaro area.

Now, if I may, I shall make a few remarks on the social and educational aspect of the Territory.

In the question period I did draw attention to the terms of the Convention on Forced Labour. As I pointed out, the terms of that Convention are quite clear. They allow forced labour only as a transitory phase. That Convention goes back to 1930. It is now 1957. I believe that the Convention was ratified in 1936 and came into effect then. Twenty-one years have passed. I was glad to see that, as for minor public work, there is this tailing off of forced labour -- but not so in the case of portage. I understand the difficulties of a District Commissioner;

(Mr. Lall, India)

I have been a District Commissioner myself. But when we were in places where we could not carry our luggage or have it carried by jeep, there were mules. There are plenty of mules in India -- we can send some over -- and they make excellent porters. They have more legs than human porters. Seriously, there is the Convention on Forced Labour, which says that this is to be a transitory measure. How is it consistent with that Convention for portage to continue like this -- in fact, on an increasing scale? I admit that most District Commissioners go out not to shoot ducks but to lay a development scheme. Most District Commissioners have that sort of conscience. At any rate, the fact of the matter is that this is a breach of the Convention, and I am concerned, on the Administering Authority's behalf, that there should not be any breach of the Convention when there are such things as mules on God's earth -- and I would rather that mules were bitten by tsetse flies than human beings. So much for the matter of forced labour.

There is another matter which has been causing concern, and that is the continuance of racial discrimination in one form or another. We know that the Government has been exerting efforts in the direction of removing discrimination. We know also the difficulties posed by certain sections of the public, but we consider that a positive programme for the removal of all discriminatory practices needs to be formulated, if only to convince the Africans that the problem arises not from any support from the Government, but from the effects of an outdated situation which gave recognition to differences in living standards and social environment which coincided with racial considerations. We think it is up to the Government to provide really good leadership in that matter and to do it in an unmistakable manner.

Now, a few brief remarks about education. Here, my delegation was much impressed by what Chief Marealle said regarding education. He told us that there was an acute hunger amongst all tribes in the Territory for education. And I believe him because I am sure that he was telling the truth, and I have seen how impressive the figures at the level of primary education are. Then he made some remarks which I must bring to the notice of the Council. He said:

"In connexion with secondary education in Tanganyika, it is perhaps appropriate to say here that there is a political social climate now which warrants a bold official statement to the effect that there will, after a certain period, be no discrimination in any of the Government-aided secondary schools in the Territory. If we cannot say this in Tanganyika today, I do not know where else we can. Such a bold statement would not only inspire confidence amongst the Africans, but would also confirm once more that the cry for a common Tanganyika loyalty, common service and common privilege is not a mere platitude." (T/PV.817, page 86)

The Administering Authority and the petitioners, and everyone, are agreed that there is a plural society in Tanganyika and that there should be a common loyalty. And if that is so, then what the Chief is saying makes absolutely good horse sense; and the quicker this is done, I am sure, the better for everyone in Tanganyika. We do commend this suggestion and these ideas of the Chief's very seriously to the Administering Authority.

I must say that we have been glad also to note the remarks of the Governor of Tanganyika, stressing the importance of education. I shall not quote them now because I am sure that everyone is tired of this long speech. However, to sum up in the field of education, we feel that some of the immediately constructive steps which might be considered by the Administering Authority are the following: one, the expansion of middle school facilities, both so as to avoid the present deplorable and considerable wastage after the primary stage and to impart enough education to the bulk of the population to enable it to take a real interest in political and agricultural development and in other civic activities; two, we think that the Chief's ideas on inter-racial schools should be taken up; three, we think that the expansion of facilities for technical education, including agriculture, the training of mechanics, engineers, etc. very desirable; four, we think that the decision to establish a university should be converted into a fact as soon as possible.

These educational measures, taken in conjunction with the political measures which we have placed, first, before the Council and which we commend to the consideration of the Administering Authority, as well as the important point which we have stressed regarding land alienation -- all these measures, we feel, are

(Mr. Lall, India)

within the spirit and the letter of the Trusteeship Agreement and of the Charter. And we feel certain that the representative of the United Kingdom will realize that, in making our observations, we are guided by our own experience in the past, which was closely associated with the United Kingdom, by what is happening in the West African Territories, for which Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has been responsible, and by the inherent needs of the situation in Tanganyika itself.

The growth of nationalism in a Trust Territory is a normal and natural development, which is to be fostered in the right way by the Administering Authority. There is no reason for it to be, in any fundamental sense, in opposition to the Government, because the aims of both the Government and the nationalists are common. They are sanctioned by the Charter and enjoined on us by the Trusteeship Agreement.

