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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE EIGHT HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND MEETING
Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 21 June 1957, at 2 p.m.

President:

Mr. HOOD

(Australia)

1. Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika:
annual report on the administration of the Trust Territory of
Tanganyika [4a] (continued)
2. Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of New Guinea:
annual report on the administration of the Trust Territory of
New Guinea [4b]

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It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF TANGANYIKA: ANNUAL REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION 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. ZADOTTI (Italy): The examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika this year has been extremely interesting and absorbing; and this not only for the exhaustive documentation before us, but also for the active and useful contribution given to this debate by the United Kingdom representative and the special representative.

It has been repeated in this Council that Tanganyika is not only a big country in area and population but it is also a Territory whose outstanding problems are of equal magnitude. But if they are big in respect of other territories, they are certainly not of a different nature. These problems consist of the development of economic resources and the creation of the necessary infrastructures for the social and educational progress of the people, which are, in our opinion, bases on which a society can be developed towards modern and democratic forms of government.

We are convinced that the Administering Authority is fully dedicated to this task. Let us now review briefly the salient aspects of the progress achieved by the Territory during the year under review.

In the political field there are clear signs of considerable advance. The enactment of an electoral law which provides for the election within the year 1959 of all the non-official members of the Legislative Council will certainly be regarded by this Council as a significant reform. The system of a qualitative franchise may be considered by some as not entirely satisfactory in itself, but no one will deny that it will have a great effect on the political development

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of the Territory. We feel that this Council, as well as anyone else, should be assured by the statement of the representative of the United Kingdom, which statement I will not repeat, but the sense of which was that in any case, any step that was taken by the Administering Authority was not to be considered as a final step, but as a step leading to other steps.

It is in the same spirit that this Council, in the opinion of my delegation, should receive the other important measures designed to foster, through the appointment of six Assistant Ministers, a more active participation of the population of the Territory in the management of their own affairs.

The Administering Authority has also informed us that when the election of the Legislative Council will be concluded, a Committee of this Council will be appointed with the purpose of considering, inter alia, such matters as: along what lines should the Ministerial system develop and 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/or a Council of State.

This shows clearly that the Administering Authority's policy is directed towards more important developments as a consequence of further reforms which no doubt will take into due consideration the wishes of the inhabitants of the Territory.

The development along democratic lines of the local Government organs is also indicative of the intention of the Administering Authority to promote the political and constitutional development of the Territory in accordance with the principles and the objectives of the Charter and of the Trusteeship Agreement.

I turn now to economic development. For the sake of brevity I will confine myself to the three main aspects of the economic situation of the Territory, namely, the budget, the development of the Territory's resources, the situation of trade. As far as the first point is concerned, it is evident that the situation of the budget is at present a sound one. The imbalance between revenues and expenditure is not serious. The public debt, although it has increased 50 per cent during the year, is still small. I said previously "at present" because I had in mind the possibility that the present situation might be affected in the future should the Territory get involved in a very large capital expenditure. In that case, it would perhaps become necessary to find ways and means to increase revenues.

As for the second point, the development of economic resources, Tanganyika is in the same position in which all under-developed countries are nowadays. It has to face the necessity of finding external capital. We are glad to note that the Administering Authority is fully alive to these problems and that careful studies and plans have already been prepared. Furthermore, all possible sources of investments have been explored, among them the London market. It is clear

that no plan can be carried out without the necessary money, and we feel in this regard that the Council should commend the Administering Authority for its contribution to the second development plan 1956-1960, which provides for an allocation of £23 million to various basic development projects.

The figures relating to trade indicate for the year 1956 a total value of exports of 48.3 millions as compared to 42.2 millions of imports. The amount of trade considered in value, as everybody is aware, might sometimes not be entirely descriptive of the situation. We know that these figures can undergo considerable change owing to many factors and amongst them the fluctuation of international prices. But it is nevertheless an encouraging sign that the level of production has increased in keeping with the national income. The special representative has given us all the necessary information in this regard, and we agree with him that the progress in this field has been steady and heartening.

The drop in overseas imports has also been explained to us, and we fully appreciate the reasons which justify it. We feel, however, that this trend, if continued, will bring about a serious drop in import duties which represent the main source of revenue, and we would suggest that this situation be met possibly by imposing excise duties on those locally manufactured goods which are replacing the imported ones, rather than by increasing income or personal taxes. This, in our opinion, would be rather a fair solution by which the burden would be borne equally by all consumers.

My delegation has also been impressed by the statement of the special representative that the balance of payments does not present any difficulties. It has also been explained to us that this statement referred to the balance of trade. We would like to have in future reports some information in respect of the movement of capital. We think that only by comparing these two elements it will be possible for us to have an idea of the balance of payments in the Territory.

In the social field the progress has also been impressive. The health services have been provided with new establishments, research studies have been conducted and medical personnel has continued to be trained. The number of patients treated has considerably increased. We hope that the Administering Authority will also direct its efforts, subject to the availability of funds,

towards the preventive field of medicine, with special regard to endemic diseases like malaria, venereal diseases and tuberculosis, and that whenever practicable the assistance of the WHO and UNICEF will be required with a view to intensifying the preventive measures now under way. We are fully aware of the considerable cost involved in such projects, but we are confident that the Tanganyika authorities, both at Government and local level, will give this question the priority it deserves.

The progress recorded in the field of labour is certain important. Labour in the Territory receives the necessary protection, in our opinion, but we would express the hope that the few limitations that still exist for the full implementation of the International Convention on Forced Labour will be removed. The Council should also commend the Administering Authority for the efforts made to eradicate some traditional practices which still are in the way of a speedier evolution of women such as the bride-price, polygamy and so on. We are fully aware of the difficulties which the Administering Authority is encountering, and we feel confident that the evolution of the traditional society, mainly through the spreading of education, will be instrumental in the emancipation of women in Tanganyika.

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Passing to education, my delegation has also been impressed by the increasing number of pupils of both sexes. The contribution made by the Government and the voluntary agencies and above all by the local authorities should be recorded by this Council with much satisfaction. The objectives of the ten-year plan have not only been reached but they have already been exceeded in 1955. We earnestly hope that the new five-year plan aiming at improving the quality of primary education and at expanding middle and secondary school education will be carried out with the same success.

My delegation is of the opinion, in conclusion, that the period under review has been one of important achievements for the Territory, and we think that the Council should commend the Administering Authority and the peoples of Tanganyika who have made this progress possible.

I cannot close my statement without thanking again the United Kingdom representative and the special representative for the assistance they have given us.

Mr. RIFAI (Syria): Mr. President, I shall not disappoint you this time even at the risk of having to say a few things extemporaneously. I hope the special representative will forgive me if at the end of my remarks my thoughts are presented in a slightly unorganized manner.

This year's review of conditions in Tanganyika has been particularly illuminating. The Council was fortunate, on the one hand, to draw on the vast knowledge of the special representative and on the rich experience of the representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Andrew Cohen; and, on the other hand, to listen to the voices of the Tanganyikans themselves. The petitioners, with remarkable ability, have apprised us of the fears and aspirations of their people. Thus a complete and vivid picture of the situation in this Trust Territory has been drawn before our eyes. It is my intention now to convey to this Council and to the Administering Authority the impressions which this picture have left on our minds.

In the first place, we have been struck by the effects of the so-called multi-racial policy on the over-all development of the Territory. Foremost in this regard are the fears and suspicions it has engendered among the overwhelming

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majority of the population. Our second impression is that Tanganyika's development in the economic, social and educational fields appears to be encumbered by a lack of funds. The need for financial assistance to execute certain development plans seems to be universally recognized. The dearth of capital for investment in the Territory has given rise to worry lest the political advance should outstrip the advance in the economic field and thus create conditions of insecurity and instability.

A third impression we have gained is that the Government in Tanganyika has so far placed a premium on the conservative approach to the solution of the problems which beset this Territory, an approach which, in our view, ill accords with the realities of Africa and the spirit of our time.

I will attempt now to expatiate on these thoughts. Before I do so, however, I should like to make it clear that my delegation is not unaware of the worthy efforts of the Administering Authority in aiding Tanganyika to achieve the objectives of the Trusteeship System. Indeed, there is more than one indication to the effect that the Administering Authority is striving to lead the Territory toward this goal. Yet one cannot deny at the same time that the course it has followed so far suffers in certain respects from faults that have often blurred the objectives which are sought.

Let me explain now why my delegation has come to this conclusion. I have already said that we have no reason to believe that the Administering Authority plans anything other than the faithful discharge of its obligations under the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement. Two days ago we were reassured on this point by the representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Andrew Cohen, when he stated:

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

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This statement is indeed reassuring. As far as we are concerned, we have always felt that there could be no other intention on the part of the United Kingdom Government.

The people, those who are natives of Tanganyika, however, have felt differently. While we would like to hope that the latest statement to which I have just referred will bring them in line with our views in so far as the policy objectives of the Administering Authority are concerned, we are not unable to understand the reasons which led them in this connexion to take an attitude coloured by fears and suspicions. Tanganyika today has a population which is predominantly African. There are, I believe, 8.2 million Africans, 72,000 Asians and only 20,000 Europeans, 3,000 of whom are regarded as permanent settlers. To give these groups even at this stage of the political development of the African section of the population an equal weight in the life of the Territory is bound to create resentment on the part of that African section. For such a situation is not conducive to a feeling of equality. The Africans, under such circumstances, cannot be blamed if they entertain fears about their future. But this is not all. The Africans point to other reasons for their sense of insecurity.

Multi-racialism, which in Tanganyika seems simply to have the purpose of ensuring that the interests of the minorities will be fully safeguarded in a future self-governing or independent State, is associated with different ends in other East African Territories. The Africans of Tanganyika are afraid lest, under a policy of multi-racialism, they ultimately find themselves veering towards a destiny different from that envisaged for them by the Charter of the United Nations. One cannot fail also to appreciate the misgivings of these people in this connexion.

My delegation has never been able to comprehend the motives which led the Administering Authority to call its policy in this Trust Territory a multi-racial policy. The nomenclature does not appear to us to be an appropriate one for any policy in the Territory. Since the Administering Authority has pledged itself to honour its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and the Trusteeship Agreement, it will inevitably have to lead Tanganyika to a status

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where all inhabitants will enjoy the same rights and, according to democratic principles, where the majority will rule. There is practically no country in the world which has a pure ethnic or national composition and the existence of minorities, even much larger in proportion than the Asians and the Europeans in Tanganyika, has never been a cause for a racial qualification. Any policy in Tanganyika must be called by its proper name -- a Tanganyikan policy. And in conformity with the principles of the Charter and with democratic principles it must safeguard every interest and foster the welfare of all.

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Otherwise the majority in Tanganyika would not appear unreasonable if it sought a clear definition of aims from the Administering Authority.

The Tanganyikans rightly question the motives of the Administering Authority when the latter finds it appropriate to assure a neighbouring African Territory that its future will clearly reflect its aspirations, while a similar statement is denied to them, irrespective of the fact that that Territory is under the Trusteeship System. Probably the Administering Authority has so far found it redundant to give assurances to a Trust Territory which already enjoys the protection of the Charter of the United Nations. In view of the fact, however, that the present policies of the Administering Authority are misunderstood by a large section of the population in Tanganyika, my delegation would urge the Government in Tanganyika to clarify its aims, even if it were invited to state the obvious.

I have, as I said earlier, no doubt that the Administering Authority does intend to promote in Tanganyika democratic institutions and to ensure that the Territory will attain the objectives set for it in the Charter of the United Nations. If we urge such a statement, however, it is primarily to set the fears of the Africans in Tanganyika at rest and thus produce a more harmonious relationship between them and the Administering Authority in the Territory.

I have already stated that in our opinion this so-called multi-racial policy of the Administering Authority seems to pervade every aspect of life in the Territory. Aside from its effects on the feelings of the African population, about which I have spoken already, and particularly in so far as their future is concerned, it appears to us that this policy is also acting as an artificial hindrance to the political evolution of Tanganyika. The parity system of representation which emanates from it looks unnatural to our eyes, for as long as the Administering Authority is responsible for the administration of the Territory we are unable to see why parity of representation is necessary to safeguard the interests of the small racial communities. The Administering Authority could certainly safeguard their interests at this stage, and when ultimately the Territory attains its independence there will be constitutional provisions to ensure the same result.

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This is our general attitude with regard to this question. We hope that the Administering Authority will do everything possible to rectify this anomalous situation which does not appear to us, as I said, to serve any purpose as long as it is the objective of the Administering Authority to lead this Territory to self-government or independence in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The President of the Tanganyika African National Union told this Council a few days ago that his organization is prepared to accept another parity system, namely, one which would give the Africans half the seats in the unofficial part of the Legislative Council, reserving the other half to the European and Asian minority. We cannot but agree with the representative of India when he said, in commenting on this position of TANU, that it is as arbitrary as the parity system adopted by the Government in Tanganyika. Yet we would not wish to be more royalist than the king, and, if parity there must be, let it be one which meets the moderate aspirations of the African people.

I do not wish to go into any details on the question of the franchise. The new electoral law, which was brought to our attention in its latest form by the special representative, continues to place severe limitations on the African population. We were assured that as a result of this law there will be more African voters than the Asians and Europeans combined, but is this intended to be a source of satisfaction? Then we are at odds with the Administering Authority, because we do not draw much comfort from the fact that 8 million Africans will have a little edge in votes over the 100,000 Asian and European inhabitants of the Territory.

It remains our hope to see the franchise in Tanganyika extended to all the residents of the Territory who enjoy the normal qualifications required in other parts of the world. There is no convincing reason why the people of Tanganyika should submit to a so-called qualitative democracy when Africans in other parts of that continent who by no means are more qualified than they do enjoy that right.

I cannot fail to mention in this connexion how amazed I was when I learnt from the special representative that European officials who have passed three years in the Territory exercise the right of vote. It would be interesting to know whether this class of voters in Tanganyika retains also the right of

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voting in their own country. One cannot view with satisfaction a situation where the natives of the land are denied a right which for no imaginable justification is conferred upon temporary residents. I shall not belabour this point any longer, but I feel that European civil servants should not enjoy the right to vote in the Territory. My delegation sees no useful purpose in such a practice.

In offering these critical remarks, my delegation, as I stated earlier, is not unmindful of the efforts of the Administering Authority in developing self-governing institutions in Tanganyika. If the picture continues to be, in our view, rather clouded, signs are looming on the horizon that soon it may become brighter.

The introduction of elections in the Territory in itself is a most encouraging development. The appointment of six assistant ministers in the Executive Council is another heartening sign. The Administering Authority should in particular be commended on the progress it has made on the local Government level. I refer here to the establishment of several town councils. There appears, however, to be little progress in establishing local government councils, owing to the insistence of Government in Tanganyika on multi-racial representation. We trust that the Administering Authority will attempt to improve the situation in this regard by waiving this unnecessary requirement.

