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Held at Headquarters, New York,  
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President:

Mr. URQUIA

(El Salvador)

Examination of conditions in Ruanda-Urundi [Agenda item 3 b]  
(continued)

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## EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN RUANDA-URUNDI (T/L.546 and Add.1): (continued)

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY (T/1134, 1150, 1159) [Agenda item 5b]
- (b) REPORT OF THE VISITING MISSION (T/1141, 1164, 1164/Corr.1 French only, 1164/Corr.2 English only) [Agenda item 5b]
- (c) PETITION CIRCULATED UNDER RULE 85, PARAGRAPH 2, OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL (T/COM.3/L.15) [Agenda item 4]

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Leroy, special representative for Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration, took a place at the Council table.

General debate (continued)

Mr. GRUBYAKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (intepretation from Russian): The most important question, and one which gave rise to an animated discussion during our examination of conditions in Ruanda-Urundi, is the question of the time limit after which the Territory will achieve self-government and independence and the measures which should necessarily be taken if these objectives are to be achieved. These problems began some time ago to concern the United Nations since their fair and appropriate solution constitutes the success of the International Trusteeship System and the implementation of the Charter.

This concern of the United Nations was expressed by the General Assembly's adoption of resolution 752 (VIII) and the Trusteeship Council's adoption of resolution 866 at its thirteenth session, concerning measures to be taken to prepare the Trust Territories for self-government and independence. In addition, the report of the Administering Authority should contain a special section devoted to the measures to be taken to implement those resolutions.

The report of the Administering Authority, however, simply ignores these resolutions. The Visiting Mission, on the other hand, could not ignore the resolutions in the carrying out of its duty and could not pass over in silence a question so vital as that of the future of the Trust Territory.

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

The Visiting Mission, in the light of its knowledge of the Territory's economic and cultural development, arrived at the conclusion that Ruanda-Urundi could become self-governing or independent in twenty or twenty-five years. It is true that one of the members of the Visiting Mission -- Mr. Reid, the Chairman of the Mission -- was opposed to the fixing of a time-limit. He said, among other things, that the fixing of a time-limit of twenty-five years could have an unfavourable effect on Africans, who would regard that period of time as too long. Having made that argument, Mr. Reid should logically have proceeded to propose a shorter time-limit, which the indigenous inhabitants would have found more acceptable. But Mr. Reid was not logical: he opposed the fixing of any time-limit; he has argued, during the discussions of both the Trusteeship Council and the Visiting Mission, against the fixing of a time-limit.

What is the Administering Authority's attitude, in general, towards the Territory's possibilities for self-government or independence? On page 19 of the annual report, there is a definition of that attitude -- an artificial definition, but, nevertheless, one which should be kept in mind. We read:

"It is impossible to set forth in detail the policy by which the Territory will be led to self-government or independence. All that can be said at present is that the following things must be done: the Territory must be developed economically, the threat of famine must be overcome, the population must achieve the minimum degree of security essential to progress, the medical services must be developed, education must be placed within the reach of everyone, a satisfactory solution must be found to other social questions, and the moral, social and political consciousness of the indigenous inhabitants must be developed to the point where those inhabitants may be regarded as fully capable of acting in accordance with the norms that one may expect of a civilized people and of co-operating with other sections of the population in the progressive establishment of a government deriving its power directly from the inhabitants."

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

The conclusion to be drawn from that lengthy and artificial definition and from the conditions laid down by the Administering Authority is that it is difficult to believe that the population of this Territory will become self-governing or independent within the foreseeable future. So many reservations are made, so many conditions are laid down, that it is obvious that self-government will not be attained for generations, if ever.

The Governor-General of the Belgian Congo gave an even more categorical statement on this question. He said that, if the inhabitants of the Territory had the possibility of coming into contact with other communities which could give them some direction, they might within three or four generations assume important obligations connected with the administration of the Territory. That statement reveals the Administering Authority's intention of refusing to grant the population of this Trust Territory self-government for at least another half century. Furthermore, the statement shows the scorn which is felt for the possibilities of the indigenous inhabitants. It also shows the Administering Authority's disdainful attitude towards the population, which it thinks will not be able for another century to govern itself without the colonial European authorities now there.