(Mr. Lall, India)

Indeed in this connexion, before I close, I should like to refer to an interesting broadcast made on 7 April of this year over the BBC by one of the representatives at this table, by Sir Andrew Cohen. I should like to quote briefly from that broadcast. I am quite certain that Sir Andrew Cohen is capable of saying the same thing again if he is given half an opportunity to say it. Sir Andrew Cohen said:

"Nationalism in the sense I mean is something without which you do not achieve nationhood. It is the cement you need to build a country. We clearly cannot accept extremist views but if we do not succeed in working with the nationalists -- and this could be their fault as well as ours -- we shall lose the advantage of something which cannot only be a constructive course in the social and economic spheres but also an important unifying force politically..."

In general terms we agree with that statement made by Sir Andrew Cohen. We feel indeed that there is agreement on our aims and objectives for Tanganyika, and we feel that with wisdom, careful planning and constructive responsiveness to the basic nationalism in Tanganyika, it should be possible for this Trust Territory quickly to reach its Charter goal. And we commend our suggestions to the Administering Authority as likely to be of some help in this process.

Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) (interpretation from French): It would be vain to pretend that we are not awaiting very impatiently the statements made by the Administering Authority regarding the evolution of the Trust Territory of Tanganyika.

The Trusteeship Council has long since recognized that very up-to-date information has made it possible to grasp more clearly the situation in the Territory for the year under review. That is why we listened attentively to the statements made by the representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Andrew Cohen, and to the remarkable statement made by the special representative, Mr. Fletcher Cooke.

Truth compels us to say that we immediately noted an omission which seemed to us to be deliberate and significant, that of ignoring or overlooking resolution 1065 (XI) of 26 February 1957, a resolution which appears on the agenda of our meeting. We know that this resolution was declared out of order or inappropriate by authorized spokesmen of the British Government and that this

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

resolution was commented on in very critical terms by the Metropolitan Press and by the Press in the Territory as well.

One could infer from some of the judgements made on the "unrealistic" nature of certain claims and on the "harmful" nature of certain activities of the Tanganyika African National Union that these were so many new condemnations which were being issued.

The statement made yesterday by the representative of the United Kingdom somewhat placated us. We understood that he was reserving his position until a later stage. He wished to wait until he had heard the petitioners, until he had noted the trend of the debate and had taken note of the reactions of the Council regarding the delicate problems of the Territory.

It seems to us that the encounter which took place made it possible for each one of us to become convinced that the distance separating us is perhaps far less than we had feared. We view the statement made yesterday as a harbinger of a change in the situation. Still, we feel that we were somewhat justified in expressing our fears and our concern, and the verbatim records of the Fourth Committee and the Trusteeship Council will bear us out.

At this very session many very interesting questions were put in turn by various members of the Council and very interesting replies were given thereto. On some points of vital importance it may be that we have not been fully satisfied. We refer to the meeting of 8 March 1955, the fifteenth session of the Trusteeship Council when, on behalf of the Haitian delegation, we voiced our point of view after the statement made by the delegation of non-official members of the Legislative Council. Very little needs to be changed in our statement. Our comments still are valid in substance at the present time.

The special representative was kind enough to emphasize that if one takes the trouble to compare the representation of the three races in the Legislative Council in 1954 and what it is or will be very shortly in both the Legislative Council and the Executive Council, one would certainly note considerable progress, particularly with respect to African representation. We have never said that the increase of representation in the Legislative Council was not an improvement, even the introduction of elections, by restricted suffrage; and nomination of African Ministers are improvements, but even if we note that we still remain with different views from that of the Administration on certain questions of substance which have not changed.

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

The policy of the Administering Authority is based on certain principles which cannot meet with our approval: in the first place, the multi-racial principle. If it was only meant by that that, as any society is composed of different races because of the age-old mixing of currents of population, the policy of the Administration is to ignore the notion of race in the education of the human element and in the promotion of a community freed from prejudices -- if that were so, my delegation would be the first to applaud it. The delegation of Haiti had noted the existence of the problem of race when it became associated with the work of the Trusteeship Council and in the examination of conditions in certain Trust Territories, especially where the mention of race is repeated. Men of the highest intellect are sincere when they tell us that the multi-racial principle only recognizes the importance of the contribution of the three races to the future of the Territory. Would you be willing to agree that equal people with equally honest minds can discern in that policy what we call an official standardization or hierarchization of races? Why did Chief Marealle II in his remarkable statement plead for what he called "a psychological reorientation"?