To sum up our views in the political field, we wish to urge the Administering Authority to attempt to mitigate the influence of the so-called multi-racial policy, if it is not feasible to abolish such policy completely and start a fresh approach based on the unity of the permanent residents of this Trust Territory. This can be done in a number of ways: by accepting the increase of African representation both in the Executive and Legislative Councils; and by waiving, as I just stated, the requirement for multi-racial representation in the organs of local government; and, last but not least, by widening the scope of the African franchise in the Territory.

We trust also that the Administering Authority will not relent its efforts in turning progressively the existing organs of government in the Territory into more responsible bodies so that in a short span of time we may witness in Tanganyika a real representative body replacing the present Legislative Council.

and a cabinet in place of the Executive Council. To expedite this process and ensure its smooth and harmonious solution, the Government of Tanganyika would be well advised to allow the maximum freedom for the expression of opinion. We cannot help stating in this connexion that we were deeply concerned at the recent resort by the Administration to the powers provided in the Registration of Societies ordinance to disband certain branches or to refuse the registration of the Tanganyika African National Union in the Territory.

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The reasons for that action and for the curtailment of the public activities of the leader of TANU did not seem to us convincing. One cannot proscribe an activity simply because one entertains fears that that activity may have results proscribed by law. That is, so to speak, prohibition by anticipation, and it does not seem to us to be at all justified. We trust that the Administering Authority will leave no room for any grievances in this regard. We were assured the other day by the special representative that the Government of Tanganyika was considering the cancellation of the present orders -- or perhaps he said that the Government was considering the adoption of a new order under which the President of TANU would be allowed to make public speeches, in the open. In any case, that assurance is very heartening. We hope that the present difficulties will soon be happily resolved.

I turn now to the economic field.

We are still concerned about the low productivity of the Africans, which is reflected in their low incomes and unsatisfactory standard of living. We think that the Administration should direct its major efforts towards raising the productivity of the Africans. This can be done, we believe, in various ways. The extension of cotton growing might be very helpful in that regard. The spectacular crop this year is certainly an indication that very good results could be obtained from such efforts. The most important requirement, however relates to the availability of finances for investment in the Territory. I hope that the Administering Authority will spare no efforts in securing funds for the development of Tanganyika. In the first place, there is the possibility of obtaining funds from the United Kingdom Government itself. Recourse should be had to the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, and we hope that the Administering Authority will be generous in this respect. I think I indicated in the course of the questioning period that the Administering Authority could reasonably resort to another source -- the International Bank -- for financial assistance. We were very happy to learn, the other day, that the Administering Authority had already availed itself of that source.

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In general, I should like to say the following. At the present stage of Tanganyika's development, the most important requirement, in our view, is to raise the productivity of the people by encouraging the use of new agricultural methods and by attempting to find new water resources.

I should now like to refer very briefly to developments in the social field. I have only two remarks to make on that subject.

In the first place, we are somewhat disappointed at the fact that corporal punishment is still used in the Territory. We are concerned about this situation, and we hope that the Administering Authority will find it possible to do something about it. We trust that at the twenty-first session of the Trusteeship Council we shall hear that this almost inhuman form of punishment has been abolished in the Territory.

In the second place, racial discrimination continues to be practised in the Territory. We are of the opinion that racial discrimination cannot be tolerated in any of the Trust Territories. We have been told that there are certain social traditions and economic factors which account for the continuance of racial discrimination in certain areas of Tanganyika. We do feel, however, that the Administering Authority could do something to eliminate this way of life which is, in our opinion, undemocratic -- even if it had to resort to legal measures.

I wish to make only the following observation in the educational field. The Africans have a great hunger, as we have been told, for education. We have been struck by the fact that there are very few Africans among the students going abroad. There is a great need in the Territory for higher education, and the Africans are very anxious to receive all the assistance necessary in this respect. I am sure that the scholarships which have been offered so far do not meet the Territory's requirements, and we hope that the Administering Authority will be able to find the financial means to support the desire for higher education.

In conclusion, I should like to thank the special representative for the invaluable assistance that he has given us during the questioning period, as well as in his opening statement to the Council. I have been deeply impressed

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by his vast knowledge of conditions in the Territory. His collaboration with us has been most helpful. I also wish to express our deep gratitude to the United Kingdom representative, whose rich experience in the affairs of Africa has certainly given us much hope for the future of Tanganyika. We hope that this Trust Territory will benefit in the immediate future from that experience and from the liberal approach for which he is renowned. We are very happy indeed to have him with us in the Council and to have his most helpful suggestions on developments in all Trust Territories.

U PAW HTIN (Burma): Before proceeding with my observations on conditions in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, I wish to express my appreciation to Sir Andrew Cohen, the United Kingdom representative, and Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, the special representative, for their most interesting statements and the replies they have given to questions addressed by members of this Council. I wish to express the same degree of appreciation to the petitioners: Paramount Chief Marealle II of the Wachagga and Mr. Nyerere, President of TANU. Their statements to the Council have indeed given a new significance to the conditions now prevailing in Tanganyika. A new light has thus been projected on its problems, and we are most grateful to both petitioners for that.

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Tanganyika as we know it today is the largest of all the African Trust Territories. If I may compare it with the United Kingdom, under whose Government it is administered, I find that it is nearly four times as large. It consists of more than 120 African tribes, living in a plural society in which over 98 per cent of the population of over 8 million is composed of Africans, over 1 per cent, of Asians, and over 1/3 per cent, of Europeans. We know that it is governed by a Governor, under whose care is an Executive Council and a Legislative Council. The Executive Council is merely an advisory body.

Since 1954, there has been some progress in the constitutional development. The membership of the Legislative Council, where the parity principle is applied, was increased on the representative side. Although, as I said earlier, the changes which have taken place since then do represent progress, the extent of that progress, in the opinion of my delegation, is still very small, taking into consideration the fact that Africans comprise 98 per cent of the population. This situation, it seems, has created among the majority of the Africans a feeling of injustice which, to some extent, has given rise to a strong demand for a speedier process of constitutional reform and development.

African leaders, conscious of the relegated position in which the African people have been placed, and fully aware of the dominance of a non-African element in all walks of life, have fostered somewhat a certain fear -- a fear that rule by an immigrant minority will be perpetuated in the government and conduct of African affairs. This fear has become widespread and has entered into the hearts of the Africans. It has been accentuated by the fact that almost 1.9 million acres of land, according to the figures for 1949, have been alienated from the Africans and are now in the hands of the immigrant minority, who, the Africans have reason to believe, have come to stay in their country. There is, undoubtedly, legitimate justification for this fear.

Whatever may be the contribution which this immigrant element has made to the development of this vast African territory in political, economic, social and educational fields, the fact remains that Tanganyika is primarily African in character now, and will so remain. Here, I agree fully with the views expressed by the Paramount Chief, that acceptance of this fact by the minority is extremely

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vital, not only for their future and their own existence, but also, to a large extent, for the future and well-being of the Territory itself. The aspirations of the African leaders and their people in this context are indeed comprehensible. As indicated, so moderately and ably, by the Paramount Chief, "Any policy that does not accept this fact is doomed to fail no matter how or by whom it is imposed". (T/PV.817, page 72) This is the voice of a man of moderation. It is also the voice of millions of Africans.

I should not, however, say that such fear does not exist equally in the minds of the immigrant minority. It does; and that is only natural in the face of an overwhelming African population. However, in the view of my delegation, such fears could be overcome if this immigrant element could identify itself with the African majority and learn to live in peaceful co-operation, and also, to quote again the words of the Paramount Chief, "be persuaded to believe that their settlement, by itself, could never be the only criterion of the form of self-government suitable for a multi-racial community". (Ibid., page 76)

By the same token, the African leaders should learn to accept the presence of a small neighbour, but a neighbour strong in its influence, and should endeavour to convince the latter of the sincerity of their claims and aspirations. This, I am sure, is the policy which the United Kingdom Government is pursuing. However, the mere expression of such a policy, in our opinion, does not suffice to make an impression upon the millions of Africans. Honest intentions are commendable, but should be spelled out in terms of action and positive steps. It is only in this way that the masses of Africans will understand. The idea of multi-racial government should, therefore, be removed.

The decision taken by the Governor of Tanganyika to appoint six unofficial Assistant Ministers is indeed welcome news. This change, it seems to us, would mean the nucleus and the heralding of a ministerial system.

The Administration has recently announced its decision to hold elections in 1959, as a result of the adoption of the Elections Bill. This is indeed heartening. The introduction of an election is in itself undoubtedly an important element in the process of democracy, especially in a Territory where no elections have ever taken place. It is of even more importance since it is to be held on

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a common roll basis. However, of equal importance is the question of who is going to participate in the elections. The exercise of the vote is in itself an important element of democracy. We cannot ignore the fact that this qualitative franchise, especially with regard to the alternative qualifications -- educational and office-holder qualifications -- has more or less restricted the exercise of the vote for many African taxpayers, particularly those in the rural communities; which form the basis of any democratic society. Furthermore, the franchise, as it has been introduced, contains a certain element of obligation or compulsion upon a voter in his choice of candidates. The special representative, in commenting on this qualitative franchise, said: "... in all constituencies except possibly one -- Dar es Salaam -- the African electors, if they duly register, will exceed in number the total of European and Asian voters."

(T/PV.811, page 46) What else could be the case in a Territory where 98 per cent of the population is African?

However, the upshot of it is that this numerical majority in the voters will, it would seem, cast their votes in order to return a minority for them in the Legislative Council. In fact, this franchise -- more or less -- gives more votes percentage-wise to the non-Africans. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of such a qualitative franchise, an election on the common roll is at least better than nothing. Of course, we would wish that the elections could be held on a broader basis -- that is, on a basis of universal adult suffrage. It is a fact that, in other parts of Africa comparable to Tanganyika, the people have enjoyed such unrestricted suffrage. But since, according to the Administering Authority, this is not yet possible for Tanganyika, we express the pious hope that this step will result in a further accelerated step being taken by the Tanganyika Government, by means of which there will finally be elections not on the racial representative formula, but on the basis of universal adult suffrage and of properly established constituencies. Then, the multi-racial government of which we now speak -- and which, to us, is a myth -- will be finally exploded. Therefore, we take hope from the statement made by Sir Andrew Cohen that the present stage of development of the Territory suggests that we have yet to reach the final goal. Sir Andrew also said: "... the Government of Tanganyika is looking ahead not only in relation to the Executive but also in relation to the Legislature." (T/PV.820, pages 28-30) This is a liberal thought.

These are indeed very reassuring statements. However, we must be careful that with each look ahead the step taken should not be a saunter but a double march. We look forward to the action to be taken by the Committee of the Legislative Council, which we are told will be formed to chart the next constitutional course for the Territory.

I wish now to speak briefly about the political activities in the Territory. In these few years we have noticed the increased political activity among the various parties of the Territory. This is indeed a heartening development. The TANU, the Asian Association and the UTP have grown steadily in size and in the expression of their demands. This indeed has contributed much to the political consciousness of the peoples of the Territory.

The most important factor in this development, it seems to us, and which is a gratifying and heartening thing, is that African politics is beginning to emerge from its narrow racial character. This is also a healthy sign. However, the petitioner, Mr. Nyerere, the president of TANU, has, to some extent, made us understand that his party has been placed in the bad graces of the Government for reasons which it seems to us are not quite justifiable.

Mr. Nyerere is an ardent nationalist and like most nationalists his voice and tone is naturally strong, especially because some of his branches have been shut down by the Government. I do not wish to go into the merits of the action taken by the Government, but so far as I can make out, there has been no breach of peace and the President himself has stated quite clearly that he did not make the statement that he is alleged to have made and which led to the curtailment of his organization's freedom.

It is important that in the election years the Government should therefore return the right of public utterance to those to whom they have now denied it. Unless this is done, there will be no meaning to the election which is to be held and which should only be on a fair and free basis. We therefore urge that the Territorial parties who enjoy excessive discretionary powers should take the utmost care to distinguish between trouble-making and criticizing the Government. There is a very fine line between the two.

I now wish to turn to the economic field. In this field we are indeed aware of the serious limitations which lie in the path of economic progress. Tanganyika suffers seriously from the lack of water supplies, the presence of the tsetse fly, lack of communications and, finally, the absence of mineral resources. However, there are two other factors besides these physical limitations which are attributable to the retardation of its progress and prosperity in this field. They are, firstly, the alienation of land, and secondly, the lack of sufficient capital, both external and internal.

Land to the African is indeed vital. It is more or less the only means of subsistence. The alienation of land has indeed brought misery and fear to the African farmers. It has in fact accentuated their political fears of an alien minority who had taken over 1.9 million acres of land from them. Something which acts very much against the African interests should therefore cease.

Capital, it seems, is much needed in the Territory for its economic development. The economic programme which the Administration had planned for the Territory could not possibly be extended to the full due to lack of sufficient capital and the required technical assistance. This is indeed disheartening. The need for capital, both external and internal, is therefore an urgent matter which concerns the Administration itself. Such essential projects like the improvement of water resources, building of adequate communication and railways, and expansion of agricultural productivity in all cash crops, require the necessary capital and skill.

We realize the difficulties of the Government in this matter, but it should nevertheless continue to bend its energy to obtain the necessary capital from abroad for these essential projects. It could most probably enlist the assistance of the United Nations agencies or the World Bank in that matter. Moreover, it could also entertain private capital from abroad. With this capital projects could be set up in which the Africans, with their limited resources, could form a corporation on the basis of a joint venture.

In this way the productivity of such cash crops as cotton, coffee, etc could be increased in order to meet the demand of the world market.

The progress made by the African in the co-operative enterprises is indeed commendable. The Government, however, should continue to provide the necessary assistance in this field. So much has already been said about the economic development in this Council that I shall therefore proceed to the next field.

In the social field there has been considerable improvement in the Territory's medical and health services. A new programme for medical and health services for 1956 to 1961 which, although laudable, suffers from lack of funds.

We also note that corporal punishment still exists in the Territory and also there is a high rate of such cases. My delegation would again urge the Administration to abolish such anachronistic practices.

There still seem to be vestiges of racial discrimination in personal and social relationships in the Territory. No doubt the eradication of such practices is normally slow, but should be done away with immediately. We, however, are indeed glad to note the assurances of the special representative that the Government of Tanganyika is indeed anxious to use every and any means to remove racial discrimination in whatever form it exists. This should, we feel, be written into the penal laws so that the personal dignity of the African would be safeguarded.

The progress in the educational field has also been considerable. We appreciate the efforts of the Administering Authority in the promotion of the primary and secondary education and also in its efforts in providing higher educational facilities to the African population by the grant of twenty-one overseas scholarships in 1956 and over fifty scholarships to other territories in Africa. But the number, we think, is still very low. Since the political progress of the Territory, as pointed out by many, is directly proportionate to the educational advancement, the Africans are indeed desirous of acquiring education. This could be found in all levels of African society. The Government, by its limited resources, has tried to provide sufficient education in order to meet their needs. However, as we see it, the Government is also up against the problem of lack of money. The new educational plan, we note, is praiseworthy, but due to lack of sufficient funds it appears that there will be some curtailment in its implementation. This is a sad fact. I note from the representative of the United Kingdom that Makerere College in Uganda is indeed a very fine institution for higher studies where most of the students from Tanganyika go for their higher studies.

