

AFRICA-U.N. BULLETIN

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Twentieth Session of the Trusteeship Council: The twentieth session of the U.N. Trusteeship Council convened on May 20th of this year, shortly after the adjournment of the nineteenth session (which was delayed two months because the General Assembly had an unusually late session), and adjourned in July. The Council devoted a large proportion of its time to reviewing progress made in six trust territories, including Somalia and Tanganyika.

Visiting Mission: The Council decided to send another periodic visiting mission, composed of representatives of two administering and two non-administering powers, to East Africa to report on conditions in Somalia, Tanganyika, and Ruanda-Urundi. The mission was instructed to investigate and report on political, economic, social, and educational advancement in the territories and their progress toward self-government; to give special attention to particular issues raised in connection with the annual reports of administration, the petitions from the area and the reports of previous visiting missions; to receive petitions and investigate, in consultation with the local authorities, such petitions as seem to warrant it; and to investigate measures taken by the administering authorities to inform the people of the trust territories about the U.N. The Council defeated a motion by Guatemala which would have directed the mission to seek out public opinion on all important questions, to report fully on the development of free expression of the wishes of the people, to encourage public discussion of the annual reports of the administering authorities, and in particular to study Tanganyika's political development.

Council's Conclusions and Recommendations as to Somalia: The Council reviewed the progress made in Somalia under Italian administration and found 1956 had been a year of "notable achievements and continued progress towards independence." The Council noted that the boundary between Somalia and Ethiopia must be determined before 1960, when Somalia is scheduled to become independent; it reiterated the views of the last General Assembly that if current negotiations failed to achieve substantial results, the countries should resort to mediation or arbitration.

The Council considered at some length the report of the economic survey mission which the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development sent to Somalia at Italian request. The survey mission concluded that despite "continued progress achieved under the administering authority's plans for economic development" without continuing aid after 1960 Somalia would face a "drastic reduction in present standards of administration, education and the social services" and investment plans would have to be "sharply curtailed." Six methods to furnish technical and financial aid to Somalia after 1960 were suggested by the Council for

consideration by the Assembly. These included: exploration by the administering authority, in consultation with the Somalis, of possible sources of financial assistance after 1960; exploration by International Bank and other U.N. technical assistance agencies of possible sources of assistance; continuation of financial assistance by the administering authority after 1960 by invitation of the U.N.; further financial assistance by the administering authority; financial and technical assistance by the U.N.; and establishment of an international agency by the U.N. to make grants-in-aid.

Tanganyika: The representative of the administering authority reported to the Council that the following changes were taking place in Tanganyika: (1) appointment of Tanganyikans, including four Africans, as assistant ministers in the central government (a first step toward a full ministerial system); (2) introduction for the first time of elections for the "representative" side of the legislature, voting to be on the basis of a "common roll" (the Legislative Council consists of 31 appointed members and 10 Africans, 10 Asians, and 10 Europeans who are "representative"); and (3) appointment in 1959 of a committee of the Legislative Council to consider aspects of further constitutional development.

The Trusteeship Council heard two petitioners: Chief Marealle II, Paramount Chief of the Wachagga, and Julius K. Nyerere, President of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), who has appeared previously before the U.N. Chief Marealle, declaring himself an administrator, not a politician, stated that Tanganyika would settle ultimately for nothing less than a government with a predominant African majority. Mr. Nyerere, after accusing the administering authorities of supporting the opposition party, pleaded for the development of Tanganyika as a "democratic state" and said that Africans feared that British policy would lead to a majority of indigenous people being controlled by a government dominated by an "immigrant minority." Both petitioners felt that Tanganyika would be ready for self-government in not more than 10 to 15 years.

In its conclusions the Council stated that it understood the administering authority to mean that "in the predominantly African society of Tanganyika, the present constitutional arrangements are transitional..." The Council hoped that the Legislative Council committee to be appointed in 1959 would consider increased African representation in the Legislative Council and that the administering authority would review the present basis of parity representation. The Council also urged the exercise of the maximum freedom of expression in connection with the forthcoming elections. In addition it made recommendations as to economic development, racial discrimination, medical and health services, and education.

Petitions from Trust Territories: At this session the Trusteeship Council had before it 1181 petitions, a record number, most of which were from African territories. No satisfactory method has been established for dealing with such a mass of petitions, which by their very numbers often tend to obscure the most important questions. The Council established on a trial basis a two-member classification committee to screen all communications received; actual examination continues to be handled by the Council's standing committee on petitions.

Report on Recent Economic Developments in Africa: In June the U.N. Bureau of Economic Affairs released a report surveying economic developments in Africa for 1955-56. The report considered particularly trends in three areas:

(1) A decline in economic activity in North Africa was attributed partly to an agricultural decline resulting from bad weather in 1954, but more importantly to the slackening of real investment in large sectors of the economy. The outward flow of private capital has not been compensated in recent years by the inward flow of

public funds, as in earlier years. Morocco and Tunisia have failed to receive anticipated loans from France due to political differences arising from their support of Algerian independence, and for some time in the future public funds from abroad are expected to be insufficient to make possible needed rural development and opportunities for additional employment. All these countries suffer from considerable unemployment resulting from heavy migration from rural areas to the cities.

(2) The prices of agricultural commodities produced in tropical Africa generally declined during this period although the full effect of this decline was cushioned by increased output and the protection of stabilization funds. The value of imports rose far more than that of exports, resulting in a generally unfavorable balance of trade; however, expansion of imports probably represented appreciable increases in capital investment in many tropical countries.

