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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE EIGHT HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Tuesday, 4 March 1958, at 2.30 p.m.

Mr. ARENALES CATALAN (Guatemala)

1. Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration [4d and 5] (continued)
2. Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika [4a, 5 and 6a] (continued)

Note: The Official Record of this meeting, i.e., the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.875 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

## AGENDA ITEMS 4d and 5

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE CAMEROONS UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION: (continued)

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY FOR 1956 (T/1351, 1354, 1363; T/L.813)
- (b) PETITIONS RAISING GENERAL QUESTIONS (T/L.813; T/PET.4 and 5/11; T/PET.4 and 5/11; T/PET.4 and 5/L.15, 16, 17 and Add.1 and 2; T/COM.4 and 5/L.2; T/PET.5/L.416, 417, 430 to 432, 434 to 451)

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

General debate (continued)

Mr. DENIAU (Special Representative) (interpretation from French):  
The delegations on the Trusteeship Council have "expressed their satisfaction in noting the development of the political, economic and social institutions of the Cameroons and of the increasing participation of the population in that development." This wording is exactly that used by the representative of Guatemala. It summarizes the general judgements which have been expressed, and it seems to me to define in the best way the work to which the Administering Authority and the Cameroonian Authorities have devoted themselves.

It is comforting, when one comes from the Cameroons and when one has been able every day to see the amount of effort expended in this direction, to hear the judgement which is thus expressed by the members of the Council.

I am afraid, however, that on some specific points the opinions expressed by some delegations do not give an accurate view either of the existing legal situation or of the factual realities. In particular, I am sorry that information which would have enabled me to avoid these misunderstandings was not requested in certain fields or that the consideration of the annual report and my answers were not always sufficient to make it possible to clear up the situation completely.

(Mr. Deniau, Special  
Representative)

I have noted, moreover, that a certain number of criticisms expressed by some delegations were best replied to by the statements of other members of the Council. I shall therefore confine myself to taking up again a few points which seem to me to require further clarification, and I would ask the Secretariat, which is to prepare the working paper of the Drafting Committee, to refer to the annual report and to the information given during the discussion on the questions which I do not intend to take up here. I do not intend, however, to reply to the representative of the Soviet Union. I wondered, when I listened to him, if the preparation of the annual report by the Administering Authority and the procedure under which the Council considers it did not represent a loss of time, since the representative of the Soviet Union thinks that he is able to find his best information and his best argumentation by reading articles in the Press.

I would like to assure the representative of the Soviet Union that I could provide him with lengthy files of Press clippings in which the situation in the Cameroons would appear, moreover, quite different than that described by the journalists whose opinions he was good enough to bring to our knowledge.

All the delegations, or almost all, were in agreement in considering -- as indeed they had done last year -- that the intervention of the Decree of 16 April 1957, embodying the Statute of the Cameroons, constituted important progress towards the achievement of the purposes of trusteeship. I would like to attempt to dispel the misunderstandings which still exist. The representative of Burma, for example, while recognizing this important step forward, notes that the measures taken did not confer on the Cameroons the status of a sovereign and independent State and:

"... that further transfers of powers to the Territory must be made before it can assume any semblance of an independent nation, ..." (T/PV.871, page 33)

I would therefore like to emphasize that the Administering Authority has never asserted that the Statute of the Cameroons was a Statute providing independence or a final Statute, but that it was to be viewed in the line of the provisions of article 5 of the Trusteeship Agreement providing for the development of representative democratic organs.

(Mr. Deniau, Special  
Representative)

I would recall as several delegations emphasized, and in particular the delegation of Guatemala, that it is for the Cameroonian Legislative Assembly to request, through a resolution, changes in the present Statute if it considers that new transfers are required within the system organized by the Decree of 16 April 1957 embodying the Statute of the Cameroons and thus within the Trusteeship System. The maintenance of order is provided for temporarily.

If it appears that Cameroonian authorities desire, as do the representatives of India and Burma, that all of the powers still reserved to the French Republic and its representative, the High Commissioner, be transferred to the Cameroons, this would mean that the Cameroonians have considered that an end should now be put to the Trusteeship System. But it is not possible to ask us both to transfer all powers to the Cameroonians and to maintain all of our international responsibilities for the development of the Cameroons.

As regards the present situation, I would like to recall that unlike what the representative of Syria thinks, concerning the impressive list of subjects which fall within the jurisdiction of the Legislative Assembly and the local Government, the powers transferred to Cameroonian jurisdiction are as real as they are formal. The Administration maintains in these fields only an advisory and verifying role. The High Commissioner only presides over the Council of Ministers. The role of this body, which meets infrequently, is to co-ordinate the action of the French and Cameroonian departments and to submit to the Assembly draft bills prepared by the Cameroonian Government. All of the management of the domestic affairs of the Cameroons comes under the Cabinet Council presided over by the Prime Minister and in which are debated all of the Cameroonian affairs and, in particular, all draft decrees, draft ordinances or decisions which cover the major part of the administrative activity in the Cameroons.

The right of supervision made necessary by the maintenance of trusteeship and organized by chapter II of title IV of the Statute is exercised by the High Commissioner in the most discreet way, since up to now it has only been exercised with respect to two amendments of the Assembly to a draft bill presented by the Cameroonian Government.



(Mr. Deniau,  
Special Representative)

Of course, the Administering Authority cannot stand aside, cannot disinterest itself from the subjects which have been transferred to Cameroonian competence. It continues to place at the disposal of the Cameroonian Government the technicians which that Government considers necessary. It does not refuse to supply the advice which might be requested, but it considers that at the present stage of development of the Cameroons it would be more harmful than useful for the development of the country to replace the judgement of the Cameroonian authorities by its judgement and thus to distort the functioning of democratic institutions at the outset. The Cameroonian authorities do not always have the same conception, the same ideas as in the Trusteeship Council or even in the Administering Authority of the list of priorities to be laid down or measures to be adopted; but it would be condemning the Cameroonians to know only artificial responsibilities if we were not to allow the Government, the Assembly and the Administration to carry out an apprenticeship in self-governing democratic administration.

It is thus, for example, that in order to promote the Africanization of the public services, which has been referred to by many delegations, the Administering Authority, if it is completely prepared to place at the disposal of the Cameroonian authorities all of its experience, its methods of training, as well as its technicians, cannot, however, violate the provisions of the Statute by taking decisions which fall within the competence of the Government and of the Parliament of the Cameroons.

I add that these latter bodies are conscious of the needs in this respect, since -- as I have pointed out already -- the Cameroonian Government at the request of the Assembly has stated its intention to submit in the near future a draft bill involving a general reorganization of the civil service. This is what was stated by Prime Minister Ahidjo when he set forth his programme recently, before his investiture by the Assembly:

"A Cameroonian élite already holds certain important posts in the life of the country. The Government must do everything to intensify this effort of Africanization of the civil service... We must not forget the prime importance which should be attached to the Cameroonian Civil Service: We need a reform which would allow us to take account of this new potential which is opened to us and which is constituted by the Cameroonian youth studying in France. Concurrently, on the spot, the group of the young élite which

(Mr. Deniau,  
Special Representative)

is destined to serve the country must be able to find possibilities for the training necessary for real Africanization of cadres of the civil service so as to provide for adequate career prospects."

The members of the Trusteeship Council have used the strongest terms to condemn the use of violence for political ends. The Cameroonians thus will have confirmation that the will of men blinded by totalitarian ideology, and who attempt to take power at any cost, an ideology which takes the form of resort to obscure tribalism, sorcery or attacks on persons and property, all this I say in no case will meet with the indulgence or the approval of the Trusteeship Council. They will also have the confirmation that the return of those, who have been misled, to constructive action within the community, which is what everyone hopes for, will, in the Council's view, have to be carried out within the framework of the law and not because of a revolutionary overturn. I am sure that the statements to this effect which have been made in this hall will meet not only the approval and the concurrence of the Cameroonian leaders, but also of the substantial majority of the Cameroonian people whom they generally represent.

The representative of Syria seemed to question the information which I had given concerning the ideological affiliation of leaders of the dissolved parties. Of course, every Cameroonian may hold the opinions he wishes to when he expresses them within the framework of the law. But I do not believe that it would be advisable or acceptable to allow ambiguities to persist in this matter.

In order to make my point clear I would, therefore, read the beginning of a letter addressed by Félix Roland Moumié, who was President of the UPC, to His Excellency Comrade Molotov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union in Moscow. This letter is dated 16 September 1955 and it had been sent from Bamenda, the Cameroons under British administration.

"Dear Comrade,

"The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the great champion and defender of the right of peoples to self-determination, bulwark of peace and international security, must of course be concerned at the stand taken by the Union of Peoples of the Cameroons after the massacre which, during the month of May, caused great human and material losses in the Cameroons.

(Mr. Deniau,  
Special Representative)

"Our position with respect to the brotherly communist parties remains unchanged. It was diplomatic precautions, to which we resorted, which forced us to restrict our relations with the great party of Lenin and Stalin, knowing in advance that it would remain our indefectible ally and the ardent champion of the cause of our people.

"Our French comrades with whom we maintain close ties, know our position with respect to the two camps now opposed. They know that it is by power strategy that we put on the cloak of a neutral nationalism which is only misleading in appearance. They know our affection for the great proletarian party, the bulwark of freedom for all, of equality and fraternity among all peoples. They know that when we present ourselves to the world as a communist party, we already turn against certain anti-colonialist countries which remain no doubt anti-communist.

"The Union of the Peoples of the Cameroons, acting in this way, remains within the framework of scientific dialectics while appearing as a neutral nationalist."

I am not going to read the whole of this letter, the beginning is more interesting and seems to be clear enough.

In the economic field, and before taking up some specific points I should like once again to specify the powers of the Cameroonian authorities. These powers are much broader than some delegations consider, and in particular the Indian delegation.

The Cameroonian Government and Parliament have thorough-going responsibilities in drawing up the budget of the Cameroons as both with regard to revenues and expenditures. That is, the Cameroonian Assembly approves all direct and indirect taxes applicable to all categories of resources or economic activity in the Cameroons. Mining rights, fiscal taxes collected ad valorem and not discriminatory customs duties affecting quota products are voted by the Assembly by virtue of the Cameroonian organic law of 20 December 1957, and has reserved competence in this field so that no action can be taken in this subject by an act of the Executive. The taxes collected on rubber, aluminum and tin are thus completely within Cameroonian judgement.

(Mr. Deniau,  
Special Representative)

I would add, moreover, that the concern of the Cameroonian authorities, unlike those of certain delegations, do not go in the direction of super-taxes affecting surplus profit taxes on companies. Some of them are still being installed and thus do not pay any taxes but are intended to make as attractive as possible the conditions for investment in the Cameroons.

(Mr. Deniau,  
Special Representative)

On many occasions, Cameroonian political leaders of all parties and, most recently, Prime Minister Ahidjo before the Assembly, have affirmed the need of attracting foreign capital of every nationality to create enterprises and to establish processing industries in the State under trusteeship.

The representative of Burma was good enough to present a detailed plan for setting up Cameroonian capital, on the one hand by private savings made up of cash, jewels, properties, amounts in the savings banks and, on the other hand, by levying taxes on luxuries and on certain imported articles as well as on retail trade. We must emphasize that all these measures fall within the sole competence of the Cameroonians, as I have indicated above. But I do not think that at a time when the Cameroonians are beginning to accustom themselves either to use the credit facilities open to them or to make savings for the modernization of their installations or their housing, measures which would reserve their savings for the establishment of financial companies would be well received.

This does not mean that there are not already such companies with Cameroonian capital, and certain very large enterprises in the Territory fall within that category. But in the Cameroons we are at a stage where a consumer economy is only now making way for a market economy, and measures of an authoritarian type which might be taken in this development could slow up rather than promote it.

I would add that the credit and savings facilities which are available to the Cameroonians and which are described in the annual report are very considerable and very varied. I note, in passing, that 12,000 Cameroonians now have accounts in the postal savings system. Thus, those who wish to save or invest can do so with maximum ease. We are also told that the Cameroons should achieve complete financial autonomy. What should the Administering Authority do? Not end its financial assistance, we are told, which, in its various forms, amounts to a total each year comparable to the total of the budget of the Cameroons, but to direct this assistance with a view to the future viability of the Cameroonian economy.