(U Paw Htin, Burma)

However, it is unfortunate that the Territorial Government has not been able to say when a higher educational institution at university level will be established in the Territory. Furthermore, I fully agree with the remarks made by the Paramount Chief that the educational system is regrettably still racial in character. The Africans, by virtue of their numbers, ought to be given more grants from the Central Government than they are now getting, in comparison with the figures granted for Europeans and Asians.

A non-racial secondary school is shortly to be established in the Southern Province and this is indeed heartening news. Any traces of discrimination in the educational system should thus be erased from the Territory so that we may finally hope that -- and I quote the words of the Paramount Chief -- "A common loyalty will emerge amongst the people living in three totally different camps mentally, socially and politically." My delegation would also like to see the appointment of suitable qualified Africans to public service, especially in the educational field.

Before I conclude, I wish to say how honoured my Government is to be represented on the Visiting Mission to East Africa, where it will have the opportunity to see and study for itself at first hand the conditions and life in Tanganyika. It is indeed an opportunity, and we believe that with the co-operation of the members of the Visiting Mission and under the able guidance of Ambassador Dorsinville of Haiti, the task which this Council has entrusted to the Mission will achieve the required results in the fullest measure.

Lastly, may I be permitted to say that my delegation again wishes to state how significant it has been for the Council to have heard two statements from the two petitioners, Paramount Chief Marealle II and Mr. Nyerere, whose presence here has contributed to the high level of discussion and proper evaluation in the examination of conditions in the Territory. We look forward to similar assistance also in the examination of other Trust Territories before the Council in the future.

Mr. HAMILTON (Australia): The Council's discussion of conditions in Tanganyika has this year been perhaps of unusual interest, not least because the progress during and since the year under review is of the greatest importance and because the Council has given a hearing on this occasion to two petitioners whose status and influence in the Territory itself lends significance to their remarks.

(Mr. Hamilton, Australia)

It would perhaps be well to note that the discussions which have been held here between the petitioners and the Council have been relatively restricted in their scope. The statement of Mr. Marealle related essentially to limited aspects of various fields of development. The statement of the President of the Tanganyika African National Union covered an even more limited canvas. While useful information and interesting views have been put before the Council by the petitioners in respect of a number of specific matters, it would seem important that the Council should maintain its practice of surveying conditions in the Trust Territory as far as possible as a whole, for our only means of assessing the worth of individual opinion on specific matters is to view them in the light of all the conditions in the Territory. We are discussing a Territory the size of which is, I think, exceeded by the Metropolitan territories of only five of the fourteen members of the Council, a Territory whose population exceeds that of at least four members of the Council, a Territory poorly served with water supplies and known mineral resources, infested in large areas by the tsetse fly whose indigenous population is divided by social and linguistic factors and dispersed most unevenly over the face of a largely infertile area. But if fortune has not favoured Tanganyika in one respect, the Trust Territory has been fortunate in benefitting from the unquestioned capacity and integrity of the Government of the United Kingdom as its Administering Authority.

If evidence of the vigour and initiative of the Administering Authority were required, it would be found surely in the substantial improvements in the conditions of life of the people and the circumstances of the Territory as a whole which have been effected in the course of the short period of trusteeship. Those improvements were brought to the attention of the Council in the introductory statement of the special representative, and we should bear them in mind while we assess developments within the narrow span of the year under review.

With regard to more recent developments in the Territory, my delegation has noted with interest that the policy of the Administering Authority in the educational field in the years immediately ahead will be to consolidate the primary educational system and to expand progressively the system of middle and secondary schools. Taking into consideration the overall conditions in the Territory, and not least the problems of finance, we regard the emphasis reflected in this policy

(Mr. Hamilton, Australia)

as wise. If the gains already made in the field of primary education are to be turned to best advantage, it can only be by facilitating the passage of pupils at present at the primary level into and through the higher levels. And this can only be done if stress is placed in the next few years upon expanding the educational facilities at those higher levels.

Some consequences of this policy must, however, be recognized. If primary educational facilities are not to be greatly extended for the time being, a substantial number of eligible children who lack these facilities at present now seem likely to remain without them for some years. The emphasis on consolidation at the primary level may be expected, on the other hand, to result in a definite improvement in the standards and the retention rate of primary schools. The proportion of enrolments at, for example, standard eight may, moreover, be expected to expand considerably. That proportion is important. As it is at present, we must accept that the proportion of the population which has attained a relatively elementary standard of education is very low indeed. The Council should bear this fact in mind when reflecting upon the extent to which the African population as a whole is equipped to participate fully and intelligently in political affairs and when estimating its present capacity from its own resources to furnish the Administration, and indeed the central political institutions, with the large number of highly qualified personnel that are required to guide this Territory towards a solution of its most urgent problems.

In the field of racial relations, a distinct improvement appears to have been effected in recent years. Much credit for this improvement should, we believe, be given to the Administering Authority, in view of the example it is setting in current legislation and the influence it is continually exercising by less formal means.

We are pleased to note also that the gradual improvement in the status of women in the Territory, to which the attention of the Council has been drawn in the past, has also been continued in the year under review. It would appear, however, that very much yet remains to be done before the female African population -- that is to say, virtually half the population of this Territory -- can be regarded as enjoying a status of equality with the male population. The efforts of the Administering Authority in this connexion are indeed commendable. We hope that

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they will be supplemented on an increasing scale by initiatives taken by the more enlightened elements of the African population itself.

Medical facilities and qualified medical personnel in the Territory have increased during the year under review at a very satisfactory rate.

(Mr. Hamilton, Australia)

The Council should note, however, that the five-year development plan for medical services recently approved by the Legislative Council is, like the new educational plan, dependent upon the appropriation of sums whose availability cannot at this stage be regarded as certain. The rate of future progress in the fields of both health and education depends, therefore, very largely upon developments in the economic field.

The annual report of the Administering Authority records, and the special representative has most ably underlined, the remarkable strides that have been made in recent years towards the solution of the Territory's serious economic problems. The initiative and vigour with which these problems have been tackled reflects great credit upon the Administering Authority and indeed upon all elements of the population. At the same time, it must be recognized by all concerned that vast improvements remain yet to be effected if the standard of living of the peoples of the Territory is to be raised to a satisfactory level and if the economy as a whole is to be developed to a point which assures not only a high degree of self-sufficiency but also a capacity for self-improvement.

Much work has been done in the development of water resources, and plans already known to the Council indicate that further major advances in this field are in sight. In a land where rainfall is uncertain and droughts not infrequent, this work is of particular importance and we are glad therefore to see the emphasis that has been placed upon it by the Administering Authority. Irrigation and water storage projects are, however, always costly, and it is conceivable that if additional finances were available the comprehensive works now in course of construction might be even further extended.

Finance, however, does not appear to be the only important factor which the Administration must take into account in this connexion. The special representative has informed the Council that a number of sources of water in the Territory cannot be utilized in view of the international commitments entered into some time ago.

My delegation would wish to express its gratification that the Administering Authority, and in particularly the Administration of the Territory, is giving close attention to the report of the East Africa Royal Commission on Land and Population, and that the basic recommendations in that report, modified

(Mr. Hamilton, Australia)

to take into account the special conditions in the Territory, will be incorporated into Government policy. In welcoming this development, the Council should not however lose sight of the enormous costs which may be involved in the implementation of these recommendations and accordingly of the burden yet to be borne by an already overstrained territorial budget.

My delegation also notes with satisfaction that the somewhat protracted land dispute concerning the Meru tribe appears now to have been settled and that the Administering Authority is continuing programmes designed progressively to eliminate the tsetse fly. The importance of these programmes cannot be over-estimated. The progress made will progressively unlock areas now rendered unproductive by tsetse infestation and open new areas for an expansion of agricultural production.

With the assistance, support and co-operation of the Administering Authority, co-operative movements in the Territory have further expanded in the year under review and now contribute significantly to the enrichment of the Territory's economy. We note that not merely the quantity but also the variety of operations covered by these enterprises is steadily increasing and we hope that parallel with this expansion the efficiency of co-operative operations will be progressively improved.

Of primary importance in the economic field is the shortage of investment capital and of territorial revenue. We have been told by the special representative that revenue deriving from taxes on imports has recently contracted and is at best unlikely to expand rapidly in the future. We have noted moreover the growing reduction in revenue from export taxes in recent years. We hope that the Administering Authority will explore all possible means of expanding the territorial revenue, upon which as I have emphasized the rate of social and educational development so much depends. We hope too that no opportunity will be lost to increase the import of capital into the Territory, whether from governmental or private sources. The Council must recognize that the capacity of the Administering Authority to contribute substantial additional capital to the Territory's development is limited by heavy demands made upon it from other areas whose needs and whose rights, at least in so far as they may be dependencies, are not necessarily to be discounted in favour of Tanganyika.

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(Mr. Hamilton, Australia)

Nor can it be safely assumed that the United Nations itself will become, so far as dependencies are concerned, a significant source of capital. It would appear therefore not unlikely that throughout the foreseeable future Tanganyika, like so many other dependent and independent lands, will be obliged to rely principally upon non-governmental sources for the provision of its obvious and urgent capital requirements, and therefore should offer investment opportunities no less promising and no less secure than those offered by its competitors in this crowded field. In so far as this will be the case, the most serious attention must be paid to the maintenance of public confidence in the future, and particularly the political future, of the Territory. Tension or dissension in or in respect of the Territory at this time could become, therefore, not merely a political misfortune but also a source of grave economic disadvantage.

In respect of local government in the Territory, we have been much interested in the reports of progress which have been given to the Council by the Administering Authority. Notwithstanding outstanding advances in certain more developed areas, it is clear that tribal customs remain widely entrenched and constitute an appreciable brake upon progress. When therefore we reflect upon political developments at the territorial level, we should not fail to bear in mind that much remains to be done before a comprehensive system of local government institutions can be developed as an adequate foundation for the political structures which will ultimately emerge at the territorial level.

In respect of political development at the territorial level, if one takes account of the manifold social, educational and economic problems which remain to be solved and the massive evolution from tribal to modern political conceptions which has yet to be completed in so many areas of the Territory, one cannot but be impressed with the urgent need for unity among not merely the ethnic groups which constitute the population as a whole but also among the African people themselves. No less urgent is the need for unity and understanding between the political leaders of all communities on the one hand and the Administration on the other. Since a trend towards unity among all elements of the population has become in recent years increasingly discernible, it is the more regrettable that certain difficulties have recently arisen

(Mr. Hamilton, Australia)

between the Tanganyika African National Union and in particular its leader on the one hand and above all the Administration on the other. In these difficulties the Administration appears to have acted with restraint and to have borne in mind very clearly the importance of avoiding provocation and conflict. It is evident moreover that the Administration sincerely desires to terminate at the earliest possible date the limited restrictions which it has placed upon the activities of the leaders of the Tanganyika African National Union. As has been so ably explained by the representative of India, the margin of difference which appears on the basis of statements made to the Council to have precluded a more speedy settlement of this issue does not appear to be large.

We may express confidence, therefore, that in the light of the undoubted sincerity which has characterized the statements of the Administering Authority in this matter and in the interests of the Territory as a whole the suspicions which gave rise apparently some months ago to injustice and inflammatory statements will now be set aside and the leaders of the Tanganyika African National Union will find the means to resume their role in political affairs under restrictions no more burdensome than those which all Tanganyikans, as Tanganyikans, feel it necessary and desirable to impose upon themselves.

Mr. Nyerere has sought from the Administering Authority a declaration that Tanganyika will be developed as a democratic State. The reply which he has received from the representative of the United Kingdom must surely have reassured him on this point. The policy of the Administering Authority, however, is only one of the factors, albeit an important one, which will influence the course of future political development in this Territory. Mr. Nyerere has himself reminded us that some 98 per cent of the population of the Territory is African, and the Charter and accordingly the Trusteeship Agreement lay much stress upon the freely expressed wishes of the population. We should recognize, therefore, that the question whether Tanganyika will become a democracy will be answered in due course in large part by the Africans themselves. Mr. Nyerere own statements leave us in no doubt that he himself favours democracy. And since Mr. Nyerere undoubtedly represents a significant element of African opinion we may draw some satisfaction from his statements.

So far as recent constitutional developments are concerned, we note how great a step forward is immediately envisaged in the bold plans relating to the Legislative and Executive Councils. In the peculiar circumstances of the Territory, it seems probable that any procedure devised in respect of the conduct of elections would be found by those not immediately responsible for the decision to be deficient in some respects. We do not feel, however, that because the procedure adopted by the Administering Authority is unusual and perhaps unprecedented it should be criticized on that account. Moreover, it is clear, that this procedure involves an immense step forward on the part of the African community in particular, for election and thus responsible representation is now

to supplant nomination, and African interest in territorial political affairs cannot fail to receive from this a new and very important stimulus. Even though the electorate is necessarily limited, large numbers of Africans are now to exercise the right to vote. Representative elements of all three communities in the Trust Territory will be elected to office and must depend in the elections primarily upon African support.

Whatever may develop in the future, we do not know. It would seem, however, that at the present stage of the Territory's development the procedure which has been decided upon appears well calculated to ensure for Tanganyika wisdom, leadership and technical competence in its legislature at a time when these qualities are in the most urgent demand.

At this stage in the Trust Territory's evolution, representation on the Legislative Council is surely not an end in itself. It is rather a device for ensuring that the Administration will be conducted in the best interests of the inhabitants as well as in close consultation with them. The major problems of the Territory are not, I believe, generally of a character which demands from the legislature an exclusively representative expression of the views of the population. They demand at least equally maturity of judgement and a measure of political and technical experience -- and these are qualities which, at the present stage, are by no means evenly distributed between the ethnic groups which make up the population. In the years to come the population will, of course, change, and it is precisely in order that the position may be changed as rapidly and as widely as possible that I believe the Administering Authority has adopted the present policy. The Administering Authority has emphasized that present arrangements will be maintained only so long as they are appropriate to the situation in the Territory. Since that situation is perceptibly changing and will no doubt change more rapidly in the future there seems to my delegation to be no cause to fear that the present arrangements will endure indefinitely. It is in the light of these views, therefore, that we express the hope that all political organizations in the Territory will extend their support to the present policy of the Administering Authority and win for themselves and for the population of the Territory as a whole the great benefits which it offers.

If further evidence were necessary to demonstrate that the present constitutional situation in the Territory is not immutable, the plan of the Administering Authority to establish in 1959 a special committee of the legislature to consider further constitutional development would seem to supply that evidence. We look forward, therefore, to the establishment of this committee, and we believe that the peoples of the Territory should gain much satisfaction from the knowledge that its establishment is being deferred until such time as the general elections have been completed in the Territory. In this connexion, my delegation recalls the statement of Chief Marealle who, like the Trusteeship Council in the past, felt it desirable for the Administering Authority to indicate what the next stage on the road to self-government would be after the elections had been concluded and when, indeed, that stage would be reached. We found it difficult to understand why such a request should be made. For if the Administering Authority is to be required at this stage to announce further stages of constitutional development which will succeed the general elections and indeed the timing of those stages, no purpose whatsoever would appear to be served by the establishment of a special constitutional committee. Therefore, we would submit to the Council that the Administering Authority's policy of proceeding step by step and consulting closely with the inhabitants before each step is taken is the only policy which will at once produce both the quality and the speed of evolution which it is the purpose of Article 76 of the Charter to guarantee.