(3) The national income of South Africa continued to expand, but at a much decreased rate. This is attributed to severe anti-inflationary measures as well as a decline in the Union's major agricultural products. There is an acute shortage of white skilled labor, resulting in Africans moving into semi-skilled jobs left by the Europeans; the ultimate result is a shortage of African farm labor and even of labor for the mines. Such a shortage is a brake on the economy.

Report of Mission to French Togoland: When Britain was ready to grant self-government to its Gold Coast Colony, with which the British Togoland Trust Territory was joined administratively, the U.N. supervised a plebiscite among the British Togoland as to their future; and on the basis of that vote and of elections held in the Gold Coast-Togo area, Britain requested the U.N. to approve termination of the trust agreement and the joining of British Togoland with Ghana when it attained its independence. Conscious of the effect of these developments on the inhabitants of French Togoland, in 1955 the administering authority there introduced new legislation to increase participation in political life. The French government then passed the loi-cadre, providing for a new status for French Togoland. Under its authority a statute was enacted, in consultation with the Togoland Legislature, conditionally creating French Togoland an autonomous Republic in the French Union. The French then asked the U.N. to supervise a plebiscite held in the Territory to approve its new status, but the Trusteeship Council refused by a tie vote. The administering authority proceeded nevertheless to hold a plebiscite in December, 1956. The plebiscite was boycotted by anti-government groups, but the French announced that over 70% of the voters had approved the change in status and on the strength of that result asked the U.N. to recognize the self-governing status of the Autonomous Togo Republic and to terminate the trusteeship agreement covering French Togoland. The General Assembly, although congratulating the French on political advances made in French Togoland, refused to terminate the trusteeship and decided to send a six-man mission, headed by Ambassador King of Liberia, to determine the situation in French Togoland as the result of statutory and administrative changes.

The Commission presented its 163 page report, plus appendices, on August 1st. Its general conclusion appeared to be that Togoland "possesses a large measure of internal autonomy or self-government... There exists little doubt that a trend of events has been set in motion which makes inevitable a further broadening of the degree of autonomy achieved by Togoland towards its full autonomy..." Its more significant conclusions include:

(1) The organic law and its application: The statute greatly extends the powers of the Togoland government, but the French government retains, in addition to control of external affairs, defense, currency, and foreign exchange (which may be implied from Togoland's continuation in the French Union), including penal, criminal procedure, commercial code, labor code, administrative tribunals, organization of justice under French law, public freedoms, mineral resources, and secondary and higher education. The Commission was informed that these reserved powers were financially

or technically onerous and that the interpretation of the basic statute was generous, leading to increased power in the hands of the Togo authorities. The Commission recommended specifically: (a) that the agreement of the French and Togo authorities that the maintenance of internal order was a Togo competence and that French authorities would not intervene except at the request of the Togoland government should be embodied in the statute itself and that the service responsible for internal order should be transferred to the Togo government; (b) that various branches of the civil service under the French Republic should be transferred to the Togoland government as soon as possible; (c) that a provision should be added to the statute fixing the strength of French military forces and gendarmerie in Togoland since these forces represent a potential limitation on Togo autonomy; (d) that increased participation in economic activities, including foreign trade, should be encouraged; and (e) that the statute should be amended by removing the provision, valid as long as trusteeship continues, which suspends the power of the legislature to dismiss the prime minister and the other ministers by a vote of censure.

(2) Status of the territory: The French government assured the Commission that the present organic law is capable of evolution and does not necessarily represent the final decision as to the relationship between France and Togoland. If Togoland should express the wish to leave the French Union, the French government implied that it would grant such a wish. The Commission recommended that the political evolution of the status of the territory should be left open and that the French government should reassert publicly its position that the statute does not necessarily represent the final relationship between the two countries.

(3) Modification of the statute: The Commission noted that while the statute does not permit modification except by the wishes of the Togoland Legislative Assembly, it apparently permits the French government to accept or reject Togo proposals at will; consequently the Togolanders cannot decide by themselves their form of internal political organization or, on an equal footing, the nature of the association of Togoland with France. The Commission recommended giving Togoland full power to modify the statute as to the internal organization of the country and setting forth the subjects reserved to France in a separate statute.

(4) Political situation in the territory: The Commission found highly developed political consciousness and interest in public affairs, but considerable bitterness between the parties and great tension as a result. It recommended renewed cooperative efforts to reduce tension and suggested leaving for the future determination of the country's political future, since this question is the source of much dissension.

(5) Elections: Members of the Legislative Assembly were elected in 1955 by a restricted electorate and may hold office until 1960. The Commission recommended new elections in the near future to the legislature and other local representative bodies by the expanded electorate.

(6) Political freedoms: The Commission found that in many areas, particularly in the north where the traditional chiefs are generally hostile, opposition parties do not have the same freedom of expression as pro-government parties. It found the main problem one of assuring the rights of assembly at local levels in tribal societies and that that is part of the problem of introducing modern democratic methods in such societies.

(7) Economic and social development: The Commission praised the constructive work of the administering authority in these fields; it found the Togoland government had matters well in hand in the fields of competence it had taken over and was formulating new plans for the economic and social development of the Territory.

A special session of the Trusteeship Council will be convened on September 12th to consider the report.

Next Session of General Assembly: The agenda of the twelfth session of the General Assembly, which will convene in New York on September 17th, contains the following items of specific concern to Africa: report of the Trusteeship Council; economic development of underdeveloped country, including the question of establishing SUNFED; recommendations concerning right of self-determination; draft international covenant on human rights; information on non-self-governing territories; election to fill vacancies on committee on information from non-self-governing territories; future of French Togoland; question of South West Africa; Somali-Ethiopian boundary problem; question of Algeria; question of race conflict in South Africa (apartheid); and treatment of people of Indian origin in South Africa.

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