(Mr. Deniau,  
Special Representative)

This is indeed the purpose of the equipment plan, the first ten-year phase of which has just ended. Its role is to promote the economy of the Cameroons by the establishment of a basic infrastructure, as well as by increasing and diversifying production. This planned contribution of metropolitan capital has enabled the Cameroons to reserve its resources for the operation and development of its own services, while the equipment effort as well as the installation of industries and new crops was provided for from other credits.

The recent budgetary discussions in the Legislative Assembly brought out the wish of the Cameroonians to see in the future a large part of their budget reserved for equipment projects. The Administering Authority can only hope to see the Cameroonian authorities henceforth, by arranging revenues and expenditures in their own budget, alleviate as far as possible its own financial effort. Thus, the wishes expressed by certain members of the Council, by the Administering Authority and by the Cameroonians themselves are very close to each other.

In this connexion, I should like to note the comment made by the representative of Guatemala concerning the deficit in the trade balance. As he himself said, this is a characteristic of the economy of all young countries which are acquiring equipment. Should we, on the contrary, prefer a positive trade balance and an end to this equipment project? It is for the Cameroonians henceforth to judge that. In any case, the balance is a favourable one thanks to metropolitan contributions.

The development of agricultural production cannot be evaluated on the basis of a single year in which unfavourable climatic conditions or a recession economy may give rise to temporary drops for some products, but only for a certain period.

I am sure that if the representative of Guatemala considered the figures in this field over the last ten years, he will note that beyond the occasional variations there has been a diversification and a constant important increase in agricultural production in 1957. The measures taken in recent years for the peasantry has not yielded all their results. You do not transform in a few years a peasant who is used to very simple agriculture into a farmer



(Mr. Deniau,  
Special Representative)

who practises rational methods of cultivation. The effort carried out in this field is beginning to yield fruit, and there are such satisfactory signs as the introduction of advanced methods in the North Cameroons, the increase in the output of cocoa bushes, the systematic use of vital sanitary products and the development of native banana cultivation for export.

I should like to point out, lastly, that the Commissariat for the plan is entirely within the Cameroonian Government, and all the studies and consultations undertaken in 1957 for the preparation of the third plan were made under its direction and supervision.

In the social field, several delegations were interested in the conditions under which the Labour Code was applied. French labour legislation overseas, as laid down by the Labour Code and by the decrees implementing it, is, as was recalled by the representative of Guatemala, the most progressive in Africa. The conditions for carrying it out are supervised by a highly qualified and devoted staff and are entirely in conformity with the intentions of the legislature.

The experts appointed in case of collective disputes receive their appointments because of their moral authority and their competence in economic and social matters.

For the year 1957, we can give the following breakdown: three magistrates, four public works engineers, three credit specialists, three agricultural specialists and one doctor; four of these experts are Cameroonians.

The Cameroonian authorities, who have been the only ones competent in the field of labour legislation since the Statute, have, in 1957, improved some of the existing provisions and announced their intention to continue in this direction.

The attempts to misuse trade union action for political ends, if they have resulted in provoking violent conflicts of trends within the Confédération générale camerounaise du travail, have not, in fact, hindered the development of trade union legislation in the Cameroons and its application.

(Mr. Deniau,  
Special Representative)

I had the opportunity during the discussion to describe the action carried out in the field of juvenile delinquency, to refer to the development of the youth movements and to point out the energetic measures which made it possible to reduce alcoholism. I shall not repeat them. I have already pointed out that the drop in the personnel of the health service which was noted in 1956 did not involve skilled staff, whose number, on the contrary, is increasing, but only the casual or daily labourers. The World Health Organization, moreover, has noted the development of the medical services in the Cameroons.

In the field of education, several delegations, and in particular the delegation of China, were concerned with school attendance in the North Cameroons. The Cameroonian Government, which shares this concern, has continued the efforts undertaken, and I have had the opportunity to point out its achievements in this respect.

(Mr. Deniau, Special Representative)

Let us note, moreover, that in the funds of the third plan provision is made for the opening of more than a hundred new classes in the North, that it has reserved for the North the majority of teaching posts in primary education created by the last financial law, and that the systematic training of teachers graduating from the school at Pitoa will make it possible to supply to the schools in the North with teachers who are naturally adapted to the environment and who will be able immediately to obtain the best results.

I shall now return to the question of the qualification of teachers and inspectors, with which I dealt at length last year. I repeat that, in this field, we must not base our judgement on names alone and that although they do not have the title of teacher or inspector, the officers who fulfil those roles are in fact well-adapted to their task.

Several delegations have insisted on studies being undertaken with a view to establishing a university in the Cameroons. Here again, I recall that it is for the Cameroonian Government to judge as to the advisability of such a measure, on the financial plan concerning education, and that it is not possible for me to prejudge its decisions.

Custom has it that the final declaration of the special representative should be relatively brief and should in fact cover only some of the questions mentioned during the general debate in order to supply more information. The members of the Council, even those who have expressed certain reservations, having paid tribute to the Administering Authority for the progress achieved during the year under review, my task in replying has been an easy one. However, I should like to add some reflections and to tell the Council how astonished the Cameroonians are to see that the United Nations pursues its majestic course of procedures as if the appearance of a Cameroonian Government and Assembly should be without incidence in its methods of approach and of judgement. They note indeed that an attempt is made to maintain the legal fiction that there is, on the one hand, an authority administering a Trust Territory and, on the other, the peoples of this Territory, and pretend to ignore the fact that the inhabitants of the Cameroons have assumed the effective management of most of the affairs of their country.

(Mr. Deniau, Special Representative)

The Cameroonians are equally astonished when some delegations refer to the opinion of a ~~minority~~ as if it were the opinion of the people themselves and to see them treat officially as representatives of the Cameroonian people those individuals who speak in the name of non-existent organizations, having no elected mandate, or no mandate at all -- as if the inhabitants had never been called upon to elect their representatives.

They are astonished also that an attempt is made to align all public opinion in its most extreme tendencies, noting that if this were the case, there would exist in the world only totalitarian regimes.

The General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council have expressed a wish for the establishment of universal suffrage. We must accept the first consequences of this, which are, in a democratic regime, the diversity of opinions and of trends, and the opinions of the majority must prevail even if they are not in conformity with the constructions or aspirations of an ethnic or social fraction of the population.

The feeling of this majority -- whose opinion or composition may change -- must prevail even if does not correspond in every respect with the views of certain delegations which tend to project on the Trust Territory the lessons of their own history or their own experience, while the conditions peculiar to the Cameroons may be completely different, even if this feeling of the majority does not conform entirely with that of the Administering Authority.

The role of the Trusteeship System is to facilitate for the Cameroonians access to democratic equilibrium in their country, based on a viable economic and social structure; but we would be turning aside from the ends of this role in pretending to utilize it, if the individuals concerned did not succeed immediately in realizing on every level the theoretical plans proposed to them, in order to impose on them decisions, a certain rate of evolution, or certain ideologies. The Cameroonians must pursue the difficult task which will lead them finally to the capacity to administer the affairs of their country entirely, with all the technical and moral assistance which may be desired, but in accordance with methods which take account of their own peculiarities, their wishes and their own concerns.

(Mr. Deniau, Special Representative)

Cameroonian democracy is already a vigorous reality; the members of the Council have welcomed that fact warmly; the United Nations, like the Administering Authority, must avoid endangering it. Such at least is the very strong feeling of the Cameroonians themselves.

I thought that it was well for me to give the Council the benefit of these reflections because the achievement of the aims of trusteeship and the sound future development of the Cameroons will depend to a great extent on the confidence which the Cameroonians entertain -- and particularly those who have charge of very important responsibilities -- not only towards the Administering Authority, but also towards the international Organization. These feelings of confidence will no doubt be determined largely by the respect which each will be able to manifest towards their new institutions.

The Cameroons, by the freely expressed will of its inhabitants, has become a State -- a State under trusteeship, it is true, but one which is nevertheless strongly aware of its prerogatives as well as its responsibilities. I think that it was necessary to emphasize this.

In conclusion, I should like to thank the members of the Council for the kind words which they have addressed to me.

Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (interpretation from French): We have come to the end of the debate on the Cameroons under French administration. All delegations have been kind enough -- and for this I thank them -- to recognize that the special representative and I have endeavoured to reply as precisely as possible to the many questions put to us, in order that no point might remain obscure. In truth, our task was made much easier than one might have thought. We have concealed nothing because there was nothing to conceal. And each one could, consequently, as we have hoped at the beginning -- thanks to the various documents, to the detailed explanations given by Mr. Deniau, ~~to the contributions~~ made by the representatives of specialized agencies, ILO, WHO and UNESCO, whose complementary statements were most valuable -- see the situation objectively, measure what has been accomplished and evaluate what remains to be done and what direction our efforts should try to follow in particular.



(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

In listening to the questions, I had even felt some hope. I had thought that all the questions were inspired by a quite legitimate curiosity, by a concern to obtain accurate and comprehensive information. Briefly, I had thought that the aim of the questions was to secure replies and not merely to justify this or that conception, held a priori, with no relation to realities in the Cameroons. I confess that I was a bit too optimistic, because some of the final statements -- or, at least, some of the passages in these statements -- seemed to me to have no connexion with our debate or with the facts which had been brought to the Council's attention.

I do not propose to engage here in any personal polemics. The comments which I am led to make so that certain statements will not remain unanswered in no way detract -- I must say forthwith that quite the contrary is true -- from the respect and friendship which I have, without exception, for the other representatives on the Trusteeship Council; nor do these comments detract from the respect which I have for their countries.

Some of the criticisms levelled against us reveal, in the first place, a state of mind which is more or less conscious, more or less apparent, but deeply shocking and which I feel, in the interests of the Council and its future work, should be denounced; I am convinced that in the present case it is sound and wise to dispel any misunderstanding. I have always regarded the distinction between Administering and non-administering Powers as only a statutory distinction, which is linked to the membership of the Trusteeship Council but which does not involve a type of discrimination and which should not be reflected in the work of the Council by an opposition of principle. To some, however, the very fact of being an Administering Power makes us open to all kinds of suspicion. Certain persons would go so far as to reproach us for exercising the trusteeship conferred upon us by the United Nations. "I have some doubts," says one. "I have some apprehensions," says another. Whether it is the past, the present or the future which is involved, France is suspected of ulterior motives, of evil intentions.

If we institute reforms, our good friend from Burma tells us, we do so belatedly and because we are forced to. He forgets, undoubtedly, among other things, that it was in the very midst of the Second World War that General de Gaulle, in Brazzaville, established the bases of a community resting on liberty,

(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

equality and dignity for everyone. In a statement made on 20 January 1944, he said: "In French Africa, as in all other territories where men live under our flag, there can be no progress worthy of the name if men in their native land do not benefit morally and materially, if they do not find it possible slowly to raise themselves up to a level at which they will be able to participate in the administration of their own affairs".

Moreover, the representative of Burma forgets that the preamble to the 1946 Constitution proclaimed the following principle: "Faithful to its traditional mission, France intends to lead the peoples for whom it has assumed responsibility toward the freedom to govern themselves and democratically to manage their own affairs".

Finally, the representative of Burma forgets that when Mr. Gaston Defferre, with the support of Mr. Houphouet-Boigny, succeeded in having the loi-cadre adopted -- this loi-cadre which Mr. Mason Sears was kind enough to recall had not as yet received all the international attention it deserved -- this was a deliberate political act, in line with the development set in train at Brazzaville and with the highest traditions of France; it was not action which we were forced to take.