I should like at this stage to thank most warmly the representative of the United Kingdom and the special representative for the most generous and most able contributions which they have made to the Council's discussions on Tanganyika.

In concluding, with your permission, on a personal note I would like to associate myself with the statement made yesterday by the representative of Haiti in connexion with the work of the forthcoming Visiting Mission to East Africa. If the Council were to need any assurance in advance of the deep sense of responsibility with which the Mission will approach its task, it would find it, I believe, in the character and in the record of the representative of Haiti, in whom the Council has most wisely reposed its confidence by electing him to be the Mission's Chairman.

The PRESIDENT: I propose now to interrupt the general debate on Tanganyika and, before taking our normal recess in due course, to take up the item in respect of the Trust Territory of New Guinea, in connexion with which the representative of the Administering Authority and the special representative will make their opening statements.

Mr. Fletcher-Cooke withdrew.

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA: ANNUAL REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TRUST TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA (T/1326; T/L.776)
[Agenda item 4b]

THE PRESIDENT: In connexion with the item concerning New Guinea, the Council has before it the annual report of the Administering Authority for the year ended 30 June last and also the outline of conditions in the Territory prepared by the Secretariat (T/L.776).

Mr. HAMILTON (Australia): Each year the Government of Australia, as the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of New Guinea, brings before the Council its annual report upon the conditions in that Trust Territory and the progress that has been made towards the attainment of the objectives of the Trusteeship System. I have the honour on this occasion to present that report to the Council for its consideration.

The report which we present today comprehends vast problems and not a few achievements. In so far as we may have found even tentative or partial solutions to some of these problems and in so far as we may be proud of many of these achievements, we do not ask the Council to express itself, as it were, in judgement. The work we do in this Trust Territory we commenced many years before the Trusteeship Agreement became a fact. We entered willingly and solemnly into that agreement, the basic purpose of which is to ensure the welfare and the progress of the people of this Territory and to satisfy them above all as to the ability and integrity of our stewardship. It is to them that we shall look, therefore, in the long term for judgement of our actions.

(Mr. Hamilton, Australia)

In submitting these reports, we seek from the Council, above all, objective and constructive comment, and we can assure members that all such comments, whether formally endorsed by the Council or not, will receive most serious consideration on the part of the Australian Government.

Notwithstanding the great mass of information we are glad to supply to the Council each year regarding the policies and programmes of our Administration, it has been recommended that we should supply to the Council what are called intermediate target dates. Since there appears to be little uniformity of technical, let alone political, opinion as to what in fact constitutes an intermediate target date, I am unsure whether or not any will be deemed to appear in our annual report. At all events, the comments of the Administering Authority upon the Trusteeship Council's specific resolution on this subject will be found upon page 110 of the report. If members feel that these comments require elaboration, I should refer them to the statements made on this subject by the Australian delegation during the eighteenth session of this Council.

Since the annual report was drawn up before the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1064 (II), no comment upon that resolution will be found in this document. The views of the Australian Government upon it have, however, already been expressed both in the Fourth Committee and in the plenary meetings of the twelfth session of the General Assembly and will be found in the records.

I would now ask you, sir, to call upon the special representative, Mr. Jones, who will deliver an introductory statement.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. John Herbert Jones, special representative for the Trust Territory of New Guinea under Australian administration, took a place at the Council table.

Mr. JONES (Special representative for the Trust Territory of New Guinea under Australian administration): May I again express the pleasure I feel on making this my sixth appearance before the Council as special representative in respect of the Trust Territory of New Guinea under Australian administration.

The annual report for 1955-1956 on the Territory of New Guinea provides a full record of conditions in the Territory and of policies currently being pursued in respect of development. In addition to dealing with certain matters

(Mr. Jones, Special representative)

referred to in that report, I shall in this statement bring the Council up to date on significant developments which have taken place between the end of the year under review and 31 March of this year.

Table 6 of appendix II of the annual report records some important results of patrol work in the year under review. The "restricted area" was reduced by 600 square miles, 1,000 square miles of the area "under partial Administration influence" was brought "under Administration influence", and 100 square miles "under Administration influence" was brought "under full control".

The map which is now on display in this Council chamber shows the areas which have yet to be brought fully under administrative control.

As a result of an intensive programme of patrolling over the past six years, no part of the Territory is today unknown to the Administration, and current plans envisage that the whole of the Territory will be brought under full control by the end of 1959.

Since 30 June 1956, six new patrol posts have been established in new areas and areas in which the Administration is consolidating its influence.

In the annual report now before the Council, particulars are given of two outbreaks of tribal fighting and of the administrative action taken. Since the close of the year under review there have been two further outbreaks of tribal fighting in areas under partial Administration influence.

In August 1956, the District Officer of the Sepik District received information that a mass killing had taken place in the May-Yellow River area. A patrol led by an experienced Assistant District Officer moved quickly into the area, and a base camp was established. The intricate mass of waterways and the difficult nature of the terrain made the task of apprehending the killers a long and arduous one. By the middle of January 1957, however, forty suspects were arrested and brought before the District Court. All were committed for trial to the Supreme Court on charges of wilful murder. They were found guilty, and death sentences were recorded. These sentences have since been commuted to various terms of imprisonment. The area is now quiet, and administrative control is being consolidated.

(Mr. Jones, Special representative)

The second case occurred in another area in the Sepik District which is under only partial Administration influence. An investigating patrol entered this area in January 1957, and contact was made with hostile groups of armed warriors a few days later. These groups attacked the patrol, wounding one constable with an arrow; the attackers lost one man killed, and sixteen were arrested. The patrol continued its investigations and efforts to arrest other persons alleged to have taken part in the murders. Four days later the patrol was again attacked, and this resulted in one constable receiving an axe wound, two attackers being killed and two arrested. A total of twenty-five were finally arrested by the patrol and all have been committed for trial by the Supreme Court on charges of wilful murder. A permanent station will be established in the affected area.

It will perhaps assist members to appreciate the conditions in this area if I outline briefly what appears, on the basis of the information available, to have been the background of this incident. Members of a group known as the Atemkasim murdered four of a visiting party of nine from the Mianmins group. The murders were premeditated and cold-blooded, and the victims, after being beaten to death, were chopped into pieces and distributed throughout the Atemkasim area to be eaten probably in a ritual manner to signify a victory over traditional enemies. These murders were moreover not unique, for they are said to have been committed in retaliation for similar crimes alleged to have been perpetrated by the Mianmins some years ago.

(Mr. Jones, Special representative)

These happenings show clearly that the primitive peoples living in the areas which have not yet been visited or which are still not under full administrative control cannot, in all instances, be brought under control, even by the most enlightened methods, without occasional bloodshed on the part of both the indigenous people and administrative personnel. I should also like to draw attention again to the fact that attacks on patrols occur in most, if not all, instances when the patrols are endeavouring to make peace between warring tribes or when they enter areas not under full administrative control for the purpose of arresting alleged murderers.

I turn now to actual developments in the field of political advancement, with particular reference to local government councils.

Since 1955, the Vunadadir-Toma-Nanga Nanga Council area has been extended to include an additional six villages with a population of 1,180. As a result of the preparatory work carried out in the various districts during the last few years, four new councils have been proclaimed since the close of the year under review. These are: in the Madang District, the Ambenob Council, which, with forty members, covers sixty-one villages with a total population of 7,480; in the Sepik District, the But-Boikin Council, which, with twenty-five members, covers forty-four villages with a population of 5,520; in the New Ireland District, the Tikana Council, which, with twenty-three members, covers sixty-one villages with a total population of 6,270; and in the Morobe District, the Lae-Labu Council, which covers ten villages with a population of 2,250 and will have six members.

Following the proclamation of the establishment of the Lae-Labu Council, several villages with a total population of more than 2,000 have applied to be incorporated in that Council. Applications have also been received from five villages which desire to be incorporated in the Vunamami Council, New Britain.

I feel that the Trusteeship Council will agree that the establishment of these councils, representative of nearly 22,000 people, and the successful functioning of the six councils which were previously established and are playing a very real part in the administration of their affairs demonstrate that, under the conditions prevailing in the Territory, the policy of the Administering Authority in the political field is now beginning to produce important results.

(Mr. Jones, Special representative)

The Administering Authority considers it essential to lay a solid foundation of local government institutions, upon which the territorial political institutions will rest in due course. A stable democracy must be broadly based. The aim is to promote and foster among the indigenous population an understanding of and a competence in the operation of democratically-elected representative institutions.

When a sufficient number of councils have been established in a district, and as community interests become more and more integrated over a wider area, the people will be consulted regarding the formation of area councils composed of representatives from the local units. The next step could well be the formation of regional councils.

The political advancement of the people requires hard work and a great deal of patience, and any attempt to accelerate the pace by forcing local government upon the people before they are ready for it, or are prepared to accept the responsibilities it involves, would prejudice political development generally.

In this connexion, the Council will recall the following views expressed by the 1953 Visiting Mission:

"In appraising realistically the situation as it exists in New Guinea today, and without taking into account past actions by the Administration, the Mission could not help feeling that some of the discussions which have taken place on the political advancement of the indigenous people have been premature. It is of the opinion that, while the pace of political development can and should be accelerated, it would be unrealistic to assume that the existing tribal structure can be greatly modified in the very near future, and that at this stage a meaningful Territory-wide political organization is difficult to imagine." (Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 4, paragraph 11)

It is also interesting to note some of the remarks of the 1956 Visiting Mission on this subject, as follows:

(Mr. Jones, Special representative)

"As has been noted, a whole complex of conditions, such as linguistic differences, the political fragmentation of society, the difficulties of communication and the mutual suspicion and hostility which local groups entertained for each other have so far prevented a development of large political units or of any conception of a community of interests among the people on a Territory-wide scale." (Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Eighteenth Session, Supplement No. 5, paragraph 201)

The Administration continues to seek means of extending the system of local government into areas in which councils have not yet been established.

The substantial contribution being made by local government councils towards the provision of their own public services is evidenced by the total expenditure of £167,580 during the last six years by the five councils in the New Britain District. This money, which was derived almost entirely from individual tax contributions, has financed the building of seventeen schools, thirty-four medical aid posts, a council chamber for each of the five councils, and twenty-nine houses for council employees; the purchase of trucks; the maintenance and improvement of village roads; and the provision of water supplies and other public services within the council areas.

The Administration Local Government Training Centre continues to train Administration officers for their work in promoting and consolidating local government councils. Training courses are also provided for council employees and persons who wish to qualify for such employment, and there is a special course for councillors which deals with local government principles, aims and methods.

The Department of Native Affairs has commenced the publication of a local government bulletin. This will bring to the attention of officers directly concerned with area administration information on matters relating to the general supervision, guidance and functioning of local government councils. It will also keep officers informed of what is being done in the field of local government development in districts other than their own.

(Mr. Jones, Special representative)

It is the Administering Authority's policy, as qualified persons become available, to appoint indigenous persons as members of or official observers at District and Town Advisory Councils. Pursuant to this policy, an indigenous person has recently been appointed as a member of the Sepik District Advisory Council. The Administering Authority believes that such appointments will provide a useful training ground for the indigenous people and facilitate the progressive expansion of their participation in the Territory's political life.

Dr. John Gunther was recently appointed to the post of Assistant Administrator. Dr. Gunther had held the position of Director of Public Health in the Territory since 1946. He has been a member of the Legislative Council of Papua and New Guinea since its inauguration and has represented Australia at committee meetings of the World Health Organization and other international conferences. In the course of his work, Dr. Gunther has gained an extensive knowledge of the Territory and its administration.

(Mr. Jones, Special representative)

The reorganization and general consolidation of the Administration has continued. During the year under review, 987 positions in the Trust Territory were occupied, an increase of 145 for the year. These figures do not include officers on leave or undergoing special training outside the Territory. It will be seen from the table which appears on page 31 of the annual report that the number of positions in four of the reorganized departments was considerably increased in 1955-1956. Since the close of the year under review, the reorganization of the Department of Public Health has been completed, the number of classified positions in that department being increased from 399 to 872.

In the over-all recruitment for Papua and New Guinea for the period of nine months ended 31 March 1957, 214 new appointments were made to the service. Included in this number were 59 cadets.

The Public Service -- Auxiliary Division -- Regulations came into force in December 1956. One hundred and sixty-one applications from indigenous persons for entry into the new Auxiliary Division are at present being dealt with.

In view of the steadily increasing training commitments within the Service, the training section of the Department of the Public Service Commissioner has been reorganized. A new training section has been created to operate under the direction of an Inspector -- Training. The Principal of the Public Service Institute has been appointed to this new position. Two important activities already undertaken by the section are an investigation of techniques involved in the teaching of English as a foreign language, in collaboration with the Department of Education, and the formulation of provisions for the development of training within the Auxiliary Division of the Public Service, including the compilation of the necessary syllabuses, courses of study and related matters.

The Public Service Institute now operates under the control of the Inspector -- Training -- as a centre within the training section, for the actual conduct of training.

Both Government revenue and expenditure continued to expand in 1955-1956. The Council will note that expenditure on health increased by approximately twenty per cent to £1,466,300; on education, by approximately 34 per cent, to £466,800; and on agriculture, by approximately 21 per cent, to £383,300. I would emphasize that all of these figures are exclusive of expenditure on capital works and maintenance.

(Mr. Jones, Special representative)

Internal revenue rose from £2,008,450 in 1954-1955 to £2,411,860, and the grant by the Commonwealth of Australia was increased from £4,396,210 to £4,901,740. In addition, the Territory participated in grants made for special purposes, particulars of which are given on page 37 of the report. None of these grants is repayable and they do not bear interest. Furthermore, more than £1,000,000 was expended in the Territory by Departments of the Government of Australia, whose funds derived from the Australian Commonwealth as distinct from the Territorial budget.

Internal revenue for nine months ended 31 March 1957, totalled £1,947,300, and known Administration expenditure for the same period totalled £4,728,450.

Total trade for the year amounted to £20,165,600, made up of imports, £10,280,000 and exports, £9,885,600.

Primary exports for the period of six months ended 31 December 1956, included: cocoa, 910 tons; coffee, 170 tons; copra, 27,540 tons; coconut oil, 6,300 tons; coconut meal and oil cake, 27,070 tons; timber -- logs and sawn -- 3,863,800 super feet; and plywood, 13,210,780 square feet.