(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

The Soviet Union delegation considers that, if we rapidly conferred self-government on the population of Ruanda-Urundi, that would promote progress in the Territory in all fields. The freeing of this population from colonial administration would give free rein to the creative forces of the population, enabling it to develop its education, its economy, and so on. For this reason, the Soviet Union delegation insists that the Administering Authority and the Trusteeship Council should implement the resolutions I have quoted.

Such, in its main lines, is the way we see the most vital question for this Territory, the question of self-government and independence. It is obvious that the Administering Authority is not pursuing such a policy. The practice -- and no longer the theory -- of the administration of the Territory shows that the Administering Authority is attempting to maintain the present state of affairs, which hinders the development of the Territory and prevents the population from progressing towards self-government or independence.

What does the administrative practice consist of in the Territory? The political structure of Ruanda-Urundi is based on the subordination of the Territory to the colony of the Belgian Congo through a union which is a so-called administrative union. In practice, that means that the Trust Territory not only is not considered as a Territory which should enjoy certain advantages, which should be under the Trusteeship of the United Nations, but is placed under the dependence not of the Belgian authorities but of a colony, the Belgian Congo. The laws of the Congo are applied directly to the Territory -- not the laws of Brussels, but the laws promulgated for the colony. That is stated in the law of 1925, which speaks of the legal status of the population. It is stated that the provisions applied to the population of the Belgian Congo are extended, with the appropriate differences, to the population of Ruanda-Urundi.

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

The Belgian Government has not simply immobilized the situation as it was at the time of passing from mandates to trusteeship, but continues to apply colonial laws to the Territory -- and, in particular, laws and practices of a discriminatory nature, such as the division of the population into registered persons, persons enjoying a card of civic merit, and so forth. These provisions make the situation of inequality of the population even more serious and constitute a violation of human dignity. To be in the list of the civilized population and assimilated to non-indigenous inhabitants, the indigenous inhabitants have to make a statement before the courts, and the courts must examine their request. Other categories of citizens may receive a card of civic merit if they can prove that they have had good conduct, that they are not polygamous, and that in a general way they have shown their sincere desire to serve faithfully. I cannot qualify this otherwise than as a humiliating listing of inhabitants into civilized and non-civilized inhabitants. This is a violation of the concept of human dignity and serves as a justification for colonial domination of the civilized persons over the so-called non-civilized persons. I must say, to the credit of the local population, that it reasonably abstains from proceedings involving such registration and from proving that it is civilized in the eyes of the Administering Authority. In September 1952, when these decrees were applied, and up to the end of 1954, no inhabitant of Ruanda-Urundi had made any application for registration before the courts to prove he was civilized.

What does this show? It shows the wisdom and the profound culture of the population as a whole, which has been able to retain its pride and its dignity and has been able to scorn the temporary advantages which there are in being assimilated to non-indigenous inhabitants or so-called civilized inhabitants.

The examples which I have just quoted show the basis of the corrupt practice of this so-called administrative union, which enslaves the Trust Territory to a colony. We should require of the Administering Authority that it see to a division of the organs of government and introduce separate legislation for Ruanda-Urundi, revoking all the laws of a discriminatory nature which are at present in force in the Territory.

The form of government existing at the present time cannot be called democratic. In practice it hinders the development of the Territory towards self-government and independence. The population of the Territory has no relationship with the legislation concerning the Territory. It is far from the functioning of the legislative bodies. We know that the legislation of the Territory is created in Brussels by the King and the Parliament, and then by the Governor of the Congo, and then the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi intervenes. Executive power is also in the hands of the Governor. The Advisory Council set up by the Governor does not even have the appearance of an executive body.

The Administering Authority says that there is a dual system of government according to which, allegedly, the indigenous bodies exist on a parallel with Belgian organs and are, allegedly, entrusted with administration and practice of the Territory. It seems to us that the existence of such a governmental duality, and its political meaning, consists of the fact that the Belgian colonial authorities, having taken into their service the heads of tribes, as paid officials -- to begin with, the Mwami, and ending up with the subalterns of the chiefs -- have fixed the tribal system and have adapted it to the requirements of the colonial administration.

That is why we cannot consider the indigenous tribal organization or the governmental organization as being on a parallel with the Belgian administration. There is one actual administration in the Territory and that administration does not share its powers with anyone. In the Belgian administration, the indigenous organization is an enslaved one which is only retained in so far as it serves the interests of the colonial administration, and where it is convenient for the authorities, this duality has closed the door to democratization of the government and to the participation of the population in the administration of the country. That derives from the fact, for instance, that the Belgian administration, considering that the organs of its administration are separate, does not admit African officials, and that the Belgian administrators direct the activities of the indigenous authorities and have absolute rights, especially the right of veto in indigenous administrations.