We fear that we will see privileges perpetuated which are not based solely on individual abilities but which are attributed to human groups as such. Even the introduction of elections to the Legislative Council leaves us with mixed feelings.

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

Not only is parity representation maintained, but the voter does not have any choice. He must vote for the representatives of the three races. The argument that the European voter and the Asian voter are subject to the same requirements as the African voter seems to me rather irrelevant in the political and social context of the Territory.

All this might be accepted with less apprehension if we knew exactly where we were going. Yesterday, the representative of the United Kingdom made a somewhat more reassuring statement than that which we were accustomed to hearing earlier. He told us:

(continued in English)

"The present system has worked well under present conditions and it would, I believe, be wise to see how it operates when it is combined with the elective principle. When introduced it was designed to last for a considerable time, but it again has never been placed in the category of the laws of the Medes and Persians. If it should cease to meet the needs of the Territory, it will of course be changed." (T/PV.820, p. 28-30)

(continued in French)

The representative of the United Kingdom recalled that a committee of the new Legislative Council in 1959 will probably study the question of representation.

Seen in this way, one may hope for more rapid development than had been indicated to us some time ago. It was said at the last session of the General Assembly that we were according attention only to the point of view of a single petitioner. We have had the opportunity to hear two petitioners now at this session of the Council, Chief Marealle II and Mr. Nyerere who, on many points, expressed identical views.

Chief Marealle II, whom we heard for the first time, said things for which we ourselves plead here. He analysed the political and psychological climate and he made very judicious observations. We therefore were entitled to think and to say on 8 March 1955 that there were a number of people of good will and good faith in Tanganyika who could prepare the changes which every moderate person hopes for in an atmosphere of understanding and harmony.

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

The delegation of Haiti is happy to take the opportunity of the presence in the Trusteeship Council of these two outstanding persons from Tanganyika to assure them of our sympathy and confidence. We join the representative of the United Kingdom when he said yesterday:

(continued in English)

"My advice to Africans... would be to recognize the tasks and the challenge and the problems which lie ahead of them, but to have confidence in themselves and their future... That confidence is justified, and Africans in Tanganyika need have no fears for their future or for the great and continually growing part which they will undoubtedly play in all aspects of the progress and life of the Territory." (Ibid., p. 32)

(continued in French)

We paid much attention to what the special representative said about the economic situation in Tanganyika, the difficulties encountered in expanding that economy rapidly, the need for private investments, and the desirability of international financial assistance.

On the subject of this last form of aid, one of our colleagues has already referred to the possibility of the Administering Authority having recourse to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The special representative told us that some time ago the Bank had granted a loan to the East African Railroad Commission and that 6 million have been allotted to the Territory. There is therefore a precedent, even an indirect one, of which the Administering Authority can take advantage.

I should like to make a brief comment on what was said concerning direct financial assistance from the United Nations. I believe this is the second time that an Administering Authority has referred to this. One of our colleagues gave a clarification on the subject, to which we are happy to subscribe. We wonder whether it would not be advisable for the Administering Authorities, who are as well informed as we are of the present possibilities of direct United Nations financial aid, to be a little more cautious in stating their views on this point and to avoid creating the false impression among the people who are less informed -- I am thinking of the natives and other people in the Territory -- that

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

the United Nations might furnish that financial assistance but refuses to do so. I think you are running the risk of unnecessarily causing disappointment.

I think it is vain to speak of this direct assistance from the United Nations. There are many possible forms of assistance. The International Bank has been mentioned. There are some mixed governmental assistance and the assistance of the specialized agencies. As regards private investment, the delegation of Haiti thinks it should be encouraged. We only feel that the Administering Authority should in no case show itself as being prepared to accept drastic conditions.

Reference has been made to the Kilombero project. I must say that I regretted less the failure of the project, for the reasons given by the special representative, that is to say, the impossibility of finding the £3.5 million for the construction of the railroad, which is one of the conditions of the South African Society. There are other reasons which it appears were acceptable to the Administering Authority, namely a ninety-nine year lease and other conditions.

In the past, we have stated our views concerning such long-term leases in Trust Territories. It seems to us difficult to accept the idea that a sugar project would require a ninety-nine year lease. As for a twenty-five year monopoly, we think it would have been more reasonable to substitute a temporary reduction or a temporary tax reduction in order to enable the enterprise to face possible difficulties during the first years of operation rather than to close the door to any possibility of competition, since the Territory needs as many investments as possible.