The Administration has continued to give every assistance to indigenous farmers. Officers of the Extension Division of the Department of Agriculture carry out frequent and extensive patrols to provide direct contact with growers. New crops and improved methods are being introduced into the indigenous farming pattern. The patrols also stimulate cash cropping. They keep the Administration informed of the desires of the people for cash crops and of the preparedness of the area for the commencement of this form of development. Two hundred such patrols were carried out and 419,000 people were contacted in the year under review. As a result of this work, of the expansion of producer co-operatives and, in the case of cocoa, of the activities of Local Government Councils, indigenous agricultural production in the Territory shows real progress.

In particular, at the end of the year under review, indigenous planting of cocoa constituted about 17 per cent of total plantings, and indigenous production of cocoa beans, approximately 28 per cent of the total product. In all, over two million cocoa trees had been planted by indigenous people by the end of December 1956. Cocoa production in the Territory is thus rising steadily and is expected to reach a total of 2,000 tons in the year ending 30 June 1957. Of this total, approximately 25 per cent will come from indigenous growers.

(Mr. Jones, Special representative)

The area planted with coffee increased from 700 acres in 1953-1954 to 4,600 acres in 1955-1956. Of the latter area, approximately 1,780 acres had been planted by indigenous people who, by January 1957, had planted a total of nearly one million trees.

Groundnuts planted by indigenous growers totalled 1,500 acres, which represented 70 per cent of the total plantings.

Of the 2,030 acres of rice, 1,230 acres were planted by indigenous growers. The production of passion fruit is almost wholly in the hands of indigenous people. More than 850,000 pounds of passion fruit were marketed during the year.

The supply of vegetables from indigenous growers has also increased, and known sales for the year totalled nearly 5,000 tons.

An action plan for the development of the fishing industry came into operation shortly after the close of the year under review. The main points of the plan are the introduction of improved fishing techniques, including distribution of fishing gear; the training of fishermen ashore and as crews of administration vessels in all aspects of fishing, encouragement of the people to organize their activities to increase their consumption and trade in fish, and the recruitment and training by the Administration of fishery assistants to be established in appropriate areas. Commercial fishing enterprises will be encouraged where they will not conflict with village communities dependent on fishing.

Other aspects of the plan are the encouragement of fresh-water fish production, particularly in inland areas, an increase in oyster production, and investigation of the local production of salt for fish preservation purposes. As fishing develops, investigations will be carried out on economic and marketing aspects and an inspection system instituted. A marine biological station will also be established when appropriate. An overseas fisheries expert visited the Territory in 1955-1956 and visits by other experts will be arranged as required.

Production of timber and timber products continues to increase and, in addition to meeting large local demands, the value of exports increased by approximately 17 per cent to over £1,000,000. It now almost equals the value of gold exports.

Gold bullion produced during the year amounted to 71,520 ounces valued at £1,117,480 -- the previous year the production was 85,730 ounces valued at £1,339,480.

(Mr. Jones, Special
representative)

Indigenous interest in alluvial gold mining is growing rapidly. Production from this source during the year amounted to 447 ounces valued at £6,650. Since the close of the year under review a Field Officer (Mining) has been appointed to assist and advise these miners. The work of the officer has proved most effective and the miners concerned are showing a keen appreciation of the assistance and help offered. Production for the nine months ending 31 March 1957, was 1,734 ounces valued at £27,000. That is, of course, mining by indigenous miners.

Gold mining is the only large mining industry at present in the Territory. It has suffered special disabilities during the last few years because the continually increasing working costs have not been matched by variations in the price of gold. The new Mining Development Ordinance provides for repayable advances to assist developmental mining to be made by the Administration in appropriate cases, and for advances to be made for prospecting. In addition, if required by the needs of the industry, Administration-operated treatment plants may be established and the Administration may provide assistance in respect of exploratory drilling, marketing and the hiring of equipment.

The Administration Mines Division staff has been increased by the appointment of additional technical officers. Arrangements have also been made for the Australian Commonwealth Bureau of Mineral Resources to carry out a general geological survey of the Territory. It is hoped that this survey will lead to the discovery of new mineral deposits.

Expenditure on capital works and services during the year under review was £1,696,920. This included expenditure of £249,540 on roads and bridges, and £762,350 on buildings, including hospitals, schools and ancillary buildings. Maintenance costs totalled £591,900, including £263,400 on roads and bridges.

For the period 1 July 1956 to 31 March 1957, expenditure on capital works amounted to £1,087,150 and included £375,980 on roads and bridges and £471,000 on buildings, including hospitals and schools.

With regard to the Status of Women, a central Advisory Committee is to be set up, with District sub-committees, all fully representative of local women's interests and each including at least one indigenous woman. The Advisory Committee will be competent to plan and act in all matters bearing on the advancement of women. Parallel with this will be the appointment of a senior

(Mr. Jones, Special
representative)

officer to co-ordinate all plans and recommendations affecting women. Welfare officers are to be recruited, along with indigenous women who will initially be their assistants.

Although this will result in a greater emphasis being placed on work among girls and women than had been given before, it does not involve the creation of a separate branch of administration devoted exclusively to advancing the status of women. The intention is that in all branches of administration, the advancement of women will be promoted side by side with the advancement of men and that opportunities for women shall become equal to those open to men. Regard will, of course, be paid to existing indigenous social organization and custom, as is done in all phases of administration, in order to ensure that efforts for the advancement of the indigenous people do not in themselves become a cause of disruption and confusion.

Drafting of the proposed new Labour Ordinance is nearing completion. It will probably come before the first meeting of the Legislative Council after 30 June 1957.

The apprenticeship scheme has completed its first full year of operation and has gained encouraging support from private industry as well as from administration technical departments. Very good results were obtained by first-year apprentices at the annual examinations when 63 out of 81 passed their tests. Preliminary arrangements are at present being made for more youths to enter apprenticeships. In addition to practical trade training, all apprentices attend classes at technical schools where they study trade theory and do courses in arithmetic and English to improve their general education.

In the year under review expenditure on health services increased by £237,600 to £1,466,300. These figures include £55,580 financial aid to Missions, but do not include expenditure on capital works, services of a capital nature, or maintenance of existing hospital buildings. Expenditure by Missions from their own funds totalled £104,050.

Permanently constructed Administration hospitals are being built at Lae and at Wau in the Morobe district and at Nongo near Rabaul in the New Britain district. Two small hospitals were built at Wasu in the Morobe district and

(Mr. Jones, Special
representative)

at Telefomin in the Sepik district. Expenditure on the construction of hospitals totalled £302,450. A contract has been let for the construction of a hospital at Wewak for completion in 1960-1961.

Malaria continues to be a disease of major importance and an important factor hindering the economic development of the indigenous people. The problem of malaria control is so vast that truly effective action is possible only by the education of the people to establish their own community control. As a first step in a new campaign, Malaria Control Assistants are being placed throughout the Territory to organize local control measures, and to enlist the co-operation of all members of the community in combatting the disease through environmental sanitation control. In addition, pilot projects are about to commence involving residual spraying with chlorinated hydrocarbons.

The anti-tuberculosis campaign is making satisfactory progress. Up to 31 March 1957, three thoracic surgical teams led by prominent Australian surgical specialists visited the Territory. Indigenous tuberculosis patients from all parts of the Territory were treated with the most modern surgical techniques. During the past year the use of tuberculin epidemiological surveys and B.C.G. vaccinations has been extended with benefit both in the preventive and diagnostic fields. The quantity and quality of equipment for bacteriological investigation have been improved.

A specialist medical officer of the Territory Department of Health and his staff of two medical officers and six medical assistants is keeping constant watch on the disease and extending treatment. All administration hospitals treat tubercular patients in special isolation wards. The Missions are also employing ten specially trained nursing sisters in this work.

By arrangements with three Missions, tuberculosis hospitals are being erected at Kokopo, New Britain district, and at Finschafen, Morobe district, and a hansen's disease colony at Dogamur near Madang. These hospitals will be managed and staffed by the Missions on behalf of the Administration. An anti-yaws campaign commenced in January of this year. By the end of March, 250,000 injections had been given.

(Mr. Jones,
Special representative)

During the year under review sixty-nine new Administration medical-aid posts were established, and ninety-five new Administration welfare clinics were opened. Since the close of the year under review two medical officers and a tuberculosis specialist have been appointed. It is anticipated that following the recent reorganization of the Health Department and the improvement of conditions for professional staff, all positions of medical officer will be soon filled.

The medical cadet scheme, to which I referred last year, will also help to improve the medical officer position during the next few years. To date, twenty-three cadets have been appointed.

At the close of the year under review fifteen students were attending courses at the Central Medical, Dental and Nursing Schools at Suva, Fiji.

Since 1 July 1956 ten additional students have gone to Suva for medical training.

A medical school for the training of assistant medical practitioners is to be established at Port Moresby following the completion of the new base hospital there. It is anticipated that the school, which will serve both the Trust Territory and the Territory of Papua, will be opened in 1959.

In Chapter 13 of Part VIII of the annual report, information is given regarding prison reforms and of the decision to place prison administration under a new authority. The new Controller of Corrective Institutions has now taken up duty, and arrangements have been completed for the transfer of prisons from the Police and Prisons Branch to the Corrective Institutions Branch on 1 July 1957. Under the new organization the Controller will be responsible for the custody of prisoners and the control and management of prisons. It is anticipated that the reorganization which has been effected will result in increased efficiency in the administration of the penal system and will facilitate its improvement.

Expenditure on education services increased by £82,560 to £466,820 in 1955-1956. This includes £60,640 financial aid to missions but does not include expenditure on capital works or services of a capital nature. Expenditure by missions from their own funds totalled approximately £318,000.

(Mr. Jones,
Special representative)

During the year under review the number of Administration schools increased from ninety-five to 152 and the number of students increased from 5,498 to 7,239. The number of European teachers increased from seventy-three to ninety-eight and the number of indigenous teachers increased from 162 to 227. During 1956 there were 152 students undergoing teaching training at four Administration teacher-training centres.

Full statistics for Administration and Mission schools may be found in Appendix XXII of the report.

In the annual report for 1954-1955, mention was made of a plan to overcome the reluctance of the indigenous people to have their daughters educated, particularly beyond the vernacular village school level. The plan envisages a very broad approach to this problem and provides inter alia for the following:

(a) Special items designed to influence indigenous adults will be included in the broadcast programmes of the Native Peoples Session. The matter will also be brought directly to the notice of the members of womens' clubs.

(b) More girls are to be trained as teachers with a view to encouraging the attendance of girls at those schools where women teacher trainees are posted.

(c) The matter is being brought urgently to the attention of field officers of the Department of Native Affairs. There is evidence that approaches by such officers can be very effective. The enrolment of girls in the Sepik District provides an example. There the percentage of female enrolments was extremely low. Due to encouragement by field officers, however, it has greatly increased in recent months.

(d) All District Education Officers and other local educational authorities are being urged to make a special drive to enrol a greater number of girls, using every possible means to break down the adult resistance which is generally based on factors related to the social organization and the local economy of the community concerned.

The Girls Boarding School at Tavui, near Rabaul, had an enrolment of forty-five for the year ended 31 December, 1956. Thirteen of these students completed a teacher-training course of one year and have since been posted to the staffs of schools in New Britain and New Ireland. The enrolment this year is again forty-five and some of the senior girls will be selected to do a teacher-training course during 1958. The standard of the teaching in this school is at the higher primary level.

(Mr. Jones,
Special representative)

The Council will note that it is the policy of the Administering Authority to make secondary and higher education available to all qualified students by use of facilities in the Territory as well as in Australia.

The opportunity to study in Australia is offered to indigenous children who show by their achievements that they are capable of improving their education by undertaking secondary education at Australian standards. Secondary classes are being developed gradually in New Guinea as the need arises. These classes have been operating in schools at Rabaul, where education up to the standard of the Queensland Junior Certificate Examination is available, and are now being introduced into the school at Keravat.

A new section of the Department of Education is being set up to handle the vocational and educational guidance of Territory students studying at secondary schools in Australia. At present two guidance officers visit the Australian schools concerned and counsel Territory students, paying special attention to indigenous students. Besides counselling, the two guidance officers are collecting information about vocational and educational opportunities in the Territory.

The Department of Education has incorporated in a book of social studies for the use of teachers and students a comprehensive section on the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies. More elaborate material is being prepared for the use of more advanced students, and adequate supplies of the book "United Nations for the Classroom" are available for distribution and use by schools and libraries.

I shall be happy to provide, to the best of my ability, any further information that may be requested by members of the Council.

Mr. Jones withdrew.

The meeting was suspended at 4.30 p.m. and resumed at 4.45 p.m.

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF TANGANYIKA: ANNUAL REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION 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. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special representative): May I begin by saying how much I have appreciated the very warm welcome which I have received on the occasion of my return to participate in the work of this Council. Representatives have been kind enough to indicate that my contributions to the discussions have facilitated in some measure the study by the Council of the affairs of Tanganyika, and these very generous remarks are a source of great gratification to me. As one who first sat in the Trusteeship Council over nine years ago, when we were all groping our way in these matters, it has struck me very forcibly that the great corpus of experience which the Council has accumulated during the past decade has resulted perhaps in a greater appreciation of the problems which face those of us who are directly engaged in the administration of Trust Territories. I have listened with the greatest interest to the various observations which have been made by the representatives who have spoken in the general debate, and much of what has been said indicates, I venture to suggest, a realization of the many and complex problems which face the Government of Tanganyika at this important stage of the Territory's development. If I do not comment on all the speeches made in the general debate, it is not because I have not listened to them all with great interest but because, in the remarks which follow, I have attempted to confine myself to taking up a number of points which seem to me to require clarification.

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, Special representative)

I listened with great interest to the speech of representative of Guatemala, and as I recall, he began his address by referring to certain population figures which were quoted in the annual report for 1955. Those figures, and they relate primarily to the number of those of immigrant races in Tanganyika, were of course based on estimates, in the sense that the last census was held in Tanganyika as long ago as 1948. In February of this year, however, we took a census of the immigrant races throughout Tanganyika and broadly speaking the results of this census indicated that the numbers of those who might be described as belonging to immigrant races had been over-estimated. Perhaps it might be helpful, in order to get the record straight, if I repeat the figures which emerged from that census and which may be taken as being up to date. The European population of Tanganyika now stands at just over 20,000, the Asian population at some 77,000, the Arab population at 19,000, with some 7,000 others. This gives a grand total of non-Africans of 123,747. A census of the African population is due to be taken later this year.

The representative of Guatemala then referred to the composition of the Executive and Legislative Councils and suggested that perhaps the organization of the central government was unduly complex. It may be helpful if I recall that in addition to the Governor who presides at meetings of the Executive Council, there are now nine and not eight official members, all of whom are due to become ministers on 1 July, and six unofficial members, two Africans, two Asians and two Europeans. I should also add that Chief Thomas Mwaanga, whom we have heard in this Council recently, is a member of the Executive Council but he is not, as was suggested by the representative of Guatemala, a member of the Legislative Council. As members of this Council will appreciate from his account of the activities of the Chagga people, he already devotes almost all his time to public affairs as their Paramount Chief. The other five members of the Executive Council are, of course, members of the Legislative Council. It is perfectly true, as the representative of Guatemala said, that the original plan was that each of the unofficial members of the Executive Council should devote particular attention to the work of the portfolio covered by one or more of the memberships, but with the appointment of six assistant ministers this particular arrangement will cease and one of the complex aspects to which the representative of Guatemala referred will then have disappeared.