The Decree of 14 July 1952, which has already been mentioned here and which certain representatives have even praised, in point of fact does not democratize the present administration, because even after the realization of this Decree the population was set aside from any administration, just as in the past, and did not participate in any public form of activity. It continues to remain deprived of its normal democratic right, the right of suffrage.

This law, which was promulgated by the Belgian administration in respect of the indigenous administration, gives the impression that its essential purpose is to limit the number of people who could be elected to the various councils, or persons enjoying the right of vote. It is a vicious circle which it is impossible to escape. As regards the chiefs and the notables, they are of such an elastic conception that even the special representative could not say exactly who was a notable and who was not, and what that had to do with the administration of the Territory.

At the present time, the indigenous councils, under the law of 1952, do not go beyond the tribal system and remain essentially advisory bodies of the indigenous chiefs in the service of the administration. These councils could, to a certain extent, have been a reflection of public opinion if they had been elected by the population through universal suffrage, and if their powers had been extended. The Trusteeship Council cannot fail to express its concern when it sees that the Administering Authority is not taking any measures to reinforce the unity of the two Territories, Ruanda and Urundi, and to ensure the development of these Territories towards self-government and independence. This makes it necessary for the Trusteeship Council to recommend to the Administering Authority that it should organize for the two Territories the necessary representations -- single representation, but judicial, political, and so forth -- independent of the Belgian Congo. Such a measure is essential, and the right of suffrage should be introduced.

As is stated in the report of the Administering Authority and in the report of the Visiting Mission, the economy of Ruanda-Urundi continues to remain what it was. That enables our delegation to conclude that the economy remains a typical colonial one. The essential part of the economy is agriculture and stock-raising. The administration has, during past years, especially dealt with the development of exportable cultivation and the utilization of mineral resources for export.



Priority is given to industries working for the transformation of agricultural and mineral resources for export purposes. There are no factories for the manufacture of equipment and consumer goods. The standard of living is very low. Even in the report of the Administering Authority, it is stated that the indigenous inhabitant uses the hoe and other tools of a primitive nature, and that animals are used for pulling the plough more than machinery.

The Visiting Mission had already drawn the attention of the Council to the fact that more than half of the credits allocated for 1954 in the special budget was expended for the construction of roads, airports, port installations etc. All this, of course, can be essential especially if industry is developed and if commercial relations exist between the various parts of the Territory, if the internal markets are developed and if there exists internal circulation of merchandise. But in the colonial conditions existing at the present time in the Territory, the construction of roads is essential for the foreign firms especially in order to export the produce of the Territory. At the present time, the population cannot derive any benefit from these roads. That is why the priority which was given to road construction has given rise to legitimate doubt in the minds of the members of the Visiting Mission.

The Administration, as we see in the report of the Visiting Mission, refuses to develop the transportation of passengers or any transportation which might be useful to the population and which might facilitate the contacts of the population with commercial centres, thus even contributing to develop education.

Land is the basis of the economy. As there are no industries in the Territory, the whole prosperity of the population depends on the land. In the last few years, it has become fashionable to talk and to write about the land hunger prevailing in the Territory or the dearth of land. There have already been defenders of a neo-Malthusianism theory in the Territory. We consider that this is harmful in view of the practical utilizations. This theory of over-population is intended to hide the erroneous nature of the policy of the Administering Authority in the Territory.

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

I have already spoken of the backward agricultural techniques. The information we have at our disposal shows that the land is developed in a very primitive manner, that erosion is tolerated and so forth. As we see from the report, 140 square kilometres of land belong to the Administration and not to the indigenous inhabitants and 223 square kilometres belong to non-indigenous persons who have immigrated to the Territory. These areas have increased in relation to the areas last year as stated in the report. The population does not have more than 66 per cent of the total area of land.

The report does not give the exact distribution of the land. It shows, nevertheless, that a family of indigenous farmers owns as an average from half a hectare to four hectares whereas a European family will have from 75 to 100 hectares of land. For the Territory as a whole, a quarter of the area is under cultivation. This fragmentary information shows the fragility of this theory of over-population.