But that is not the end of the attempts made to probe into our intentions. Assistance to under-developed countries is one of the great world problems of our time, and the Trusteeship Council is more conscious of this than anyone. Now, it is a well-established fact -- and a fact which is beginning to be acknowledged -- that France, among the more highly developed countries of the world, is by far the country which has exerted the greatest efforts on behalf of the under-developed nations in the field of investment; and that, when this effort is assessed in terms of total value, France is second only to the United States. Thanks to this, in the Overseas and Trusteeship Territories the national income has more than doubled in ten years -- which may still be very little for these Territories, but which is still very much for the metropolitan budget; ten per cent of the taxes paid by every Frenchman in the metropolitan country goes to expenditures overseas. As regards the Cameroons, it depends at the present time for 50 per cent of its revenue on French assistance. This is a substantial effort. We make it willingly, in the spirit of solidarity and friendship which animates our Franco-African community. This assistance is not accompanied by any political

(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

pressure; that would be as harmful and offensive to us as to our African brothers. Quite the contrary: we endeavour to foster political advancement everywhere. Moreover, we have drawn up together with those concerned the terms of this economic and financial assistance, in order that the latter may themselves decide how this assistance should be oriented and in order that this act of co-operation should in no way be construed as charity. Thus, it is the Cameroonian Government which draws up the plans and figures of the programmes to be financed by FIDES. The Cameroonian Assembly controls the programmes. That is the basis for the discussions which take place in the Governing Body of FIDES, in which, incidentally, Cameroonians are represented.

In these circumstances, why must we still hear references to "colonial" or "colonialistic" economies? It is as if we were being blamed simultaneously for giving; for not giving enough, and for giving too much.

I should like to refer to statements which were made regarding the European Economic Community Treaty. This Treaty does not affect the international obligations of the Trust Territories. The Cameroons is still under a system of economic equality, and the products of the six European countries which signed the Rome Treaty will enjoy no preferential treatment upon entry into the Territory. On the other hand, Cameroonian exports will enter all countries members of the European Community duty free. The Cameroons will also benefit from the provisions governing economic and social development funds.

I can therefore quite conceive that, when international organizations or assemblies take up questions of trade and economic competition, objections -- more or less justified -- may be raised to granting too great advantages to the Cameroons and the Overseas Territories. But we cannot be blamed simultaneously for favouring the Overseas Territories unduly and for exploiting them. One cannot speak simultaneously on behalf of trade rivalry and on behalf of a feeling of solicitude for the Trust Territories. The Trusteeship Council, where each delegation is inspired, not by the interests of its own country, but by the interests of the Territories which must be led to maturity -- and where, obviously, the point of view must be entirely different from that of GATT, for example, or of a regional economic commission -- should have nothing but praise for the Powers which have taken measures so favourable to the economic and social development of the countries concerned.

Why is it, then, that there are frustrated minds which -- unable to judge any more than we can the future results of a treaty that has barely entered into force, and finding it difficult to criticise provisions that are in accordance with international conventions and the United Nations Charter -- cast doubt, a priori, on our hidden intentions, our alleged designs? Great progress will have been achieved in the United Nations on the day when this suspicion and distrust have disappeared.

I listened with great attention to the criticisms and suggestions. All were not equally constructive, however. The special representative will transmit these to the Cameroonian Government, which will, in one way or another, certainly benefit thereby.

A few years ago, in France, a Parisian chansonnier composed a very charming and very witty song about a certain type of people -- who, as a matter of fact, can be found in all countries of the world -- whom he called the "All you have to do" people. Whenever a problem arises, these people have a ready-made solution: "All you have to do is this, all you have to do is that."

Are there economic difficulties in the Cameroons? All you have to do is to diversify the economy. Is there inadequate schooling in the North? All you have to do is to open schools. Is there a shortage of technicians? All you have to do is to train some. Do you need local capital? All you have to do is to mobilize savings. Are savings very low or non-existent? All you have to do is to develop savings. Do you need industrialization? All you have to do is to invest. Do you need financial resources? All you have to do is to tax investments heavily.

I shall go no further with this magnificent programme. I would certainly hold no grievance against anybody for having submitted it. It is but a caricature. However, I feel that some of the considerations advanced here are not very far removed from these pious wishes, and that the very laudable wishes and theories here voiced may be taken for solutions. Everything which involves the government of men and the administration of affairs -- to quote Proudhon's formula -- is fraught with difficulty.

I come now to a certain number of problems which were mentioned by several delegations.

First, let me speak of the Statute. As to its democratic character, as to the fact that it marks progress for the Trust Territory, there was no dissonant note. We rejoice at this unanimity and take note of it. The year 1957 witnessed the establishment of Cameroonian institutions. The Cameroonian executive, the Cameroonian legislative branch, the Cameroonian administration are operating, and the basis for this structure is to be found in the Cameroonian people, which democratically elected its representatives. I do not



know whether it is the recent Cairo Conference which inspired our distinguished colleague, Mr. Lobanov, to speak metaphorically of a pyramid. May I reassure him: the pyramid does rest securely on its base, for, when free elections, on the basis of universal suffrage for men and women, clearly expressed the will of the Cameroonian people, I fail to see in behalf of what democratic principle or of what ukase one could rename a minority as a majority -- even a militant minority, even an illegal minority. Violence has never been an indication that a cause was sure of its ground and of its influence. In any event, we cannot dispute the sincerity of the statement made by Ambassador Dorsinville regarding a consultation. Speaking of this, Ambassador Dorsinville, said, on 5 April 1957:

"... the delegation of Haiti wishes to express its satisfaction at the fact that the Territorial Assembly has been remodelled and enlarged by direct vote and universal suffrage and that public opinion in the Cameroons has been well informed of the fact that the new Assembly will have to take up the proposed draft statute suggested by the Administering Authority." (T/FV.768, p. 31)

At the beginning of this debate, I stressed the normal and democratic nature of the governmental crisis which occurred in the Cameroons. So as more completely to dispel the concern voiced by the representative of India, Mr. Mitra, I should like to quote to him a passage from the statement of Mr. Ahidjo, whose competence in this field certainly cannot be disputed:

"Some, whether consciously or unconsciously, have endeavoured to depict this first spectacular manifestation of our parliamentary life as a more bitter and violent occurrence than would have been desirable for the furthering of our objectives. They sought to view as a personal struggle what was the normal exercise of a right recognized as belonging to all representatives of the people. Happily, this was neither a regional conflict, since we find in the ranks of the opposition the outgoing Prime Minister and persons elected from all parts of the Territory, nor a conflict between our country and the French Republic.

"Neither the union of all Cameroonians nor the links between the Cameroons and France are affected in the slightest by the current crisis."

I have nothing to add to this.

We did not fail to note that reservations were voiced regarding this Statute, owing to the role which is conferred upon the High Commissioner and the powers as yet reserved to France. The special representative mentioned this question. I should like, for my part, to try to cast further light on it.

Mr. Deniau quite rightly emphasized that this Statute did not provide either for independence or for complete autonomy. Otherwise, we should already have asked to have the Territory removed from the Trusteeship System. It follows from this that, if a certain number of limited powers are reserved to the Administering Authority, the Cameroonian authorities are already exercising their very extensive powers, the practice of which is leading them towards the end of the Trusteeship System. This temporary sharing of responsibilities is per se a delicate matter, for many fields overlap. It calls for much flexibility and much understanding. We are in a position to contend that the Statute has been very broadly and very liberally interpreted. As Mr. Deniau demonstrated when questions were put to him, usage and practice have always gone far beyond the letter of the law. What was given was given without any reservation and without any hope of return. I can therefore only express my surprise at the fact that so distinguished a jurist as our colleague from Guatemala contends that the Administering Authority remains responsible for the exercise of powers which it has transferred, and that he sees no contradiction in this. No doubt, as long as the Trusteeship Agreements remain in force, the Administering Authority, through its High Commissioner -- whose powers, according to some, are too extensive -- does have recourse against Cameroonian laws, regulations and administrative acts which might contravene international obligations assumed by the Administering Authority. The procedure for such recourse is set forth in articles 47, 48 and 49 of the Statute. But this provides only a sort of legal protective barrier. It is a veto of a very general type. It certainly in no way behoves the Administering Authority to intervene in the fields which specifically and definitely fall within the competence of Cameroonian authorities. What would the Cameroonians think of their authority if we took back with one hand what we had conferred with the other?

However, thanks to a paradox which is an enlightening one, we are urged to confer greater powers upon the Cameroonians -- but at the same time it is felt that France should remain responsible for everything. Nor is this all. When it is a question of the maintenance of order, public liberties and the amnesty law, we are quite frequently blamed for not keeping these responsibilities exclusively to ourselves and we are blamed for acting in agreement with the Government and the Assembly of the Cameroons, which, after all, do have a word to say on the political and moral situation in the Territory. These grievances, it seems to us, lack cogency and logic.

(Mr. Kosciuszko-Morizet, France)

Let us not attribute too much importance to them, for no one can doubt that the Statute is not immutable but subject to improvement in accordance with a procedure which is written into its text. The new Prime Minister himself stated:

"Our country must start afresh, and I feel sure that the civic consciousness of all my compatriots will assist me in this for the reform of our domestic structures and of our administration is the indispensable prerequisite to our entry into international life with joyous heart and head held high".

I have very little to say with reference to the amnesty law. We have already spoken at great length on this subject, and the representative of Italy has defined the law most ably. It is an olive branch held out to those who, whatever their political opinions, wish sincerely to re-enter the national community and to work, under the law, for the building of their country. We trust that, for their sake and for the sake of the Cameroons, they will seize this olive branch with no ulterior motive. Once again may I quote the noble words voiced by Prime Minister Ahidjo in his inaugural statement:

"The independence to which the Cameroons aspires can be conceived only if there is a union of all its children. For what would it serve our country if it were to come before the comity of nations still divided by fractricidal quarrels and struggles. That is why I appeal to all, on the eve of the decisive step which we are about to take, so that all, imbued with a common sentiment of patriotism, may demonstrate a spirit of harmony and comprehension and become united.

"I shall not countenance the existence of two categories of Cameroonians, one being excluded by opprobrium and while a certain overlooking of past faults can be understood my Government cannot agree to have one fraction of the people of this country remain deliberately outside the law."

Need I say more? I should like to have the Council unanimously endorse such an appeal. I have already had the opportunity to say this before the Fourth Committee. We refuse to intervene in Cameroonian rivalries. Yesterday

(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

we helped Mr. M'Bida, to day we help Mr. Ahidjo -- not intuitu personae, not because they represent this or that party, but because they are the legal heads of a democratic Government. It is the Cameroons which we assist by assisting them. Neither the United Nations nor any delegation can choose among the Cameroonians and declare that this or that individual, group or party is more truly representative than another, as long as all are democratically elected. Patriotism cannot be measured by the yardstick of violence of nationalistic sentiment. The fact of being in the opposition cannot of itself constitute a criterion by which objectivity or truthfulness is measured. The wheel turns very rapidly in this field. If one sincerely wishes to assist a young State, what is important is to bolster every element of stability and to encourage the forces which work for union and peace. We hope that the Council will follow us along this course.

Much has been said about dates-- target dates, that is, in all fields, as much in the case of public administration as in the case of agricultural economy, industrialization or the objectives of the Trusteeship System. This frantic desire for dates and timetables may be praiseworthy when what is involved is, for example, the planning of the economy and the assessment in point of time of certain stages of development which must be passed or certain targets which are to be attained, it being borne in mind, of course, that difficulties and events are liable to correct these estimates -- in other words, that changes, and at times, very abrupt changes, are always possible. It is necessary to be far more cautious when dealing with human factors, with all the consequences which can result from illusions or disappointments. Certainly, there comes a time when it is necessary to set certain targets. But it would not be honest to specify that moment a priori. It is a moment which is, without doubt, near in the case of the Cameroons, and, in complete agreement with the Cameroonian Government, we shall establish a reasonable timetable which we shall present to the United Nations and which will lead the Cameroonians to the point where it can leave the Trusteeship System. We supported and voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 1211 (XII), assuming thereby the obligation to facilitate.



(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

"the realization ... of the final objectives of the Trusteeship System, in accordance with the free expression of the wishes of the populations concerned, taking into account any alternative relative to their future status".

We do not withdraw a single word of that resolution, and we are not accustomed to failing in carrying out our commitments.