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, special
representative)

The representative of Guatemala also referred to the fact that the Governor can decline to accept the advice of his Executive Council, and similarly he can decline to assent to an ordinance which has been passed by the Legislative Council, but I can assure the representative that neither of these things has occurred during recent years, if indeed they have ever occurred during the history of Tanganyika, and so far I am aware, they have not.

The same representative also referred to developments in the sphere of local government and I should like to amplify what I said earlier in this Council, namely that as there are representatives of all the communities which have made their homes in Tanganyika in each of the larger towns, it is appropriate that urban local government should be developed as it is being developed, on a non-racial basis. But in the rural areas, where Africans are of course in a substantial majority, the approach is quite different; there it is the Government's intention to develop the existing Native Authorities, which are of course exclusively African, into district councils. In many instances these Native Authorities have been accustomed to co-opt a minority of non-Africans when sitting as District Advisory Councils. It is to be hoped that it will be possible to formalize these arrangements by the establishment of District Councils with executive functions. In fact, such conditions -- that is to say, an informal association of non-Africans with the Native Authorities -- exist in approximately thirty out of the fifty-seven districts within the Territory. There are signs that the Africans themselves, who will, I repeat, continue to be in a majority, will welcome the association of non-Africans with their work as more of the District Councils are established. I can assure the Council, however, that these steps are being taken only when the Government is satisfied that the local African population understand them and welcome them; there is no question of imposing these arrangements on a reluctant people.

I was interested also in the remarks of the representative of Guatemala to the effect that the Government of Tanganyika should press on with plans which will reduce the areas of subsistence agriculture, and I can assure him that this objective is very much in the mind of the Government. He appeared to suggest that perhaps Tanganyika's national debt was on the high side, but I can only say that we wish that it was somewhat higher, because that would mean that we had been

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, special
representative)

able to borrow more capital from overseas for the development of the Territory. I think it is fair to say that having regard to the size of the Territory and the immense amount of development of its great and largely untapped potential resources which needs to be done, a public debt which is only some 60 per cent of the annual revenue is in reality a very modest one and not at all out of proportion.

I was interested in the same representative's observations that the Government should concentrate on capital expenditure of a productive nature, so as to ensure that additional revenue would be forthcoming to finance a further expansion of the social services. This of course is a dilemma which inevitably faces the government of any undeveloped territory, namely whether the funds available should be spent on the social services for which the people are crying eagerly or whether they should be spent on more productive but perhaps less immediately attractive schemes which will ultimately add substantially to the revenue of the Territory. These two is a matter which is much in the mind of the Government of Tanganyika and we are hopeful that we shall be able to continue to steer a middle course in this matter.

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke,
Special representative)

The representative raised a very interesting point when he asked why there was an apparent lack of African interest in the growing of wheat, tea and sugar cane. In point of fact, there are areas almost exclusively in the Highlands where Africans do grow wheat on quite a considerable scale. But as it is not a high-priced crop capable of bearing high freight costs, its cultivation tends to be limited to those areas where there is a good local market. Moreover, the possibility of growing wheat for export is very limited because it cannot be grown anywhere near the coast. Furthermore, much of the land which is suitable for wheat is frequently suitable for coffee as well, and African cultivators prefer to grow the coffee because it provides greater returns. It follows, therefore, that those Africans with the skill and the capital to undertake the cultivation of these crops are more likely to grow coffee than wheat.

It is also perhaps worth pointing out that wheat is a much more precarious crop to grow than coffee and as a whole crop may be destroyed by rust or some other calamity only Africans with a considerable amount of capital in reserve can afford to take this risk.

Tea is a difficult crop to grow and can only be grown on a large scale, which presupposes the availability of a considerable amount of capital.

Sugar is also a plantation crop and, like sisal, it needs to be centred around a factory, which again requires capital. Moreover, sugar is not a particularly valuable crop and, as I have already indicated, the high-priced crops capable of bearing high freight charges are preferred.

The representative also referred to the medical statistics and to my replies to his questions. But here again, as in the case of the national debt, I should like to see those particular figures increased rather than decreased because, as I have already indicated, they refer to the number of patients who are treated for these complaints in the hospitals. In the Southern Province, for example, it is estimated that some 30,000 Africans suffer from tuberculosis, but only a fraction of those attend hospitals for treatment. As the medical services spread their influence throughout the Territory, we may expect an increase in the number of recorded cases treated. And I trust that the representative of Guatemala will not be too alarmed if and when he sees such figures.

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke,
Special representative)

On the question of forced labour, to which the representative of India also referred, I must state that the Government of Tanganyika is as anxious as any member of this Council to bring this practice to an end. But unfortunately some parts of Tanganyika are still so remote from any roads or tracks on which the land rovers referred to by the representative of India might be used that if district officers are to carry out their duties effectively some recourse must be had to this practice. While I welcome the offer of the representative of India to send some mules, I must remind him once again that about two-thirds of the area of Tanganyika is infested with the tsetse fly, for the most part the very remote areas that we are discussing. While it is possible to ensure that the porters take certain elementary health precautions, as of course do the district officers themselves, it might not be so easy to ensure that the mules did likewise.

The representative of Guatemala and a number of other representatives have referred once again to the question of corporal punishment. Again the Government of Tanganyika is most anxious to be in a position to bring this practice to an end. But as I have already stated public opinion -- and by that I mean African public opinion -- requires its retention for the time being. We must proceed in this matter, as in many others, by educating public opinion. I would also like to record that in addition to the limitations to which I have already referred and which the representative of Guatemala mentioned in his speech there is a number of other limitations. In the first place, apart from certain offences actually committed in prison, a sentence of corporal punishment may only be awarded by a court in respect of adults in such cases as aggravating assault, violence, cattle theft and armed burglary. Where the sentence is awarded by a local African court, it must be confirmed by the District Commissioner.

It might also be worth mentioning that the instrument used in the case of adults is a light rattan cane free from knots, not less than half an inch or more than five-eighths of an inch in diameter and not exceeding forty-two inches in length. In the case of juvenile offenders a much lighter cane is used. There is no question, of course, of anything like a cat-of-nine-tails.

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke,
Special representative)

The representative of Guatemala also referred to the charge of ten shillings a year which is imposed for books and stationery not only by Government but by Native Authorities and voluntary agencies in respect of children attending primary schools. As there will be at the beginning of the next academic year over 360,000 children in primary schools, this would bring in the not insubstantial amount of £180,000 a year which, in turn, can be used for providing primary education for other children. It seems to the Government that until we reach the stage -- and when we do is solely dependent on finance and staff -- of universal primary education, it is not unreasonable that those who enjoy this at the present time should make this very small contribution to the finances of the Education Department so that it may be used for spreading primary education to other children. As I have already mentioned, this small charge is always remitted where the parent is unable to pay it.

The representative of the Soviet Union suggested that the Government of Tanganyika was not mindful of the need to develop the industrial potential of the Territory. The suggestion that the Government of Tanganyika deliberately ignores or discourages development in this field is not in accordance with the facts. In his despatch dated 7 February 1956 to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Governor outlined the Government of Tanganyika's reactions to the report of the Royal Commission on East Africa in so far as it related to industrial development. The Governor wrote:

"I endorse the Commission's view that industrial development is the necessary complement to the agrarian revolution, and that for some considerable time to come the industrial development of East Africa must continue to depend on overseas capital and enterprise."

In the same despatch, the Governor indicated that a ten-year programme for the economic and industrial development of Tanganyika for the period 1955 to 1965 would require some £56 million for items associated with the promotion of industrial development. This total includes £36.75 million for communications, £1 million for the development of mineral resources -- although, of course, we look to private enterprise as the primary source of development of our mineral

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke,
Special representative)

resources -- £11 million for urban development, £5 million for electricity and power development and £2 million for agricultural and industrial loans. This total is a large sum of money, but I can assure the representative of the Soviet Union that as and when these funds are forthcoming this development will be pushed ahead with all possible vigour.

In addition, I might refer to a few instances of industrial development in 1956. A new refinery plant was installed at the Mwadui Mine to treat 7,000 tons of diamondiferous gravel a day. I have already referred to the decision to start a pilot treatment plant at the Mbeya Pyrochlore Mine. Deep-drilling for oil is being intensified along the coastal belt, and it is hoped that some use will be made of the coal deposits to which I have already referred in the southwest of Tanganyika in connexion with the Mbeya Pyrochlore extraction plant. I might also mention that there is a very good prospect of establishing a cement factory near Dar es Salaam.

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Special representative)

These are only one or two examples taken from a general background of steady increase in industrial activities which includes the establishment of a number of secondary industries in Dar es Salaam. All this information will, I hope, provide evidence that there have been, to use the words of the representative of the Soviet Union, qualitative changes during the recent past.

As one very small point, the representative of the Soviet Union referred to the export of cocoa, but, of course, cocoa is not grown in Tanganyika.

The representative also suggested in his address that I had said previously that overseas companies did not make any profits in Tanganyika. In point of fact, I did not say this. What I did say was that I was not in a position to give him any indication of what those profits were.

A number of representatives referred to the question of African loans, and I should like to place on record the following facts. There are three sources of credit available exclusively for Africans. First, there is the Local Development Loan Fund, and in 1956 this had outstanding 197 current loans totalling something over £77,000. Secondly, there is the African Industrial Productivity Loan Fund, which had made 184 loans, totalling over £65,000. This fund, incidentally, was founded on the basis of a grant of £100,000 by the foreign operations administration of the United States, and we are most grateful for that help. Thirdly, there is the Urban Housing Loan Fund, from which 74 loans had been made totalling £37,500. The loans from these three funds were granted for a wide variety of purposes -- milling enterprises, building contracting and brick-making, joinery equipment, transport vehicles, various agricultural purposes and house-building -- and these loans are given on the most liberal terms feasible. It is also worth mentioning that these loans to Africans frequently act as pump primers in the sense that many African farmers are now in a position to get the normal hire-purchase facilities for tractors and agricultural machinery from the major suppliers of such implements.

The representative of China, to whose remarks I listened with great interest, suggested that it was important to establish a university college in Tanganyika without delay. I have already dealt with this point in my replies to various questions, and I would only add that, having regard to the numbers of

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students capable of taking higher education at the present time, and bearing in mind the excellent facilities which are available for this purpose elsewhere in East Africa, the Government considers that it would be premature, having regard to other claims on its limited financial resources, to undertake such a scheme at the present time. However, I can assure the Council -- and there is evidence of this in the establishment of the Board of Trustees -- that it is a declared objective of Government's policy to establish such an institution in due course.

The representative of China also referred, as did a number of other representatives, to the great importance of appointing Africans to posts of responsibility in the Government service. I have already mentioned the position as regards Africans appointed to posts in the district administration but I should like to add that, in addition to these thirty-one African district officers, there are now some ninety-five Africans occupying posts on the A,B and C scales, as we call them, that is, posts of the status that made up the old senior service before the unification of the service that followed the implementation of the Lidbury Report. Thus there are now 126 Africans occupying posts of responsibility, and there are a number of other who are in training for promotion to comparable posts. I can assure this Council once again that the Government of Tanganyika is fully aware of the urgent need for increasing the number of Africans in posts of responsibility and, through its various training schemes and otherwise is doing everything possible to accelerate this process.

The representative of India made, if I may say so, a very important contribution to the discussions of this Council, and I personally listened to him with the greatest interest, but perhaps he will forgive me if I draw attention to one or two points of detail in his statement which appeared to be based on misunderstandings.

As regards the office-holder qualification for electors, which in general he welcomed, I must point out that, with the exception of the reference to the Legislative Council, none of the bodies referred to in the qualification section of the law could really be regarded as government if by that

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is meant the Central Government. All the other bodies are Local Government bodies in many of which there is a substantial unofficial majority, and in any event it is only the unofficials on such bodies who will have recourse to this qualification as the qualification that will entitle them to vote. Moreover, the vast majority of persons who will be enfranchised by this section generally are the clan and kindred group heads, and these really have nothing whatever to do even with local government.

Perhaps I might take this opportunity to comment on the observation by the representative of Syria about votes for European Government servants. It seems to me that perhaps the position is not wholly clear. All Europeans employed by the Government of Tanganyika are servants of the Government of Tanganyika. They are Tanganyika's civil servants. They pay their taxes to the Government of Tanganyika and they are, of course, paid by that Government. They are not paid by, nor are they employed by, Her Majesty's Government, and of course they do not have any vote in the United Kingdom. There is no provision for any postal vote for them as there is, incidentally, I understand, for officers employed by Her Majesty's Government who may be serving overseas. But we -- and that goes for all of us, Africans, Asians or Europeans who are the servants of the Government of Tanganyika -- have identified ourselves, by taking service with that Government, with the Territory. I think it would be clearly discriminatory if the Government of Tanganyika were to decide that only certain categories of its own Government servants -- let us say the Africans -- would be entitled to exercise a vote in the Territory in which they are working and with which they have identified themselves. In point of fact we all on exactly equal terms are entitled to the vote, provided we are otherwise qualified. The only difference is that we must, of course, have been there for three years before we can claim the vote. Personally I see no difference between that position and the position, let us say, in the country of the representative, where presumably civil servants of the Government of Syria are permitted to take part in Syrian Government elections.

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representative)

I should like to refer to another point on which there is perhaps some misunderstanding in the mind of the representative of India -- that is, the point concerning the stages at which various political and constitutional developments have taken place in recent years. If I understood him correctly, the representative of India suggested that the full effect of the deliberations of the Constitutional Committee of 1949 would not be felt until 1962 -- that is, some thirteen years later; and he pointed out that thirteen years was quite a long time. I find it somewhat difficult to follow this line of thought, because, to start with, the Constitutional Committee of 1949 was not concerned in any way with the question of elections; that was not included in its terms of reference. The Constitutional Committee of 1949 was concerned solely with the constitution of the Legislative Council as a wholly nominated body. Moreover, after the Committee had reported, in 1951, the Government was advised by Professor Mackenzie -- to whom I have already referred -- that it might well take five years before a legislative council on the basis recommended by the Constitutional Committee could be brought into being. In point of fact, it was found possible to implement these recommendations two years earlier than had been originally contemplated -- that is, in 1955, when the new Legislative Council came into being, rather than in 1957. It was not, of course, until 1956 that the Franchise Committee was established, and, as the Council is aware, its proposals will be largely implemented in 1958 and 1959.

The Government of Tanganyika certainly appreciates that, once a particular line of action has been decided upon as being in the best interests of the Territory, that line of action should be brought to fruition as quickly as possible.