The special representative spoke of what he called unrealistic conditions which were expressed by certain people at the time when they were considering that particular project. He spoke of African participation in capital and cultivation of sugar cane. He said that the Administration lacked money and could not buy shares to resell them later to the Africans. The delegation of Haiti sees another way of having the Territory participate in the capital financing and it has called attention to this on other occasions: it should not be estimated on the basis of its present value, but on the basis of its potential value, taking account of the length of the operation. This would result in much larger capital as a result of the sale of shares. If the Territory benefitted from the operation, not on the basis of taxes or dues but in the form of salaries paid to labour, these shares could be sold solely to Africans who, we understand, have come to understand the importance of savings.

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

The special representative also brought out, in connexion with this project, that the land which had been considered was not occupied. This is a serious argument, but certainly it would not have the same force in every other place where Africans are in fact settled. If the principle of such a policy were to be accepted, it would make it possible to avoid having the native feel deprived of his land.

We have been told that this Kilombero project has been abandoned only for the reason that the Administering Authority was not able to raise the £3.5 million for the construction of a railroad. It is because other aspects of the question were not lacking in interest for us that we wished to speak about this. Finally, there is one last aspect of the question to which I should like to refer. Chief Marealle II, after pointing out a praiseworthy proposition put forward by the local Dutch firm of Van Eegan, in which Africans could fully participate, said:

"This is encouraging for many reasons, the main one of which is that it does away with the fears entertained by local politicians that the original firm would have complicated our political situation through the importation of a number of South African workers and secondly, that the Africans would never have had a chance to take part in it as partners." (T/PV.817. page 81)

It appears that another South African company might be interested in a 34,000 acre concession in Tanganyika. We hope that the Administering Authority will ensure all the necessary guarantees to protect the interests of Africans.

In these general observations, I believe that I have spoken at greater length than I intended. We can give an assurance that, even if we have not made a detailed analysis of the economic situation, the difficulties involved were set forth frankly by the Administering Authority, and we have paid attention at all times to what has been said here. We are happy to note that, if difficult days are experienced, if investment prospects are still dim, there does not appear to be any present or imminent catastrophe. The budgetary deficit is relatively small. There are no difficulties with the balance of payments. There is no dependence on a price of a single product. There is more and more understanding on the part of the population of the need to make progress in all branches of the economy, and we have no doubt that a study undertaken in common will find adequate solutions.

As we know, in the social and educational field, where much can still be done, much depends not only on goodwill but on the availability of finance. We have noticed, among other things, that the programme of hospital construction is being continued, that new buildings have been begun at Ukerewe, Singida, Nzega, and Tanga, and that a new general hospital has been inaugurated at Dar es Salam by Her Royal Highness Princess Margaret.

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

In the field of education, we have noted the effort made for the dissemination of primary and secondary education as well as for the improvement of education at the various levels by the careful training of teachers. Until such time as the Territory has its own university, the Administration is making provision for sending students to neighbouring African Territories and overseas. There is no doubt that an ever increasing number of young people with university education will assist in the development of the Territory. In this respect, the delegation of Haiti would like to state once again its interest in the question of the use of the knowledge acquired by Administration scholars. We think it is only just to require these scholars, in return for the studies which they have attained, to put the fruits of their learning at the service of the community. We have been told that in the Legislative Council it is proposed that these scholars be asked to place themselves, on a purely voluntary basis, at the disposal of the Administration. We think that this is not enough, but we consider it to be a good sign that the question has retained the attention of members of the Legislative Council.

In conclusion, may I give the assurance that it is with a deep sense of duty that the representative whom the Trusteeship Council has honoured once again by selecting him as Chairman of the Visiting Mission to East Africa will devote his efforts, and indeed is already devoting his efforts, to the task entrusted to him. He is sure that he can count on the frank and loyal co-operation of his colleagues, one of whom, the representative of Australia, may be considered as an old colleague in this work since he has been engaged in it in recent years. We believe we can count on the complete co-operation of the Administering Authorities in the three Territories. The study that we carry out on conditions in Tanganyika, the study of conditions in Somaliland and the study in the preceding session on conditions in Ruanda-Urundi will prepare us for this work. It only remains for me to tell the representative of the United Kingdom and the special representative how much we have personally appreciated the clear efforts they made to enlighten the Council and to avoid any possibility of misunderstanding. We believe they understand that the Council has been fair and sincere with respect to them. To the petitioners, Chief Mwarelle II and Mr. Nyerere, we again extend our best wishes.

The PRESIDENT: The Council will meet again at 2 p.m. tomorrow, when we should complete the general debate on the Territory of Tanganyika and also hear the opening statement on behalf of the Administering Authority of the Territory of New Guinea.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.