I should like to comment briefly on the competition which some have sought to establish between my good friend Sir Andrew Cohen and me. At the risk of disappointing sporting enthusiasts, I regret to have to inform members of the Council that it is on a different level that we must be brought against one another. The problem of the unification of the two Cameroons can in no way be a Franco-British problem. It is a Cameroonian problem which concerns the Cameroonians alone. It takes two to make a marriage. It seems that at the present time there is in the Cameroons under French administration -- to judge from the statements made by Prime Minister Ahidjo -- a movement of public opinion in favour of reunification. That is one element of the question. The other element is to be found in the Cameroons under British administration, and it would be both discourteous and indelicate for us to have any preconceived opinions on this subject. We can only reaffirm, for the Cameroons under our administration, that the Cameroonians will exercise complete freedom of choice.

We are accustomed to hearing at each session of the Trusteeship Council and of the General Assembly a few stanzas relating to the participation in the central organs of the French Republic of those who are elected in the Territories, and to the threats of integration within the French Union which loom over the unfortunate Trust Territory. This is a traditional, stylistic exercise. I would reply once again that the participation of the Cameroonians in French constitutional assemblies -- which represents a unique fact in the world of which we are very proud -- is a privilege to which they are very much attached, but that this honour cannot constitute an obligation for the future. The Cameroonians are very attached to it, first because of the symbolic significance of such participation. It represents equality in law and in fact between all the members of the community. They are attached to it also because the participation is effective. The Cameroonians have a word to say in

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(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

all the affairs of the metropolitan country and of the overseas Territory.  
It thus militates in favour of the progress of the Cameroons.

(Mr. Kosczkiusko-Morizet, France)

Finally, they are attached to this privilege because of the experience which they have acquired of French parliamentary life. Many Cameroonian leaders thus started their work in Parliament or in the Assembly of the French Union. I do not feel that they would share the feelings which were voiced here.

The present relationships between the Cameroons and the French Union are defined by ~~article 4 of the Trusteeship Agreements which provide that the~~ Administering Authority will administer the Territory according to French legislation as an integral part of French Territory. Articles 4, 7 and 8 of the Statute define the participation of the elected representatives in the central organs of the French Republic and establish a Cameroonian citizenship. These articles spell out the very liberal application of this clause. Article 2 of the Statute is, as a matter of fact, formal in its wording. It states:

"This organization shall continue in force until the inhabitants of the Cameroons, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and the Trusteeship Agreement of 13 December 1946, in particular with the provisions of article 5 thereof, are invited to express an opinion on the definitive regime of the Cameroons."

What then will be the relations that will prevail in the future between France and the Cameroons? It would be most unwise to prophesy in this field since the outcome depends on the Cameroonians themselves and on France. The representative of India spoke of the Commonwealth. This same debate took place last year in the Trusteeship Council. We had an exchange with Ambassador Lall who I see here now, which shows that there is a certain consistency in the views held by the Indian delegation. The Commonwealth does present a formula; it does not necessarily provide the only formula. The French Union is undergoing certain transformations, and I cannot say at the present time what will be the precise outcome of the dialogue which is taking place among the various members of the Franco-African community.

The representative of Syria mentioned the ~~disintegration of empires~~. History also shows that new empires also tend to be erected or re-established. In our own generation we have seen at what cost in terms of devastation, of tears and blood an empire based on racism, exacerbated nationalism and hatred can grow and then collapse.

(Mr. Kosczkiusko-Morizet, France)

These monstrous constructions are edifices which carry within themselves the seeds of their own destruction.

But the very concept of empire is obsolete and condemned. The concept of community or union in its various guises represents the contribution of our civilization and offers a solution to the problems of the twentieth century in which we must reconcile the independence of peoples and their essential solidarity.

But a community is not necessarily based on race, colour or religion. It can cross borders, seas and continents. It can encompass men and peoples whose appearance differs widely and whom history has sometimes necessarily united by force, but who are taught by their heart and by their reason and common ideals that they should live together. Such a community is viable only if it rests on equality, freedom and, perhaps even more, if it rests on fraternity. This is a great adventure which we are launching. I do not feel that such an experiment can be considered contrary to the United Nations Charter. It can only, to the contrary, strengthen peace and further solidarity among all nations. This is the hope which Mr. Ahidjo, the Prime Minister of the Cameroons, shares with us, and I should like to quote him in conclusion:

"It is from this brotherly mutual assistance, which at certain difficult moments did not prove to be a one-way street, that a heartfelt France-African community can be born, a community which we yearn for and which we fervently hope will bring the Cameroons and French Black Africa into the universal family in which we all believe."

Mr. ROLZ-BENNETT (Guatemala) (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to speak on a point of clarification. My delegation would certainly in no way propose to reopen the debate on the French Cameroons. However, to clarify matters and to avoid any misunderstanding, I think that it befits me to say a few words regarding a point which we raised and which was mentioned only a few moments ago by the representative of France. I refer to the obligations assumed by the Administering Authorities under the Trusteeship Agreements as long as the Trusteeship Agreements remain in force. I feel sure that my friend, Mr. Kosczkiusko-Morizet, will not object if I very briefly comment on this in order to clarify the situation.

(Mr. Rolz-Bennett, Guatemala)

I am not passing legal judgements; that is not the basis of my statement. I base my statement on the basis of the legal wisdom of the Administering Authority which, in the Statute for the French Cameroons, took care to retain articles 47, 48 and 49. The first of these articles provides the best argument in favour of our thesis. I shall read it in English since that is the only text I have before me; article 47 states:

(continued in English)

"In order that the French administration may discharge all its obligations under Chapters XII and XIII of the Charter of the United Nations and under the Trusteeship Agreement of 13 December 1946, the High Commissioner shall exercise a trusteeship (tutelle) over the operation of the Cameroons institutions."

(continued in Spanish)

That is all I have to say.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I should like to speak on a point of clarification. The statement of the representative of France contained some notes which we could interpret as a sincere attempt to dispel what he considers to be an error. Perhaps he is mistaken himself in this, but we cannot say that he is not trying to find the truth.

Unfortunately, the same thing cannot be said of the statement of the special representative of the Administering Authority. One may understand the irritation of the special representative if we take into account the extent of his responsibility for the situation in the Cameroons. However, this would not justify the insinuations addressed by him to those who are really attempting sincerely to assist the Council and the Administering Authority to assess the existing situation correctly. I can only remind the special representative that in such matters he had predecessors who attempted to serve up as sensations some kind of productions which they had fabricated themselves. I consider it necessary to remind him that all of these enterprises ended in confusion.



(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

It is not difficult to speculate on the origin of the paper which the special representative read out nor is it difficult to guess what the motives pursued were.

Mr. KOSZKIUSSKO-MORIZET (France) (interpretation from French): I do not want to enter into polemics with my colleague from Guatemala. He referred to articles 47, 48 and 49 of the Statute. I mentioned them myself in my statement, and I find nothing in his words which do not confirm what I myself said.

As regards the statement of the Soviet representative, I consider that to wish to separate the special representative from the representative of France is an attitude unacceptable to us. I should therefore like to state my complete solidarity with the special representative. I found nothing in the statement of the Soviet representative which would make it possible to assert that any of the facts presented by the special representative are not perfectly authentic.

Mr. LALL (India): I merely want to say a few words after listening to the very enlightening and interesting statement by our colleague from France. This statement certainly helps us to understand the position of France in the Cameroons under French Administration. We have been glad to see that there is a frank admission that the Cameroons under French Administration has not yet advanced to full self-government or independence, for if they had, we are told that France would have come here and asked for the termination of Trusteeship. All through the statement we see the same kind of frankness of presentation, which helps a great deal in understanding the position in this Territory.

We are glad to see reference by the representative of France to the fact that the French Union is something which is transforming itself, which is developing. We all want to see developments of that character, developments which will make truly possible, in real equality, relationship between countries which in the past have been Administering Authorities and countries which are emerging to independence and full self-government. We welcome this development to which the representative of France has referred, and I take it that he would not object to my saying that it is relevant to other Territories in respect of at least one of which France has asked, I believe, for the termination of Trusteeship.

But we have heard now that the French Union is evolving, ~~is transforming itself, is becoming something.~~ We wish it well and we hope the time will come when, ~~either within that Union or outside the Union, the Cameroonians and other people under the administration of France, within the Trusteeship System,~~ will emerge to full independence or self-government as they wish.

Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of India for his statement. Of course, I would have some comments to make, but I do not want to open a debate on the Cameroons under French Administration and I will adhere to what I said.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Having heard these statements, we have now completed our consideration of the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French Administration.

Nomination of a Drafting Committee

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Council will now proceed to designate the Drafting Committee which will study the results of the general debate and the statements made by the Administering Authority and which will then report to us on the subject. I venture to suggest the following membership for the Drafting Committee: Haiti, India, Italy and the United Kingdom. If there are no objections, I will take it that the Council agrees to this membership for the Drafting Committee on the Cameroons under French Administration.

It was so decided.

Mr. Deniau, Special Representative, withdrew.

AGENDA ITEMS 4a, 5 and 6a

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF TANGANYIKA: (continued)

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY FOR 1956 (T/1339, 1349 and Corr.1, 1355, 1364, 1365, 1366; T/L.815)
- (b) PETITIONS RAISING GENERAL QUESTIONS (T/L.815/Add.1; T/PET.2/L.9 and 10)
- (c) REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS VISITING MISSION (T/1345, 1362)

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

Political advancement (continued)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The special representative wishes to make a statement and I now recognize him.

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): Yesterday afternoon and this morning one or two delegations asked for certain supplementary information, most of which I have been able to provide. If I may deal with the one piece of information that cannot be provided, it is the request from the representative of New Zealand as to the number of women voters who have registered. These figures are not available, but as I indicated yesterday, the list will be published soon and if anybody cares to look through some 30,000 names, they will be able to find out how many women voters there are.

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cer* I think it was the representative of China who asked if I would indicate the distribution by provinces of the thirty Native Authorities who at the present time have co-opted members of the immigrant communities to sit with them. I now have these figures. There are three in the Central Province; four in the Eastern Province; six in the Lake Province; eight in the Southern Province; four in Tanga Province; five in the Western Province. In fact I have the names if the representative of China would be interested in the names. I have given him the provincial distribution.

*not fig* The representatives of India and Burma both asked for population figures. I have had to obtain these figures from Tanganyika and I must make it clear that the African figures relate to Africans over the age of sixteen, whereas there is as yet no breakdown by age groups for the figures for Europeans, Asians and others. It must therefore be remembered when I give these figures to the Council that the Africans are over sixteen and that the Europeans, Asians and others are men, women and children in each case.

In the Northern Province: Africans, 409,665; Europeans, 3,613; Asians, 7,719; and others, which includes Arabs, Somalis, Goans and so on, 1,916. In Tanga Province: Africans, 379,223; Europeans, 2,418; Asians, 8,527; and others, 5,964. In the Eastern Province, excluding Dar es Salaam -- in other words, the Eastern Province as a constituency -- Africans, 550,090; Europeans, 1,705; Asians, 4,481; and others, 3,214. In the Western Province: Africans, 608,298; Europeans, 1,310; Asians, 4,393; and others, 4,100. In the last Province in which elections will be held in September 1958, the Southern Highlands Province, the figures are: Africans, 499,769; Europeans, 2,277; Asians, 3,372; and others, 815.

I think those were the figures which the representatives who put this question to me asked for.

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

Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria): Many questions that I had intended to ask have already been dealt with by the representatives of India and Guatemala. However, I would be very grateful to the special representative if he could kindly elaborate further on the following questions.

*number  
of  
voters*

The figure 29,000 voters has been given by the special representative as representing those who have registered as electors for September 1958 for the five constituencies. It can be reckoned that after the scrutiny and the checking of many hundreds of other applications, this figure of 29,000 would not increase very much. However, the estimate which was given by the Government of Tanganyika as to the number of potential voters who might register for the 1958 elections was, in the words of the special representative, a tentative figure of 75,000. To what factors might the special representative attribute this disparity?