The representative of India referred also to the Registration of Societies Ordinance. As I indicated in my replies to various questions, the Government is not concerned at the time of registration with the objectives of the society applying for registration, provided those objectives are lawful. The main purpose of the Ordinance is to safeguard the public and to ensure that persons cannot form themselves into so-called societies, and then appeal to members of the public for funds, and so forth, without complying with the requirements set out in the Ordinance in such matters as designating the office-holders and the objectives of the society, and with certain regulations concerning the keeping of proper accounts. In point of

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fact, the Societies Ordinance is not primarily concerned with political organizations at all: it is concerned with societies in the widest sense; and, as I have already mentioned, out of a total of over 1,500 registered societies, only some eighty can be said to include political matters among their interests.

The representative of Haiti, whom we are soon to welcome in Tanganyika as Chairman of the Visiting Mission, made the point that, in reply to a question, I had suggested that the United Nations might perhaps provide funds for certain forms of development in the Territory. I fully appreciate the point made by that representative. I, too, am aware that the United Nations as such has at present no funds at its disposal for such purposes. When, however, I used the term "United Nations", I was -- perhaps wrongly -- including all the specialized agencies and, indeed, all international organizations which are associated in any way with the United Nations. I hope that the representative of Haiti will appreciate that explanation.

I was also very much interested in the remarks made by the representative of Haiti on the Kilombero Valley scheme. He referred to certain conditions which the company had proposed as the basis for its negotiations with the Government of Tanganyika. In particular, he mentioned the proposal for a ninety-nine-year lease and a twenty-five-year monopoly. I can assure the representative of Haiti without reservation that the Government of Tanganyika did not like these conditions any more than he does. The plain fact, however, is that the Government is at a disadvantage in these matters. This is brought out very clearly in paragraph 27 of the report of the East Africa Royal Commission, which I should like to quote:

"Where it is a question of endeavouring to persuade an undertaking from abroad to initiate new industrial development, the issue is further complicated by the strong bargaining position which the undertaking is likely to enjoy. Apart from the fact that East Africa does not at present have great natural advantages to offer, there is the consideration that the economic importance of overseas capital and enterprise to East Africa is greater than the economic importance of East Africa to external capital and enterprise. For these reasons, the special inducements which would be required to encourage any large-scale promotion of enterprise from abroad would have to be very great."

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representative)

In short, the man with capital to invest is in a much stronger position in East Africa than the borrower. And if arrangements acceptable to the lender are perhaps not forthcoming, he may well take his capital elsewhere. This is regrettable, but it is a fact, and it is a fact which the Government of Tanganyika must of necessity take into account when schemes of this kind come up for consideration.

I may have misled the representative of Haiti on one small point. It is not a fact that the suggestion was made in the Legislative Council that scholars returning from Makerere should place their services at the disposal of the Government. That, I think, was a suggestion made by the representative of Haiti himself. The suggestion actually made by a number of African representative members of the Legislative Council was rather different: those members appealed to Africans who had been to Makerere at Government expense, and who, on completion of their studies at Makerere, were successful in securing remunerative employment as a result of the qualifications they had obtained there, to contribute voluntarily to the bursaries fund, to which I have already referred, so that other Africans could also enjoy the educational advantages which had enabled these scholars to secure remunerative employment.

I should like to close with a reference to the question of racial discrimination, which has been mentioned by one or two members of the Council -- in particular, this afternoon, by the representative of Syria. I was glad to hear the representative of Burma refer to the vestiges of racial discrimination which remain in Tanganyika. For, as Chief Marealle indicated, it is only the vestiges which remain there -- and these are diminishing rapidly. It is, of course, the Government's policy to root out these vestiges of racial discrimination as rapidly as possible. We believe, however, that the education of public opinion, which is proceeding apace, is likely to be more fruitful than legislation, which some representatives have suggested. The Government, nevertheless, is always on the lookout for ways and means of achieving this objective, and I can assure the Trusteeship Council that the possibility of eradicating the few remaining traces of racial discrimination is very much in the mind of the Government; it is only a question of finding the best method.

Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom): First of all, may I say how much I myself, my delegation and the special representative have enjoyed, how much we feel that we have profited by, this examination of the annual report on Tanganyika. The whole of it has been of absorbing interest to us, and I, personally, have learned a great deal about the Territory's problems and have heard many things which seem to me to be of value.

I shall supplement the comments of the special representative on one or two points. There are some of the speeches by members of the Council on which I shall not comment specifically -- the speeches of the representatives of France, Belgium, New Zealand, the United States, Italy and Guatemala. May I assure them that it is not because of lack of interest in the points which they made, which were of considerable importance to the problem; but, unfortunately -- or perhaps fortunately -- our time is not unlimited.

May I take the opportunity of expressing our appreciation of the statement made by the representative of UNESCO and of the contribution made by UNESCO to the examination of Tanganyika this year, which has been particularly valuable

I think that I should start off by saying something about finance. If one thing has come out of this discussion on which there can, I think, be no controversy, it is that Tanganyika has a pressing need for capital for development. Many speakers have referred to this point. The Administering Authority is most conscious of this need. I think it is within the knowledge of members of the Council that direct grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts have up to now totalled over £9 million sterling within the last eleven years. I can assure the Council that, in the future, the special needs of the Trust Territory will receive the most sympathetic attention of the United Kingdom Government; and if some representatives think that these words are perhaps familiar and reek of bureaucratic phraseology, may I try to say in more simple words that this is a problem to which the United Kingdom Government attaches the greatest importance and that we shall do everything we can, within our power and within the limitations which, it is well known, we labour under, to provide the necessary capital for Tanganyika and to help it to get the necessary loans, and we shall not neglect any possible sources, including the International Bank. It is easy to say these things; it is somewhat more difficult to do them, but the United Kingdom Government will not spare its efforts in this matter.

It is, of course, fundamental to this whole process that the economic development of Tanganyika should proceed apace and first place must be given in this to the development of agriculture, the main industry of the country now and for the foreseeable future, and, in particular, peasant agriculture. And I do not mean by "peasant agriculture" necessarily farming with the hoe, but farming by gradually improving means by peasant farmers. Peasant farmers are the backbone of Tanganyika, as of most countries in Africa. It is remarkable what progress has been made in Sukumaland in regard to cotton; and perhaps I can pay tribute here to the remarkable work which has been done on this by the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation. We have all heard with admiration of the progress made in coffee growing by the Wachagga, and I need say no more on that.

Peasant agriculture is supplemented in Tanganyika by plantation farming, in particular in sisal, coffee, tea and some other things. It must be supplemented by mining and, where appropriate, by the development of secondary industries. And here, I think, I must draw attention to a dilemma with which we are faced and a contradiction, or implied contradiction, which I have noticed in the speeches of some representatives.

On the one hand, they press us to proceed with economic development. They press us, quite rightly, to proceed with the expansion and improvement of education, which itself depends on economic development. But some of them say also: but you must not alienate land except in the most exceptional circumstances. Here is a contradiction and a dilemma. A great deal can be done by peasant farming, but this, as I have said, can be supplemented by plantation agriculture, by mining and secondary industries -- all of which require the alienation of land. It is the duty of the Administering Authority -- and sometimes the difficult duty -- to marry these two possibly conflicting principles, but it is no use ignoring the fact that these two things cannot always completely concond with each other. And we must recognize both sides of the thing when we are considering the development of the Territory. I shall have a great deal more to say later on the subject of alienation of land, and something also on land tenure.

May I also supplement what the special representative has said by saying something about industrialization.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

I know that it is the practice of the representative of the Soviet Union and his colleagues to suggest that we, as an Administering Authority, are somehow deliberately obstructing, or not proceeding with, industrialization because, it is suggested, industrialization is not in the interests of the Administering Authority, although it may be in the interests of the people of the Territory. This, I think, is familiar to any student of Marxism theory, and it does not surprise me that this should be said by the representative of the Soviet Union. But it just does not happen to be true as far as we are concerned. Immense efforts have been made by the United Kingdom Government in Tanganyika, and in other territories, to secure increased industrialization. We do not claim the spectacular results of some more fortunate countries, but anyone who has studied the progress of our plans, our research plans, our development plans, the efforts that have been made to find means of developing the coal and iron deposits, could not justly accuse us of not proceeding with industrialization. And I can assure the representative of the Soviet Union that he is mistaken if he thinks that the United Kingdom Government is against this. The facts of nature are very often against this; and sometimes these are intractable. The facts of geography are sometimes against this; and sometimes they are intractable.. Even the unpreparedness of the people is sometimes against it. This is something with which we can deal. But it remains our policy to promote industrialization.

If I may be forgiven a brief observation, perhaps I may say I thought that the speech on Tanganyika by the representative of the Soviet Union was sometimes a little over-dramatic, in what he said about both the political and the economic problems of the Territory. I cannot refrain from saying that I found his remarks about democracy and about these first elections which we are going to introduce into Tanganyika somewhat strange, coming from the representative of a country where the limitations placed on the free nominations of candidates for election seem, to our way of thinking, at any rate, to detract in that respect from the democratic character of the elections in that country.

I listened with the greatest interest to the remarkable statement made yesterday by the representative of India. I want to express my warm appreciation of his remarks.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

I was particularly gratified by the representative's emphasis on three points in my own statement of 19 June: first, the full and sufficient guarantee that political development in Tanganyika would be democratic, provided by our own policy and record and by the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement; secondly, on my assurance that the participation of Africans in the Legislature and the Executive is bound steadily to increase; thirdly, my reference to the rights of all races genuinely belonging to the Territory and to the recognition by Africans of the contribution of the immigrant races. Ambassador Lall's countrymen are great bridge builders and I am only too glad to give him the credit for the bridge that he claimed had been built in this Council. But I am sure that he himself will agree that the solid foundations of this bridge lie in Tanganyika itself, in the good sense of the people of the country and in the good faith and policy of the Administering Authority and the Tanganyika Government.

The representative of India will not expect me to endorse everything that he said or to comment in detail on those points on which I could perhaps comment if we had unlimited time. Let me assure him, however, how greatly I sympathize with the general spirit of his speech. I believe that there is much common ground between us, and that does not, of course, surprise me in the least. Indeed, it is what I should have expected. I should, however, like to comment on two points in that part of his speech dealing with political questions.

First, he refers to the Committee of the new Legislative Council to be set up after the elections in the latter part of 1959, and he had some suggestions to make about the terms of reference. I appreciate the spirit in which those suggestions were put forward. As he himself said, these terms of reference, have, for obvious reasons not yet been settled, since the Committee will be appointed in a little more than two years time. I think it would be premature to try and make the terms of reference more precise.

Two of the suggestions which the representative of India made, the one suggesting that the Committee should consider the possibility of increasing the number of constituencies, and another about ministers in the Executive Council, are in my view already covered by the tentative terms of reference already announced. We know in fact that questions affecting both the Executive and the Legislature are likely to be considered by this Committee and that that is the intention.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

I think we can leave it at that for the present. The other point on which I want to comment is the reference made by the representative of India at the beginning of his speech to a remark which I had made on an earlier day about our educational policy, and his interpretation of this statement is a clear recognition that transfer of responsibility to the people's elected representatives has become both inevitable and imminent. If by this the representative of India means that we are now, through elections and through the appointment of Assistant Ministers and in other ways, proceeding energetically with the process of giving continually increasing powers to representatives of the people, and that that process will steadily continue in the future, then I fully agree.

But I should like to make the point that predictions about the pace of political advancement are, in my view, difficult to make with any prospect of accuracy. As the representative of China said yesterday, anyone who had attempted twenty years ago to foreshadow the progress which has in fact been made in Tanganyika during the last twenty years might well have found it very difficult to do so. In my view, perhaps the most important factor in determining the rate of a dependent country's political progress is the manner in which the people of the country and their representatives carry out the responsibilities which are progressively placed upon them.

That is why the Governor of Tanganyika said in the passage quoted by the representative of India:

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

What is more, we make these plans in close consultation with the representatives of the people on the Legislative Council. Their views are of vital importance at each stage and cannot necessarily be foreseen and may not even be formed until that stage is reached.

The representative of Australia has just made a very similar point in his statement. Therefore, I think that one must come back to what I said on this subject on 19 June:

"All that I have said shows, I hope, that there is much virtue in proceeding step by step, neither too quickly nor too slowly; judging the exact nature of each step in the light of experience of the last one; and consulting the representatives of the people on the Legislative Council at each stage." (T/PV.820, page 28-30)

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

We have been able to announce this year substantial concrete steps forward now or in the near future, and we have also shown that we are looking rather further ahead. I do not think that I need pursue the point any further.

I am very grateful to the representative of Haiti for what he said about my statement of 19 June. I am very glad indeed that it partly reassured him, and I hope that when he comes back from the Visiting Mission, having visited many parts of Tanganyika, he will be able to tell us that he is completely reassured. May I try now, before he goes, to give him a little more reassurance, having carefully studied his speech. This will be a further comment on the remarks of the representative of India, and indeed of many other representatives, and in particular the representatives of Burma and Syria who spoke this afternoon. May I be allowed to say with regard to some of their remarks that they might have given the impression that Tanganyika was a more unharmonious country than in fact it is.

The representative of Burma referred to widespread fear among Africans of domination by the European minority. We have heard petitioners, in fact the President of TANU, and he has put forward views of his own and criticisms of the Government. But it should not be supposed that because the Government is criticized, because there is political activity, this means that there is a state of disharmony or friction in the Territory. I believe that Tanganyika is, broadly speaking, a most harmonious country, and the fact that there is political action shows the vigour of the society which we are helping to build up there.

Our own policy in Tanganyika is to help the people of the country to build a society in which all sections of the community live and work together in understanding, co-operation, friendship and confidence. Even where there is good will -- and there is, I can assure the Council, a great deal of good will between all sections of the community in Tanganyika -- this process of building in a complex society, complex tribally as well as racially, is neither a quick nor an easy one.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

Chief Thomas Marealle II talked about psychological reorientation. This is no easy process, any more than it is easy to pronounce the words, and let us not underestimate the difficulties. But this is something which we are seeking to do, in the political sphere through the introduction of the common role; in the educational sphere through the start which we are making and on which we will be building in bringing children together in the same schools in appropriate cases; in the local government sphere through the association of different races in local government councils where this is appropriate and wanted; and in the economic sphere through the work of people of different races in schemes of agricultural and other developments.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United
Kingdom)

We recognize as a Government, and so do the immigrant communities that the vast majority of the people of Tanganyika are Africans. We not only recognize this fact but we recognize its implications. Equally, we know that the African people, generally speaking, recognize the value of the immigrant communities to the development and welfare of the Territory and they, the immigrant communities, after all produce over 50 per cent of the revenue on which the development of social and other services depends.

What we are seeking to do is to build up what I would prefer to call a non-racial rather than a multi-racial society, a society with each man as a man, and in fact a Tanganyikan. I very much like the phrase of the representative of Syria "pursuing a Tanganyikan policy". I believe that all of us in this Council will fully endorse, and indeed welcome, this policy. At the same time I ask my colleagues on the Council to appreciate the many practical tasks which this great policy involves.