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): I think the major factor is probably apathy. The Government has, during the past very nearly nine months, certainly since the beginning of August last year, when the lists for applications to register as voters were distributed, embarked upon a very comprehensive campaign, particularly in the five constituencies scheduled for the September 1958 elections, to explain to the people in every possible way -- including the use of the film which some members of the Council saw, which has been widely shown throughout the Territory by means of Barazas, by Press hand-outs, by broadcasting, by the efforts of individual provincial and district commissioners -- the qualifications and their eligibility to register as voters. I do not think that we need be too depressed at the results, because the figure 75,000, which would be the maximum, is our best guess; and in many areas, particularly those in which elections are being held for the first time, it is regarded as fairly satisfactory if 50 per cent of the electorate votes. We have not reached a 50 per cent figure, but we do not feel too discouraged, having regard to the particular circumstances surrounding the elections in Tanganyika, the vast distances to be covered in propagating the news, and so on; and although looked at from here, where no doubt very large numbers of people register and very large numbers of people ultimately vote, we do not regard the figures as in any way discouraging.



Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria): I am very grateful to the special representative for his adequate answer.

Will the special representative ascertain the approximate proportion of Africans among these 29,000 registered voters?

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): The figures indicate that at least two-thirds of those who have registered are Africans.

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Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria): With due consideration for the clarification given this morning by the representative of the United Kingdom, there nevertheless seems to be general opposition to the compulsory element of the tripartite system of voting. The Administering Authority contends, however, that it is too late to change this system, that the purposes for which it is designated are still valid and that it must, at any rate, be given a fair trial. For the sake of understanding and harmony in the future, would not the special representative think it advisable that the government should have more contact with the political parties for a greater diffusion of their views as to the possible benefit of such a system? Would this not work to alleviate any possible dissatisfaction?

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): As the representative of Syria no doubt appreciates, the whole purpose of having a Legislative Council is that the views of the people of the Territory are brought to the notice of Government through their representatives, who in the future will be their elected representatives. In addition, of course, bills and other Government proposals are published both in English and Swahili and are distributed as widely as possible throughout the Territory so as to ensure that any reactions of the people reach Government by one or the other of these sources before any final decisions are taken. As I think I indicated in this particular case, there was no great feeling on this matter between the original public announcement of these proposals and the final enactment of this bill into law. It was indeed only subsequently that there was the growth of quite considerable opposition, I must admit, to this particular proposal.

Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria): The requirements set by the authorities for the right to vote are well known. Is the eligibility of a prospective candidate also subject to specific conditions and qualifications?

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Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): Yes. In the first place, nobody can be a candidate who is not a registered voter. In other words, the voter's qualifications are the normal minimum qualifications for a candidate.

I think I am right in saying that there are only two additional qualifications. The first is that the candidate must be twenty-five years of age; and the second is that he must have resided in the Territory for four out of the preceding six years, whereas in the case of voters, it is three out of the preceding five.

I think those are the only two additional qualifications. Otherwise, anyone who is registered as a voter may stand as a candidate.

Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria): The understanding of the special representative is that TANU is going to contest the elections. Can this understanding be further confirmed?

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): I do not think I can go beyond the declared public pronouncement of the President of TANU. He has made at least one, if not two, public speeches in which he said that his organization had decided to contest the September elections. As that speech was made shortly after the annual convention of the Tanganyika African National Union, which was held in January, I think it may be definitely taken to be its present intention.

Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria): I turn now to the District Councils. From the exposition of the Special representative about the development of District Councils, it can be assumed that the Administering Authority is taking into consideration the emphasis of the Visiting Mission on the urgency of this development. Is similar consideration being given to the further suggestion of the Visiting Mission in paragraph 107 of its report concerning the desirability of establishing additional organs with functions covering larger areas?

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): Yes. In his address before the Legislative Council in September, which the Visiting Mission heard, the Governor hinted at the proposal which was in the Government's mind to establish organs of government covering larger areas than districts; and this point is taken up again in the Visiting Mission's report. In paragraph 40 of the observations on the Visiting Mission's report it is said:

"...the Trusteeship Council will be aware from the Governor's address to Legislative Council on 17 September 1957 that this problem is receiving close attention. In his address the Governor stressed the desirability of providing for a further measure of effective decentralization from Dar es Salaam. Following a visit to the Territory by the Head of the African Studies Branch of the Colonial Office, this problem is receiving very urgent attention and a Senior Provincial Commissioner is devoting himself full time to the consideration of various proposals." (T/1362, para. 40).

I should indicate, I think, that what the Government has in mind is not so much the development of local government councils, because experience has shown that the best unit for local government is the district. Members of the Mission and other members of the Council will be aware that the two attempts which were made to introduce a formal local government on a wider basis -- that is, the proposed County Council, or existing County Council, in the Lake Province and the Southern Highlands Province, an advisory council which, it was hoped, would be turned into a Statutory Council -- have not proved very successful. The question might well be asked: Why are we looking at this again? And the answer is: We are looking at it from quite a different point of view.

(Mr. Fletcher-Cooke,  
Special Representative)

The Councils, and indeed administrations, which are contemplated and are implied in the reference in this paragraph would be not so much directly concerned with local government, but with a decentralization of Central Government. No final decisions have been taken in this matter yet, but the sort of thing that is in mind is the possibility of having provincial councils which would take over from the Central Government a large number of appropriate functions. At the present time, and having regard to the position of Dar es Salaam, the Capital, that is undoubtedly a feeling -- that many of the acts of the Central Government are perhaps too remote from the people of the Territory because of distances and the peculiar non-central position of Dar es Salaam.

Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria): My next question concerns the training of District Officers. The training of African District Officers, as reported by the special representative, is an encouraging sign of progress towards preparing the Tanganyikans for self-government. Would the special representative care to elaborate further on the scope of functions fulfilled by the District Officer, on his rank in the Administration hierarchy, on what differentiation, if any, there is between a District Officer and a District Commissioner?



Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): In Tanganyika every district is, of course, under the control of a District Commissioner, and in most districts -- and certainly in all the big districts -- there a number of District Officers who are working as part of his team -- his staff, if you like -- of administrative officers. Hitherto most of those District Officers have been recruited in the United Kingdom, but, as I explained in answering a question of the representative of India, before the end of this year there will be some seven or eight African District Officers who will, of course, be performing exactly the same functions and doing the same work as their United Kingdom counterparts. They will be responsible to District Commissioners and, in the normal course of events, we may look forward to a time -- which, I hope, will not be very far distant -- when one or more of these Africans will become District Commissioners in charge of districts.

Y2/18  
Chief's

Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria): The special representative spoke of the second meeting of the Chiefs' Convention. Would he be kind enough to shed some light on the role of this Convention in the political field? Would such a convention, for example, be prepared to hear petitions concerning grievances from local residents and, as a consequence, recommend to the appropriate authorities the removal of the causes of such grievances?

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): This Chiefs' Convention, as it is called, is, of course, not a statutory body in any sense. It started at the request of the Chiefs themselves, who asked that the Government should facilitate their meeting by providing, for example, a place in which they could meet -- which was provided on this occasion in the Local Government School at Mzumbe near Morogoro. They also asked that the Government should undertake the secretariat work involved, to which the Government readily acceded; and this, as members of the Council will be aware, was the second meeting of the Chiefs' Convention, at which, as I indicated previously, they discussed a wide variety of subjects, including such matters as the sale of alcohol and spirituous liquors, the collecting of taxes and cesses. They also discussed the possibility of a second chamber. As I indicated yesterday, most of their meetings were in private, and they discussed at some length their own salaries. But, generally speaking, I think that it would be true to say that they are groping towards a situation in which they may be able to put some more concrete proposals to the Government for the formal recognition of this Chiefs' Convention. It might possibly grow into some form of second chamber. Certainly, a number of the Chiefs have made suggestions.

So far as I am aware, there would be no question of the Chiefs' Convention hearing petitions from persons resident in Tanganyika, for the very good reason that that is a matter which would normally be dealt with by the individual Chief. In other words, anybody living within a particular chiefdom would be free to petition the Chief, perhaps even to ask for an interview to explain whatever problem he had and try to obtain redress for it. Similarly, of course, all persons in the Territory are permitted -- and indeed every facility is given them so to do -- to petition either the District Commissioner, the Provincial Commissioner, the Chief Secretary of the Government, and it is open to any one of them, if they wish, to petition the Secretary of State for the Colonies as well.



Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria): The special representative has alluded to elections held a month ago for the Town Councils of Arusha and Morogoro. Could the special representative give us some information about the results of those elections and the composition of the Town Councils?

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): I regret to say that I cannot give any detailed information. I can, however, give the Council a picture of the position.

For the purpose of elections, these towns are divided into wards. Although, in fact, there is no restriction as to the race of the candidate, all these towns contain mixed populations -- that is, Africans, Asians and Europeans -- and the result of the ward system, which is a perfectly normal system of local government elections, is that in particular wards a candidate of one race is much more likely to be elected than a candidate of another race.

The present position on these Town Councils is that there is a representation of all races, but not necessarily in any particular proportion.

Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria): My next question relates to political parties. In answer to a question put by the representative of New Zealand yesterday, the special representative gave the impression that the political parties in Tanganyika were active and that they had a fairly good organization and salaried administrative personnel. This is a very good sign of the political development of Tanganyika. In view of the very useful role played by the political parties, and especially by the Tanganyika African National Union -- which works for the awakening of the Tanganyikans -- is the Administering Authority giving adequate encouragement to these parties, and especially to TANU?

*Political parties*

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): On many occasions, the Government of Tanganyika has indicated that it welcomes the growth and development of responsible political parties, for it realizes full well that one cannot have meaningful elections to a central legislature except on the basis of a healthy

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Special Representative)

party system. I would therefore say that the Government of Tanganyika most certainly does favour the development of these political parties. I do not think that any of leaders of the parties would for one moment question that statement.

There have, however, been instances -- as this Council is aware -- in which some of the local party leaders have overstepped the bounds of normal party behaviour and have embarked on action calculated to bring into disrepute the position of the Native Authorities or of the Government, in connexion particularly, as the Visiting Mission mentions in its report, with a number of schemes designed for the benefit of the people. In those instances -- and particularly, as is regrettably sometimes the case, if there is any question of intimidation -- the Government has had to step in and take action to preserve law and order.

*He* Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria): It is gratifying to note that there is now an African senior civil servant in the Ministry of Finance. Is the special representative, in his capacity as Minister for Constitutional Affairs, assisted in his work by any African?

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): The Minister for Constitutional Affairs works in the Chief Secretary's Office, using the staff of that Office for the matters with which he is concerned. At the present time, there is no African in the Chief Secretary's Office. I can assure the Trusteeship Council, however, that the Government of Tanganyika is always on the lookout for suitable Africans to be appointed to posts in the Ministries; indeed, the Government is anxious to appoint such Africans. I have no doubt that as suitably qualified Africans present themselves, we shall find more and more of them in these positions.

*Pol  
part* Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria): My final question is perhaps not so much a question as a request for some clarification by the United Kingdom representative. In answer to a question put this morning by the representative of Australia, the United Kingdom representative spoke of "extremists" and "moderates" and the

(Mr. Jouejati, Syria)

possibility, if I understood him correctly, of moderate candidates running against ~~extremist~~ candidates. I must confess that I did not catch the full significance of that remark. Could the United Kingdom representative or the special representative elaborate somewhat on this point, particularly as regards the interpretation of such words as "extremist" and "moderate"?

Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom): I have no recollection of making that particular statement. In fact, I only remember making one very small comment when the special representative was replying to questions put by the representative of Australia, and I am almost sure that my comment was not on this particular point. I think that the representative of Syria must be referring to something which the special representative said, and I think that the latter, with his usual facility, will be able to elucidate the question.

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): It is quite possible that I used those terms. Of course, I was using them racially, as it were. It is quite possible that a European candidate, or an Asian candidate or an African candidate would, in fact, present himself for elections on a purely racial, sectional programme. Indeed, there is a splinter group which has now come out into the open and indicated that it has no time either for the immigrant community or for any Africans who are not indigenous to Tanganyika, and it wants to get rid of the whole lot of them. Now, I would regard a person from such a group as an extremist candidate, because it is quite obvious from the entire historical pattern of the development of Tanganyika that Tanganyika must be developed along lines which will take into account the interests of all those who have made their home there. The splinter group in question is an African group, but let it be said that there are some Europeans, too, who hold extreme views. What we want to see in Tanganyika is the election of the moderates of all races -- and by "moderates" we mean those who will put Tanganyika before their own racial interests.

Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom): Having heard the special representative, I now remember that I did in fact use the words "extremist" and "moderate" in the brief remark I made this morning. I do not think I need add anything to what the special representative has just said. I entirely agree with him. In fact, what he has said is exactly what I meant when I used the words this morning.

Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (interpretation from French): My first question relates to the constitutional reforms which are mentioned, in particular, in paragraph 9 of document T/L.015 and in paragraph 52 of the Visiting Mission's report. As soon as the elections to the Legislative Council have been completed -- that is, in 1959 -- a committee of the Legislative Council will be established to study possible further constitutional reforms. I may be anticipating the matter somewhat, but I wonder whether the special representative could tell us at this stage what principles will govern the composition of the committee. Will it be established on the lines, say, of a parliamentary committee?

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): I think that, without committing those who will have to take these decisions at the appropriate time, I can say -- as, indeed, I think I have already said -- that I am quite certain that the vast majority of the members of the committee will be elected representatives from the Legislative Council. There may well be one or two officials on the committee, but their role will be merely to guide the committee, as it were, and to ensure that the deliberations take place within the framework of the Trusteeship Agreement, the various statements of policy, the Orders-in-Council which have been promulgated in respect of Tanganyika, and so on. We may rest assured that the various views as to the form of development which might take place in Tanganyika -- and these views have ranged fairly widely -- will be considered by the committee.

Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (interpretation from French): I am sorry if certain of my questions overlap questions which have already been raised; that is the fate which awaits the one who puts questions last.

My next question deals with the electoral system and, in particular, the part played therein by women. Could the special representative give us some details as to the attitude taken by the various parties and public opinion regarding the vote for women?

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): Let me say first that women are, of course, eligible to register as voters, and subsequently to vote, on exactly the same terms as men. I think I can also say that both the major political parties in the Territory are highly conscious of the important part which women can play and do play in political life, whether or not they are in fact qualified to vote. For example, the Tanganyika African National Union has a specific women's section, and I believe that the United Tanganyika Party also devotes particular attention to making their policies known to women.

The representative of France will, I am sure, understand me when I say that there are certain groups in the Territory -- religious groups -- which are not yet altogether apprised of the desirability of having women associate themselves and become mixed up with politics, and indeed expression is from time to time given to that point of view. But it is a very conservative point of view, which I think is gradually disappearing, and certainly the vast majority of the people of all races in Tanganyika accept and encourage the point of view that women should take an active part in politics. Indeed, two or three of the present members of the Legislative Council -- one in particular, who, in principle, is very much in favour of elections -- approached me and, in a jocular fashion, said: "I do not really welcome these elections because I doubt very much whether I shall get elected."

Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (interpretation from French): The explanations given by the special representative are quite in line with some findings which can be made in parts of the world other than Tanganyika. This is a rather general problem, and the difficulties encountered are very similar everywhere.



(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

My next question relates to local government. The French delegation would like to have some information about the county councils whose creation was permitted by a 1953 ordinance -- for instance, the South East Lake County Council, the shadow County Council created experimentally in the highlands of the South. We should like to know the reasons for their failure -- or, to use the words of the Administering Authority in its observations, for their defects.

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): I think the main reason -- but it is such an important one that it has accounted for the rather unhappy fate that has come to them -- is that they were attempting to carry out functions of local government over much too wide an area -- over an area in which, in many cases, the problems of local government differed from one end of that area to the other end.

It is for that reason that, having carefully considered the results of the working of the one statutory County Council and the one shadow County Council, the Government has now virtually abandoned that particular policy in the light of the experience so gained and is concentrating its efforts on District Councils, because we are satisfied that the district, which is and always has been a unit commanding very great loyalty in Tanganyika, is far more likely to be a successful area for local government than the larger ones over which County Councils were established.

Mr. SEARS (United States of America): I have only three or four more or less unrelated questions to ask, but, before I ask them, I should like to state the position of the United States delegation on the question of eliminating the so-called tripartite voting in the coming legislative elections.

First, let me say that there seems to be no excuse whatever for multiracial voting on a 1 - 1 - 1 basis, regardless of population figures, except as a transitional stage to a one-man-one-vote basis. Secondly, it is perfectly true that the Trusteeship Council itself recommended a trial of tripartite voting in the forthcoming elections. Thirdly, while it might not have been too late some months ago to change the regulations concerning this kind of vote, it is now manifestly too late, for obvious mechanical reasons. This being the case, we fully accept the decision of the Administering Authority to go ahead under the

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regulations as they exist today. The readiness of my delegation to go along with the Administering Authority on this point makes us all the more interested in the work of the Constitutional Committee in 1959. It will review the parity system, and we hope that the results will be satisfactory to the electorate. We also hope that it will recommend that the institution of universal suffrage be not long delayed.

I hope that these observations will be considered as part of our final statement.

Before I ask my first question, may I say that if I ask a question which has already been answered, or information as to which appears in some document, it may save the Council some time if the special representative will let me know.

My first question is this: Why should the initiative for the formation of District Councils lie with the local Africans? Why would not the process of training for self-government be expedited if the Government were to state that the District Councils ought, on principle, to be set up in every district? There is undoubtedly a good reason for this, but I should like to be informed about it.

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): That is, in fact, a question which has not been asked or answered hitherto.

We have found in Tanganyika -- and, no doubt, it is the experience of many others elsewhere -- that, in order that any organization or institution or scheme which requires public support shall be successful, there must be a reasonable public demand for it. We have many examples in the Territory of schemes which, on paper, were well thought out, comprehensive and in every way highly desirable, but which have failed because, at the time when they were introduced, they did not meet with the support of, and indeed a request for them by, the people concerned. We have therefore made it abundantly clear in the debates, and indeed in our observations, that we hope to see District Councils established as rapidly as possible in all the districts of Tanganyika. But experience has shown that all these things have a snowballing effect, and now that the people of nine districts

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Representative)

have come forward and have asked that District Councils should be set up -- and indeed they have been eagerly awaiting them for some months, if not for more than a year past -- I have no doubt that the number coming forward will progressively increase and that, within a comparatively short space of time, we shall have this new form of local government in a very large number of districts.

Exactly the same process is occurring as regards elections to Town Councils. That, again, was left to a demand by the people concerned, and those demands are coming forward very rapidly and now will cover about half of the existing Town Councils.

Mr. SEARS (United States of America): It would be ridiculous for someone in my position, who had never had any experience whatever, to raise any question about the judgement of an administrator on the problems that he meets in Africa, but the record before this Council on the other Trust Territories would seem to indicate that where the organization of political institutions was introduced the result of the action was great enthusiasm on the part of the Africans. Therefore, I am just wondering, in view of the many things which are likely to happen in Africa in the next few years, whether perhaps giving the Africans the chance to respond a little more quickly might not, in the long run, be to the advantage of Tanganyika.

My second question, which is unrelated to the first, is this. What is there to prevent the registration of all adults in Tanganyika who will respond to the call, so that the basis can be laid with the least delay for the adoption later of universal adult suffrage?

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): May I make a comment on the first part of the statement made by the representative of the United States? I would not wish this Council to think that all that has been done is to put a law on the statute book and to sit back and wait. That is not so. The merits of this new system are patiently explained to the people who will have to work it, and it is to be hoped that they will very quickly realize -- and indeed the evidence suggests that this is happening -- the benefits of asking for a district council to be established. We do not just sit back and wait for it. We do take opportunities of explaining the merits of this. However, we do not create the organ itself -- though we have, of course, passed the enabling legislation -- until we are satisfied that it is going to work, and we believe that it will not work unless the people want it and feel that they are associated with its birth and inception in the particular district.

In reply to the question, I would say that I am not aware of any political system or electoral arrangement whereby persons who are not actually entitled to vote are requested to present themselves for inscription on an electoral roll as, if you will, potential voters in the future. Certainly, in the case of Tanganyika, we have only invited those who are eligible to vote to register and have only provided for that in the law.

*Electoral  
registr.*

Mr. SEARS (United States of America): I thank the special representative. As usual, he is very clear and very helpful in his responses. I was merely thinking that I read -- I believe in the Visiting Mission's report -- that in the cases where they have district councils now the only requirement for a voter who wishes to register his selection for membership of such a Council is that he be an inhabitant of the district for six months and that he shall have attained the age of twenty-one. I also have in mind that the kind of procedure which I was trying to bring out was more or less the compiling of vital statistics. The authorities are going to be faced with the question of registering voters for all kinds of political participation -- I assume in the not distant future -- and it seems to me that in these days, when literally so much is happening all over the world, that a condition of flexibility is very much in the interest of the political stability of the country.

I have another unrelated question which I should like to put. Bearing in mind the best interests of Tanganyika, is there any reason why it would be inadvisable for the Government to state specifically that:

*the State* "Tanganyika is to become primarily an African State and a democratic State in which equal rights for all citizens will be guaranteed, meaning the rights of Africans and the rights of immigrant minorities alike"?

Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom): I think it really falls to me to deal with the last question, and I should like also to take the opportunity of making a comment on the earlier one. I myself, from the experience I have had in Africa and in connexion with Africa, and indeed from my experience as a citizen of the United Kingdom, would say that to put people on a register if they were not going to have the right to vote would be a source of legitimate grievance. I certainly would not wish to be put on a register in such circumstances myself, even in preparation for the future. We have often said that the processes of election must be judged in the light of experience, and I believe that we shall all of us, if I may say so, be in a very much better position to consider this when we have seen what the results and effect of these first elections are. We may draw conclusions from these which none of us



(Sir Andrew Cohen,  
United Kingdom)

would entirely foresee now. When those conclusions have been drawn and decisions have been made, whenever they may be made in the future, I see no special difficulty in any new process of legislation. I do not myself see any purpose in prematurely registering people. Indeed, I think that it would certainly lead to confusion and misunderstanding, and possibly to grievance.

With regard to the last question put by the United States representative, I was at great pains at the last session of the Trusteeship Council in the summer of 1957 to deal with this whole question concerning the future of Tanganyika, and the Council did me the great honour of recording what I said in its conclusions on general policy. I would refer the United States representative to my statement of 19 June 1957 -- a statement to which I attached so much importance that I can even remember the date of it in spite of my failing memory. I would also refer to the recommendation on general policy which the Council passed during its last session and to which I referred in my opening statement at this session. If I refuse to go any further than that in replying to this question it is because I believe that I gave a complete answer to the question of the United States representative when I addressed the Council last session, and I do not think that any further statement from us is necessary. I think we have made the position very clear in that statement. The recommendation is on pages 25 and 26 of the Trusteeship Council's report to the General Assembly.

Mr. SEARS (United States of America): I do not want to go outside the proper procedures of the Council, but would it be possible -- and I am asking this only for my own honest interest -- for the United Kingdom representative to read out the pertinent parts of his statement of last year?

Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom): I shall be very glad to do so. What I am going to read out is from paragraph 5 on page 25 of last year's report (A/3595), where it is stated that:

"the representative of the Administering Authority pointed out that, under the Trusteeship Agreement and the United Nations Charter, the task of the Administering Authority in the political sphere was clear;""--  
this is an oratio obliqua apparently --

"it was to promote the political advancement of the inhabitants and their progressive development towards self-government or independence. The Administering Authority's whole policy, record and national outlook, as well as the terms of the Charter and the Agreement, were a full and sufficient guarantee that this development would be democratic. The policy was to provide for the full participation of all sections of the population in the progressive development of political institutions; but the vast majority were Africans and, as their educational, social and economic progress continued, their participation in both the legislative and executive branches of government was bound to increase. They need have no fears for the future or for the great and continually growing part which they would undoubtedly play in all aspects of the progress and life of the Territory. The representative also pointed out that the Government of Tanganyika had in fact taken an important and positive step forward, and had at the same time shown that it was looking yet further ahead."

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

This is in fact, according to my recollection, a slight and no doubt necessary summarizing of what I said. If the representative of the United States would look at the actual verbatim record, I think he would find a slightly fuller statement but not one which added materially to what appears here.

Mr. SEARS (United States of America): I thank the representative of the United Kingdom very much for his clarification. I know it is only a summary, but what bothers me is this. There is no question about what the United Kingdom Government has in mind about the future of its Empire; it is perfectly clear. We see it in Malaya, we see it in Nigeria, we see it in Ghana, we see it in Sierra Leone; you could go on forever; there is no question about that whatever. I think everybody takes his hat off to what they are doing. However, I do not want to push this because there must be some reason for it, there persists in the Territory of Tanganyika a doubt in the minds of some of the African leaders, according to the Visiting Mission's report, as to what their specific future is going to be. I must confess that I can see no reason why there should be such a doubt. I am also not beyond imagining that it may be fostered on purpose by political activity. But there is a doubt, and in view of the fact that the development is to be towards a democratic State and everybody presumably, as they have in every other British Territory, is going to have equal rights, I cannot see why it is not in the interests of political stability within the Territory to repeat again and again and again that that is the purpose of the Administration, so that that one irritant in the political atmosphere can be finally removed.

Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom): I was very glad to hear my friend, the representative of the United States, say that he agreed that this doubt was not justified in view of what we have already said and in view of our whole record. I think that that is manifest.

I have had much experience of dealing with political leaders and political parties in various parts of Africa, and I am fortunate to count many of them among my friends. They are human beings as I am. I am a little sceptical

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about the efficacy of words in dealing with political situations. We have said that we rely on the terms of the Charter of the United Nations and the Trusteeship Agreement and in the manifest progress which is going forward in Tanganyika. I remain of the opinion that what we have said is fully sufficient and, taken with what we have done and what obviously is going to be done in Tanganyika, should be fully adequate to resolve anybody's doubts. There must always, I suggest, be some elements of obscurity about the future. If there were not, the world would indeed be a dull place; it might be an alarming place too. I cannot myself think that we can pull back this curtain much further by any set of words. We all understand the impatience which the nationalists in all parts of the world very often have, and I believe that we have shown by our actions that we sympathize with this attitude and recognize how natural it is. But I do not believe that any set of words will in the last resort mitigate this feeling which people naturally have and have had all over the world whenever they have not been fully in control of their own affairs. And while I sometimes vie with others in putting together words in what I believe will be an agreeable manner, yet I have a little scepticism about the value of these pronouncements because I think that the feeling will always remain, and I believe that we have gone as far as we justifiably can in meeting these requests that have been made.

Mr. SEARS (United States of America): I bow with pleasure to the very senior experience of my colleague on matters which pertain to African politics.

My last question is not an important one, but I am curious about it. On page 17 of the Visiting Mission's report (T/1345) the United Tanganyika Party is quoted as calling for a policy declaration by the Government concerning:

"the step by step evolution towards self-government for Tanganyika ...  
and a realistic target date set for the achievement of self-government".

(para. 43)

What is the background and explanation of this statement? The manner in which it appears here is very confusing to me. I am not here intimating -- and I do not want to be mistaken on this -- that there should be a final target date, nor am I particularly interested this year in pressing the question of intermediate target dates. My present feeling is that a final statement of the United States

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will have no mention of it at all. However, I was interested in seeing this statement by the United Tanganyika Party and I should like to know what the background of that statement is; it is probably very simple.

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): I am here as the representative of the Government of Tanganyika not of the United Tanganyika Party, and I cannot indicate what is in the mind of the United Tanganyika Party when it presumably adopted at its annual convention this particular statement which they in turn passed to the Mission, which may possibly have had the opportunity of questioning whoever presented this to the Mission as to what they meant by it and what is behind it. Speaking on behalf of the Government of Tanganyika, I am afraid that I cannot throw any light on it at all except to say that this is something that the United Tanganyika Party apparently wants.

Mr. SEARS (United States of America): I have to confess something to the special representative: I think it is a mistake, and I thought he might be able to enlighten me on it.

Mr. JAIPAL (India): Mr. President, if you have no objection I have a very small subsidiary question to put at this stage to seek some clarification of the reply of the representative of the United Kingdom to one of the questions put by the representative of the United States.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The President has no objection, and I doubt that the Council has any objections. This is quite in line with the informal nature of our questioning period which was initiated by one of my predecessors. I call on the representative of India.

Mr. JAIPAL (India): The representative of the United States drew our attention to the need for a policy statement regarding the future of Tanganyika, and in the course of his reply the representative of the United Kingdom referred us to the statement made by him last year which, as he rightly pointed out,



(Mr. Jaipal, India)

was accepted by the Trusteeship Council. That statement is good as far as it goes, but apparently it is not fully satisfying to certain elements in the Territory who seem to need further clarification. I wonder if in this context I could refer the representative of the United Kingdom to the conclusions of the Special Commissioner who was appointed, I believe, and who submitted his report in 1953, a report on constitutional development. His conclusion was that the ultimate goal should be a system of common roll elections with safeguards for minority representation. I should like to know whether that conclusion of the Special Commissioner has been accepted by the Government of the United Kingdom as the ultimate goal.

Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom): I do not think I can give any definite answer to this. According to my information, there has never been any policy statement on this particular recommendation of the Special Commissioner. I think that when the Special Commissioner's report was considered in Tanganyika action was probably taken on the practical recommendations with regard to the immediate future. I think that the answer in fact is that no policy has been formulated on this particular point, and for a very good reason: because what the ultimate goal is in Tanganyika will clearly depend very much on the views of the people at the time. And clearly in the political evolution of a Territory like Tanganyika, as we have seen in other territories, and if I may say so even in India itself in the past, obviously the relative weight of the views of the administering government and of the people change in an obvious direction as political progress goes forward.

We cannot say exactly what the views of the people of Tanganyika will be, when the time comes, with regard to that particular proposition of the Special Commissioner, who I think was Professor Mackenzie of Manchester University. His view, because he is an expert and has experience in other places, carries a good deal of weight. It is a subject on which I would be prepared, but not alone in this Council, to discuss at considerable length in a personal capacity. But I do not see how the United Kingdom Government can lay down a policy on this sort of matter when, clearly, we are going to consult with the people at the time as to what the right thing will be. I am not simply evading this question. I believe very sincerely that this is the right approach to these sort of things and I do not think that the laying down of constitutional details, even of such very great importance as this, is an entirely appropriate thing to expect an Administering Authority to do at this stage.

Mr. JAIPAL (India): I should like to thank the representative of the United Kingdom for this reply. Of course this ultimate goal recommended or suggested by Professor Mackenzie seems to us to be a thoroughly respectable goal and we have no doubt that the constitutional committee which will be set up will have Professor Mackenzie's recommendation very much in mind when it considers the future development of this Territory.

(Mr. Jaipal, India)

I have one or two other questions which I would like to put at a much later stage.

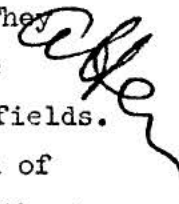
Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Many delegations have demonstrated such a profound understanding of the situation in Tanganyika that they were able to set forth the main questions which interest the majority of the Council, including the Soviet delegation. Therefore, may I first of all thank them for having made my task easier and for having relieved me of the need to tax the special representative with the same question. Nevertheless, I have a small number of questions with which I will tax the special representative, and we shall ask him to be understanding if one question is a rather long one. I am referring to the system of parity voting.

In spite of the fact that this question has already been asked by many delegations, it seems to us that it has not been fully clarified. The explanations referred mainly to the technical side of the question; that is, the machinery of applying the system was explained. But the reasons which would justify its application, especially the simultaneous voting for three candidates, remain unclear to us. Indeed, if the situation is such as was described by the special representative, why is it necessary to insist on a simultaneous voting for three candidates when a majority of the applicants are opposed to such a practice? If a European candidate can count on success only in case of popularity among the African population, those candidates who deserve such support from the African population might be elected without this type of election based on lists.

Therefore, it is difficult to understand why it was necessary to insist on a measure which, in our view, is capable only of causing tension and interracial mistrust. Perhaps we are missing some important point in this question. But we would like to know whether it would be correct to take it that at the present stage the decisive point is that such a procedure has been approved and, as the representative of the United Kingdom said, that it was at one time recommended by the Trusteeship Council. Would it be correct to understand that this was the decisive reason, the determining reason, at least at the present time?

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): I take it that the question of the representative of the Soviet Union is directed to asking why it is that the Government of Tanganyika and the Administering Authority, having regard to the opposition which has been expressed to this particular detail in the election arrangements, do not see fit to change it. I think that can be answered by saying there are two reasons. The first reason is a reason of principle, namely that we believe now, as we did when it was introduced, that it falls in line with the attempt to elect a body of people to the representative side of the legislature who will be moderates in the sense of the word as I explained it previously; that is to say, no racial extremists of any particular colour or complexion. We believe that with a common roll, it is desirable that candidates of all races should stand on platforms which do not have an exclusive appeal to their own race, but have an appeal to all those who have the best interests of Tanganyika at heart.

That is the basic and overriding principle which was considered when this was introduced into the election law and which we still believe to be valid. The second reason, of lesser importance perhaps, is that at this stage in the proceedings, when we have completed our registration, when candidates are thinking in terms of the electoral arrangements which have been approved, it would be inappropriate to make any change in those arrangements, and indeed it could be argued that if any change was made, it would be necessary to postpone the elections, which the Visiting Mission and, of course, the Government of Tanganyika would regard as most regrettable.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I did not mean to say that all my questions were interrelated. They are a completion of the questions which have already been asked and therefore I would ask the special representative to excuse me if they are from varying fields. 

I would like to clear up the following point. At the preceding session of the Council, the petitioners who represent the various social groups dealt with the question of the deadline for reaching independence. One of the chiefs who spoke, and the representative of the Tanganyika National Union, defined the period required for reaching the end of trusteeship as a period of ten to twelve years, if my memory serves me correctly. I would like to know whether the

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(Mr. Lohanov, USSR)

views of those social groups which were represented by those petitioners have changed and whether there has been any rapprochement of the views of the Administering Authority with the views of those petitioners.



Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): My recollection is that Chief Thomas Marealle, who was one of the petitioners referred to by the representative of the Soviet Union, qualified his statement by saying that provided this, that and the other is done, then, I believe, that we might attain self-government within a certain period of time. It is the view of the Government of Tanganyika that this is not so much a question of timing as a question of achieving certain things. If certain things could be achieved in let us say ten years, that might create circumstances in which it would be possible. If on the other hand it takes twenty-five or thirty years to achieve those things then the result will take correspondingly longer. In other words, it does not seem to us that there is any particular point in saying: whatever has or has not been achieved, self-government will come into being on such and such a date, whatever it may be from now in the future. We prefer to look at it on the grounds that certain things must be done before one can talk realistically about a date for self-government. As I would point out, there are many things to be done. Without wishing to harp on it I must draw attention once again to the remark of the Visiting Mission in paragraph 45:

"Much ground has yet to be covered in a Territory where the great majority of the people still live under primitive conditions before self-government can be achieved." (T/1345)

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I should like to know whether there are any divergencies among the various racial groups on the question of evaluating the existing rate of development of the Territory?

*rate of dev.*

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): I think it would be fair to say that the representatives, and perhaps the President of the Tanganyika African National Union, believe that this ground can be covered very much more quickly than let us say the representatives of the United Tanganyika Party believe that it can be covered. Let us not forget that 64 per cent of the members of the United Tanganyika Party are Africans.

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Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): There were reports concerning the prohibition of activities of certain branches of the Tanganyika African National Union. Now, are those prohibitions in force at the present time? It was a question of, I believe, prohibition of ten branches of that organization.

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): The position as regards the prohibitions on the branches of the Tanganyika African National Union remains the same as it was when this matter was last discussed, with one addition, namely, that in the circumstances, some of which are set out in the letter from the President -- which has, I think, been circulated to the Council -- the Iringa Branch has had to be closed during the previous eight months from now. One more branch, in fact, has been closed. But I would point out that at the same time a number of new branches have been opened, I think ten new branches of TANU have been opened since I last addressed the Council.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I have one last question, it is connected with the explanations which were given yesterday by the special representative concerning the fact that private companies, the Shell Company, for example, draw the highly qualified African workers into private employment, and thereby make it difficult to recruit qualified African cadre for government service. I should like to know whether the question has been discussed by the Administering Authority of defending State interests in this question, first of all? And if the question has been discussed, what measures have been proposed to take against such abuse on the part of private companies?