In order to achieve our goal we must take the appropriate steps in the interim period. The goal of a non-racial society will in no way be blurred or delayed, if in the intervening period at any rate, it should be necessary to have some safeguards for the rights of minority communities, just as it has been and continues to be necessary to have special safeguards for the rights and interests of Africans in such matters as land. These safeguarding steps are, I believe, necessary rungs in the ladder leading to our ultimate goal. It might impair the progress towards our ultimate goal if we confuse that goal with those necessary intervening steps.

May I also say how much my delegation welcomes the election of Ambassador Dorsinville as Chairman of the Visiting Mission. I envy him his visit to East Africa, and I wish him and his colleagues every possible success. It is not necessary for me to assure him of the full co-operation of everyone in Tanganyika both inside and outside the Government. That of course will be given in full measure.

I do not want to lengthen my statement at this hour, but I feel I must say something on the subject of land alienation, a subject with which I personally have been familiar in East Africa over a long period of years. I cannot help feeling that there is some misunderstanding of the position by some of the

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

members of this Council, and I shall try to explain our point of view in the matter. I must start off with a little legalism. I was one of those who was privileged to help in a small way with the drawing up of the Trusteeship Agreement for Tanganyika and, as one of those, I am bound to say that I was somewhat surprised at the interpretation of Article 8 of the Trusteeship Agreement which we heard from the representative of India. I should like to read out this Article again. It is phrased in somewhat antique phraseology because I believe it is exactly the same as the previous provision of the Mandate. The Article reads as follows:

"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 the previous consent of the competent public authority. No real rights over native land or natural resources in favour of non-natives may be created except with the same consent."

Now this represents British practice not only in Tanganyika but also in other territories for which we are responsible in Africa. I do not quarrel in the least with the general proposition as to the practice put forward by the representative of India. But as a pure matter of legal interpretation, surely it is not quite correct to say that the phrase at the end of the second sentence, the so-called phrase "save with the previous consent of the competent public authority" is a subordinate or saving clause. Is the phrase "except between natives" also a subordinate or saving clause? This phrase is part of the sentence, and I submit that the sentence means exactly what it says, namely, that land cannot be alienated to non-Africans except with the consent of the Government. That is what it means.

Another point which was not made yesterday was that we are not only under this obligation, we are also obliged by Article 10 of the Trusteeship Agreement and Article 76 of the United Nations Charter to promote the economic as well as the other advancement of the inhabitants of the Territory. We are obliged to promote education which can only go forward if supported by increasing national income produced by economic development.

We have of course an obligation to protect the land rights of the African population both present and future. This I would say was, with the maintenance of public order, the most important obligation placed on any Government in Africa, and we have always regarded it with the utmost seriousness. In fact, this Article 8 of the Trusteeship Agreement, as I have said, fully represents what British practice has always been. We have the obligation which I have mentioned to promote economic and other development. It is our duty as an Administering Authority to carry out both these obligations and to see that they do not come into conflict or that if in any case they do come into conflict, that conflict is properly resolved in the spirit of the Trusteeship Agreement. We have carried out our obligation, and we continue to carry out our obligation with the utmost seriousness, and every British administrator in Africa -- and I have no doubt administrators of other nationalities -- would regard this as a first task and one to which he must always pay attention.

I had better, I think, describe briefly the system which is adopted in Tanganyika. First of all -- I am talking and I think we are all talking about rural land, not land in the middle of towns -- land is only alienated if such alienation can be shown to be in the general interests of the Territory and its people. Secondly, the most scrupulous attention is paid to African rights in land and the present and future needs of the population of the area. There is invariably consultation at public meetings called Baraza by the District Commissioner with the people. After such consultation, and invariably before land alienation can even be considered, the Chiefs and Elders after the meeting have to give a certificate that they agree, and this is not simply a certificate of the Chief himself, but it is a certificate representing the views of the people. The District Commissioner himself has to certify in writing that the people have been properly consulted, that he supports the alienation and that no improper pressure has been brought upon the people. Only at that stage the matter is considered by the Government, by the competent authority. Land alienation is in fact something which is only done where there is a special justification for it and then only subject to the most careful safeguards.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

There has been some criticism of the fact that a million and three quarter acres have been alienated in the last eight years. I think it must be remembered that the amount of unoccupied land in Tanganyika -- I admit that some of this is probably uncultivable -- is 146 million acres. Of the million and three quarters, a quarter of a million, I understand, is reallocated freehold ex-enemy property, and that can I think be deducted from the total because it does not represent new alienation. Half a million acres is land alienated to the Overseas Food Corporation, a statutory corporation entirely organized by the Government for the groundnuts scheme and now held by the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation, which is primarily concerned with promoting improved schemes of farming and cattle breeding for the benefit of the Territory and for the benefit of African farming. I am not in a position to give a breakdown of the remaining million acres, but I should imagine that some of it has gone for ranching, some of it possibly for the wattle scheme of the Colonial Development Corporation, another State-controlled body, and for plantations such as sisal and I should imagine that only a comparatively small part of it is for farming by agricultural settlers.

It is not a fact that the number of agricultural settlers is growing at a rapid rate, and I do not think that members of the Council need have any fears in the matter nor I do I think that any change in practice or policy is needed. This practice and policy has been evolved over a long period and represent our belief as to the best way of carrying out what we consider to be a sacred trust.

I must make one other point. It is sometimes supposed that Africans are invariably opposed to the alienation of land to non-Africans, and there was a phrase in the speech of the representative of Burma to this effect. However, I am told that from some parts of the country petitions have been received by the Government from Africans begging that land should be alienated to European agricultural settlers so as to open up an area and help the Africans to develop it. I do not know what were the results of these petitions; perhaps the Government felt that it could not accede to such requests, but I think the Council should know that Africans frequently take the view that this land alienation is a good thing. When the Kilombero Valley scheme did not go ahead, there was much criticism among Africans; this was, of course, an area where there were very few people and the people of the country wanted to see this large development go forward.

(Sir Andrew Cohen,
United Kingdom)

I think I have spoken enough, perhaps too much, on this subject and I must now say a word on the very important subject of land tenure, to which a reference was made yesterday by the representative of China. The Royal Commission on East Africa has recommended that a system of individual tenure of land should be gradually introduced in appropriate areas and that there should be a change from the existing customary communal tenure, whatever form it takes. The Royal Commissioners had much to say on this subject and its importance to economic development. The Government of Tanganyika fully agrees on its importance, as do also other neighbouring Governments, and the Government of Tanganyika is now engaged in working out a scheme which will be published for discussion later this year. That discussion will have to be conducted in a very careful way and, I would venture to say, over a long period, because as the representative of China said, land is a most explosive subject. If I may take a leaf out of the book of the representative of India and quote from the ex-Governor of Uganda, "the deep concern of all Africans for their land and their natural caution about any reforms dealing with land are, I believe, generally appreciated. Changes affecting the life of the people cannot be imposed on the African public unless they are understood and accepted. This applies to land tenure perhaps more than to any other matter. Any changes which are to be made will have to be preceded by the most lengthy and careful discussion in all areas." If that was true of Uganda, I am sure it is also true of Tanganyika, and this will be something which will take a very long time, but it is something which not only the Government of Tanganyika but also the United Kingdom Government as the Administering Authority regard as of very great importance. It is something which we can only hope to do with any measure of success at all if we can carry the people with us.

Mr. JAIPAL (India): It is late and I do not propose to keep the Council very long, but I feel bound to say a few words in relation to the very interesting replies that we have heard from the special representative and from Sir Andrew Cohen. To the special representative I would say that it was not our intention to withdraw the offer of mules in deference to the tsetse fly, but I must point out that our objection was not to the use of men as porters so much as to the compulsory means by which they were engaged. Our point was, in other words, that

(Mr. Jaipal, India)

compulsion was more befitting for animals than for human beings. It is of course not beyond the ingenuity of the Administering Authority to get around this difficulty, for example by creating a cadre of local porters who could be given the status of temporary employers and used whenever necessary. I believe we have done some such thing in the public works departments in India.

With regard to Sir Andrew Cohen's statement about the terms of reference of the Constitutional Committee to be set up in 1959, we agree of course that it is premature to be precise just now about the terms of reference of that Committee, but we should like to express the hope that to the extent possible the Committee itself will be consulted in regard to its own terms of reference. Such a course is not without precedent and furthermore the situation in the Territory is developing in such a way that such consultation may well be desirable. I am glad to say that Sir Andrew's interpretation of our interpretation of his statement is generally acceptable to us. We recognize of course, as I am sure the Administering Authority does, that with the establishment of a common roll, the granting of a limited franchise and its subsequent widening as well as the introduction of direct elections, the future course of political advance will be bound to be less paternalistic and will be guided more directly by the aspirations of the people as expressed through their elected representatives in the Legislative and Executive Councils. Such a situation no doubt makes it necessary to place a greater emphasis on the expansion and improvement of education.

We are very grateful to Sir Andrew Cohen for the many clarifications he provided in regard to the procedures adopted for land alienation. I would assure him that they have contributed to a better understanding of land alienation on the part of my delegation. But he will forgive me if we do not see any particular dilemma between alienation of land and economic development. The question as it occurs to us is mainly this: To whom should native land be alienated and how should it be done?

The interpretation which we sought to give yesterday was of the spirit underlying article 8 of the Trusteeship Agreement. It was not our intention to suggest that the alienations of land which had taken place in the past were in any sense contrary to the letter of article 8. They might well have been in accordance with the letter of the law. But having regard to the frequency with which this law had been invoked and the degree of alienation that had taken place, we felt that perhaps the scale of application of this law -- that is the saving clause in article 8 -- was not entirely inconsistent with its underlying spirit. I say so for this reason: in our opinion, article 8 was not drafted primarily to sanction land alienation. Its fundamental purpose was just the opposite -- it was to ensure that the rights to land and the interests of the population were safeguarded. In fact, this was regarded as so important that it was considered necessary to prohibit totally the direct transfer of land between Africans and non-Africans.

If one reads article 8 carefully, one will find that the first sentence states that the Administering Authority may make laws regarding the holding or transfer of land generally. But there is a rider to this, and that is that in doing so, in framing these laws, it "shall respect the rights and safeguard the interests, both present and future, of the native population." That is a mandatory provision. One might well ask: How are these interests to be safeguarded? There is a clue in the very next sentence because it contains a stricture, which is that no native land may be transferred between natives and non-natives except with the previous consent of the competent public authority. In other words, transfers of land between natives and non-natives are ordinarily prohibited. They may take place only with the consent of the competent public authority.

I think that so far we are in agreement with the Administering Authority. But what is the role of the competent public authority in relation to article 8 of the Trusteeship Agreement? The competent public authority's role in this respect is clearly that of a guardian who gives or withholds his consent when Africans wish to transfer their land to non-Africans. It was not intended in my submission that the competent public authority should take any initiative in the matter. In other words, the competent public authority is neither a buyer's agent nor a seller's agent. Its function under article 8 is simply to act as a consenting authority and not as a dispensing authority.

This is how we read article 8. This does not, of course, preclude the utilization of land for public purposes. We should certainly like to see a greater use of land for public purposes, and I have in mind enterprises like the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation. They would have a more direct and beneficial effect on the economic advancement of the Africans. In our opinion, article 8 of the Trusteeship Agreement is not specifically an instrument for the economic development of the Territory.

I do not think I wish to say any more. This interpretation of article 8 may appear somewhat unique, but our arguments and our remarks have all been made only to stress the concern that we feel in this matter. We have every hope that the Administering Authority will give them the most serious consideration.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(interpretation from Russian): I know how the members of the Council would disapprove of a resumption of the discussion and I shall not embark on that. Otherwise, I could take advantage of some information communicated at this meeting by the special representative and the representative of the United Kingdom further to confirm those conclusions which were stated by the Soviet delegation. Therefore I shall confine myself only to assuring the representative of the United Kingdom that his comment concerning the nomination of candidates in the Soviet Union is based on misinformation. For the electoral system in the Soviet Union is an expression of the highest level of democracy where all citizens, all of the numerous nationalities, have a completely unrestricted right to elect and to be elected.

Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom): I do not want to say more than a few sentences, but I feel I must comment on the remarks about land of the representative of India. I think that perhaps not so much as I thought before divides us on the interpretation of this article. All I plead is that the wording of the article and of my statement be very carefully read. I find it very difficult to believe that anyone can study my statement closely and not be fairly well reassured.

Of course I agree that the duty of the Administering Authority is to respect and safeguard the rights of the inhabitants. That is what the article says. It goes on to say that the land can be alienated to non-Africans only with the consent of the Government. This is what we believe the article means.

The PRESIDENT: I think we can conclude the general debate on conditions in Tanganyika. In accordance with the regular procedure, we shall now appoint a drafting committee with respect to this Territory. For the consideration of the Council I nominate the following countries as members of that committee: France, Haiti, India and New Zealand.

As there are no objections, I take it that the Council approves these nominations.

It was so decided.

Mr. Fletcher-Cooke withdrew.

The PRESIDENT: The Council will meet twice on Monday next at 10.30 a.m. and 2.30 p.m., in the course of which meetings members may proceed to question the special representative of the Administering Authority on conditions in New Guinea, beginning with questions in the field of political advancement. The Standing Committee on Petitions and the Standing Committee on Administrative Unions will both meet at 10.30 a.m. on Monday.

Mr. JAIPAL (India): Is it necessary to have a morning meeting on Monday? As some of us have to attend the various drafting committees, standing committees, and so on, it will be very difficult for us to attend the morning meeting of the Council also. I know we are running late, but we are not running that late.

The PRESIDENT: I am in the hands of the Council, of course. I am advised that we are, in fact, sufficiently behind to justify the calling of a meeting on Monday morning, which I do with some reluctance.

Mr. RIFAI (Syria): I had in mind exactly what the representative of India has just said. I do not really feel that we are so hard pressed to have had to meet twice a day for the last week and now to have to do so for the coming week. I hope that you, Mr. President, will give us a respite so that we may be able to study the documents and to put some intelligible questions. I know that you will not want to deprive us of the weekend.

The PRESIDENT: I shall consult the Council.

Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) (interpretation from French): I should like to know when the Council proposes to discuss the report of the Committee on Procedures regarding Petitions. This report has been ready for some time now. It has been on our agenda for some time, as also has the report on the Territory of New Guinea. As far as I am concerned, as you know, my available time will be limited, because the matter of the trip of the Visiting Mission will have to take up some of our attention. Therefore, I should like to know when the Council will discuss this report so that perhaps we may finish it and go on to something else.

The PRESIDENT: This item has appeared on the agenda for the past two days, but time has not permitted consideration of it. It may be that on Monday, if in fact we can have a morning meeting, there will be time to take up this item.

Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) (interpretation from French): In that case I might suggest that the report be included as the first item on our agenda.

The PRESIDENT: It will be included. Does any other member wish to express his views about meeting? I would impress upon the Council the fact that we appear to be in default by at least one meeting on the current schedule. If the representative of India or the representative of Syria wishes to press the point, I shall put the matter to a vote. The representative of India has proposed that we do not meet on Monday morning.

The Indian proposal was adopted by 5 votes to 1, with six abstentions.

The PRESIDENT: The Council will resume at 2.30 p.m. on Monday.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.