Now, I should like to explain what I mean by the word "abuse". That is the use of profits derived from the Territory for private purposes. I do not mean at all any measures of coercion against people who have received higher education. If I am thinking of some restricted measures, I am attributing them to the private companies and not to the persons who receive higher education.

Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom): I wonder if I have heard correctly what the representative of the Soviet Union has just said, because it seemed to me that I detected in his question a tendency to interfere with the right of the private individual to select what kind of employment he is to take. Now, these young men, and I have known several of them myself, go to the highest institutions of education available in East Africa. The ones I have known came, I think, from Kenya or Uganda, but we now gather there are also some from Tanganyika. They, of course, can apply to the public service commission of the Territory concerned for employment, and no doubt if they did so, everything being equal, they would get employment, and any Government would be delighted to have them. But supposing a company which performs important services in Tanganyika comes along and puts out an advertisement of employment in the local paper or by whatever means such things are brought to the notice of the young men, and they choose to accept employment in such a company. Surely, the representative of the Soviet Union, with his interest in civil liberties so many times manifested in this Council, is not suggesting that we should prevent such a young man from having his free choice. If he is suggesting such a thing, then I am slightly shocked. But I would put it down in a charitable manner to the belief which he evidently has that all private enterprise is wicked. But I am afraid we cannot conduct our affairs on this basis. The oil companies concerned, whether they be British, American, French or any other companies, no doubt perform important services in that country. The labourer is worthy of his hire. They get paid for performing these services. Is that an abuse?

It may be a system which does not exist in the Soviet Union, and I perfectly understand this. But it is a system which exists in a large part of the world. Surely we are not going to suggest that the Government of Tanganyika should take such a retrograde step as to interfere with the free choice of these young men who have had the highest fruit of education available in the area.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(interpretation from Russian): First of all, let me thank the representative of the United Kingdom for having noted my love for freedom.

I foresaw that I would be understood in the wrong way and I attempted to clarify my question when I was asking it. I see that my clarification was not sufficient, and I will attempt to expand on it.

I did not speak of any restriction on freedom of the individual. If I spoke of a possible restriction, it would apply to freedom to tempt or to attract workers on the part of the private companies. For example, the Administering Authority might provide for a special tax which could be used as an encouragement, as an inducement, to persons who wished to apply their knowledge in the State service. I do not think people in civil service contribute less to the benefit of the Territory than persons who work for private companies even if, in certain concepts, those companies are engaged in useful work. That is what I had in mind.

Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (Special Representative): I am aware, as are members of this Council, of countries in which, for reasons which are no doubt acceptable, an attempt is made to place a tax on private enterprises which employ foreign nationals. I have never heard of any suggestion that a tax should be placed on private enterprise employing citizens of the Territory itself.

Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom): I would only add that I entirely understand the point made by the representative of the Soviet Union. What he is really asking is: Ought State service to be given priority? There is only one way in which it can be given priority, and that is by preventing in some way, presumably by law, companies from employing anybody until the Government or public employment had decided that they did not want him. This is one way of doing it. I am not averse to various forms of planning when it may be in the public interest. But I think that in the long run this would be a very harmful thing to do. There are going to be very large numbers of highly qualified individuals emanating from the Territory, and it is certainly going to conduce to the emergence of people of the highest ability if there is a certain amount of competition for the employment

(Sir Andrew Cohen,  
United Kingdom)

of these people. I am sure this is a beneficial thing. Therefore, in the long run, it would be most unwise to interfere with the employment of people of this sort by companies. I can think of nothing in this field which would be more detrimental in the long run to the emergence of highly skilled leaders.

In the short run, I can see that some advantage may be derived by the Government. No doubt the oil companies can get people from somewhere else. But I think it would be most unwise to ignore the long-term consideration.

May I suggest to the representative of the Soviet Union that he is really confusing the result with the cause. Of course, there is only one way of effectively ensuring that only the State employs people, and that is to ensure that all activities are conducted by the State. That, however, I think he will agree with me, is a different question on which I am not called upon to express an opinion at the present time.

So long as you have important private enterprise, surely you cannot in any way prevent educated people from taking employment under it if they wish.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(interpretation from Russian): I understand the difficulty of my position when I debate with the representatives. I did not expect to convince them of anything. Moreover, there are two of them and only one of me and they are armed with such enormous stocks of material. It is therefore difficult for me to debate with them.

My intentions, however, were the best when I called their attention to this point -- to whether they could discuss the question of the activity of the private companies so that State interests should not suffer ~~therefrom~~. I was not coming out against the use by private companies of people with higher education. Apparently the situation has developed in such a way in Tanganyika that the private companies have a certain number of Africans with higher education, but they are not to be seen in State service. Perhaps there is some kind of a disproportion here which should be taken into account. That is all I wanted to say.

In conclusion, allow me to thank the representative of the United Kingdom and the special representative for their detailed replies to my questions.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.



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Trusteeship Council  
21st Session  
28th Meeting (PM)

Press Release TR/1563  
4 March 1958

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 1

Before resuming the discussion on Tanganyika, the Trusteeship Council this afternoon first heard France's closing statements on conditions in the Cameroons under French administration. Statements by other Council members in the general debate on the Cameroons were concluded last Friday.

XAVIER DENIAU, the French special representative for the territory, noted that delegates in general had expressed satisfaction with the development of the political, economic and social institutions of the Cameroons, and with the increasing participation of Cameroonians in that development.

On certain points, however, the opinion expressed by some delegates did not give an accurate picture of the situation in the territory, he held.

The special representative said he did not intend to reply to the Soviet delegate. In listening to him, Mr. DENIAU said, he wondered whether the preparation of the annual report by the administering authority had not been a loss of time, since the Soviet delegate had preferred to draw his information from the press.

Delegates, in general, Mr. DENIAU went on, were agreed that the implementation of the new political statute constituted an important advance toward the achievement of the purposes of the trusteeship system.

Wishing to dispel certain "misunderstandings" which still existed, he noted that the representative of Burma, while recognizing the statute as a step forward, had considered that it did not confer full independence to the Cameroons and that the powers still retained by France had to be transferred before the Cameroons could be said to be independent.

The administering authority, Mr. DENIAU said, had never asserted that the statute conferred independence on the Cameroons or that it was a final statute. The statute provided for the establishment of "representative democratic organs."

The Syrian representative, he went on, had noted what he called the impressive list of powers retained by France. The special representative said the powers transferred to the Cameroons were real and formal.

As for the disturbances in the territory, Mr. DENIAU noted that the use of violence had been condemned by the Council. The will of men, "blinded by totalitarian ideology," to take power at any cost, he said, would in no case meet the indulgence or approval of the Council. (more)

The return of those who had been misled to a constructive life should, in the view of the Council, be carried out within the framework of the laws of the territory, he declared. He hoped that a declaration to this effect would meet the approval, not only of Cameroonian leaders, but also of the masses of the population.

In this connection, the special representative quoted from a letter from the dissolved Union des populations du Cameroun (UPC) to Mr. Molotov of the USSR. The letter, he said, described him as a great champion of the right of dependent peoples to independence, and asserted that the UPC stand toward the Communist Party had remained unchanged.

to the Cameroons

Mr. DENIAU said the powers transferred/were much broader than some delegates thought, particularly the representative of India. Cameroonians, he said, were surprised at the legal fiction maintained by the Council in insisting that there was an administering authority for the "trust state" when, in fact, the Cameroonians were already responsible for most matters relating to their internal administration.

The role of the Council, they felt, was to assist the Cameroonians in the development of democratic institutions and of a viable economic and social structure. The Cameroonian "democracy" was already "a vigorous reality."

(END OF TAKE 1)

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Trusteeship Council  
21st Session  
28th Meeting (PM)

Press Release TR/1363  
4 March 1958

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 2

JACQUES KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) expressed disappointment with some of the final statements made in the general debate which he felt did not take into account the facts placed before the Council by the administering authorities.

Certain members, he said, had sought to doubt France's intentions and to attribute ulterior motives to its actions. For example, the representative of Burma, he said, had said that the reforms which France had enacted in the Cameroons belatedly had been done because events had compelled it to do so.

True to its traditions, he said, France intended to lead the peoples under its administration to freedom and democracy.

Second only to the United States, France, he said, had exerted the most by way of capital investments in helping the development of underdeveloped countries. This effort, he said, had resulted in a doubling within 10 years of the national income of the French overseas territories, including those under trusteeship.

These accomplishments were plainly the result of a spirit of solidarity between France and the African community, he declared. And yet, in the Council, there had been talk of a "colonialist economy."

The year 1957, he said, saw the establishment of new Cameroonian institutions, both executive and legislative. Noting the reservations expressed as regards the powers still retained by the administering authority, he recalled the statement by the special representative to the effect that the statute conferred neither independence nor full autonomy. If it did, he said, France would have come forward to demand the termination of the trusteeship.

Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET felt that there was a certain paradox in the Council. On the one hand the administering authority was asked to confer greater powers to the Cameroons, while, on the other hand, France was blamed for not keeping greater responsibilities in such matters as the maintenance of law and order and public liberties.

The statute, he said, was not immutable; it was subject to improvement.

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The amnesty law was like an "olive branch" extended to those who had been misled into returning to a constructive life in the territory within the limits of the law. He hoped that for their own sake and for the sake of the Cameroons, the offer would be accepted in that spirit.

To help a young state, the French representative went on, one should encourage the forces that work for stability. He hoped that the Council would share this view.

In agreement with the Cameroonian government, he said, the administering authority intended to establish in time a schedule, which it would present to the United Nations, for bringing the trusteeship to an end.

Following comments and replies by the representatives of Guatemala, the USSR, France and India to points raised in the debate, the discussion on the Cameroons was declared concluded. The Council then established a drafting committee, composed of Haiti, India, Italy and the United Kingdom, to prepare a report on the territory in the light of the debate.

The Council then returned to the examination of conditions in Tanganyika under United Kingdom administration, and continued with the questioning of John Fletcher Cooke, the United Kingdom special representative on conditions in that territory.

The special representative replied to several questions asked by RAFIC JOUEJATI (Syria) concerning such matters as the registration of voters for the forthcoming elections, the compulsory tripartite voting system, the appointment of Africans in the civil service, the development of local government and the role of political parties.

(END OF TAKE 2)



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21st Session  
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Press Release TR/1363  
4 March 1958

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 3

In response to a question by Mr. KOSCGIUSKO-MORIZET (France), Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE said women were eligible to register and vote on exactly the same terms as men. Both major political parties were "highly conscious" of the role of women in political life.

The Tanganyika African National Union, he said, had a special women's section, and the United Tanganyika Party also devoted attention to making its policies known to women.

MASON SEARS (United States) noted that according to the visiting mission, there persisted in the territory doubts in the minds of some African leaders -- a doubt which he personally did not think was justified in view of the United Kingdom's whole record -- as to the precise future status of the territory. He wondered whether it would contribute to political stability in the territory if the administering authority were to repeat that its policy was to build a democratic or primarily African state in Tanganyika.

Sir ANDREW COHEN (United Kingdom) referred to the statement which he had made at the Council's last session on the general policy of the administering authority. That statement was to the effect that the task was to promote the political advancement of the inhabitants and their progressive development toward self-government or independence and that the administering authority's whole policy, record and national outlook, as well as the terms of the Charter and the trusteeship agreement, were a full and sufficient guarantee that this development would be democratic.

IVAN I. LOBANOV (USSR) asked why it was necessary to insist on compulsory tripartite voting when this system was opposed by the majority of Africans.

The special representative replied that there were two reasons why a change in the voting arrangement could not be made at this stage. One was the question of principle. The administering authority believed that by elections on the basis of a common roll candidates of all races running for election would have to stand on a

(more)

platform which did not appeal exclusively to any particular racial community, but one which appealed to all Tanganyikans who had the best interests of the territory at heart.

The second reason, he continued, was that at this stage of the proceedings it would be inappropriate to make any changes in the electoral arrangements without running the risk of postponing the elections.

Questioning of the special representative on Tanganyika will be continued by the Council at 2:00 p.m. tomorrow, 5 March.

(END OF TAKE 3 AND OF PRESS RELEASE TR/1363)