To give the population the foodstuffs it requires, the Administering Authority must cease any alienation of land. It must reinforce the irrigation and improvement projects and take measures to furnish to the population the necessary modern machinery it requires. It must distribute fertilizers. It must develop the local industry in order to satisfy the requirements of the population. However, such an industry is lacking in the Territory. The Ten-Year Plan does not provide for the creation of industries which might satisfy the needs of the local population.

The Visiting Mission quoted certain data and spoke of office work and plans to implement this transformation project and utilization of resources project. These offices are studying, within the framework of the Ten-Year Plan, a project for the construction of experimental stations for the production of beeswax, milk products and so forth. I do not want to say that all these forms of production are not useful. However, in the first place, such a wonderful title as that of the Ten-Year Plan should provide for the development of local industry as a priority. It is possible that the creation of an experimental brewery,



for instance, may be started after a factory has been built which would manufacture agricultural implements even if of a light type. Trade is monopolized by non-Africans. It is therefore not surprising that even the creation of two co-operatives in the Territory has given rise to protests from among the European population and that, in the final analysis, the creation of these co-operatives has been delayed.

With respect to the social policies in the Territory, we consider it our duty once again to call the attention of the Trusteeship Council to the practice of racial discrimination which still prevails. This discrimination deals with all aspects in connexion with the Territory.

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

At the beginning of my intervention I stated that there were discriminatory laws which originated in the Belgian Congo and which are applied to the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, in respect of the registration of civilized persons, the holders of cards of civic merit, and so forth. These are new elements of discrimination, but we still see in the Territory discriminatory provisions regarding which the Council has already adopted recommendations. It adopted such recommendations at its fourth, sixth, ninth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth sessions. The Trusteeship Council has adopted recommendations on revoking discriminatory practices and laws, but these recommendations remain a dead letter.

The Africans have various prohibitions exercised against them. For example, they are not allowed to circulate at night in the towns. The Africans cannot go out to the street in their own territory even when there is not a state of siege, whereas any European coming from outside may go out. The authorities explain that all this is due to concern for the security of the indigenous population, that the lighting is inadequate and that the police services are insufficient. However, why do not these arguments apply to Europeans as well? Why should the Africans be the only ones to whom this applies? The indigenous population cannot leave their homes for more than a certain number of days. However, such a restriction is not applied to Europeans.

In connexion with circulating in the streets at night, there is a provision to change the law for the benefit of the educated indigenous inhabitants. What does that mean? That means that the minister refutes the version given by the Administering Authority concerning security in the Territory. The question then is whether a civilized man can go around safely at night when a non-civilized man cannot. Where is the logic in this type of reasoning?

From the statements made by the Administering Authority, it would appear that the Administration considers all the so-called non-civilized persons, that is more than four million inhabitants, as potential criminals and the presence of these people in the streets is something dangerous. On the other hand, the Europeans can wander around in the streets at night and are not considered as a threat of any kind, or even as a possible threat.

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

In speaking of the attempt made to justify the discriminatory policy in Ruanda-Urundi, I wish also to mention that, in connexion with Africans circulating at night in European areas, Europeans cannot circulate at night in indigenous districts. This is something quite new. It indicates that a Belgian minister officially considers that there is a division between the indigenous and the European quarters. We have been told that this division had been eliminated in 1953. What does this statement of the minister mean? It states that Europeans should not appear in indigenous quarters. This certainly means that there are indigenous quarters and European quarters. This indeed sounds rather like the problems which have arisen in certain parts of the Union of South Africa which should be under Trusteeship.

I believe that all of this requires some explanation. It appears that racial discrimination is even encouraged in public places. As the representative of Haiti explained, there are separate cinemas for European, Asian and African audiences. A cinema in our opinion is one of the important elements of culture. The non-admission of the population to cinemas is incompatible with the commitments undertaken by the Administering Authority to promote the development of culture in the Territory.

Reference has already been made to the fact that only children's films may be shown to Africans. This is more than just plain discrimination. It shows evidence of a racist theory, namely the theory of the superiority of the European race and the inferiority of the indigenous race. How can one otherwise explain that only children's films may be shown to Africans and that due to their development they have not yet passed childhood?

During the series of questions and answers, an attempt was made to learn more about this situation. The Administering Authority should undertake measures in order to suppress this discrimination, which is a reflection of the superiority of certain races over others. This theory should be condemned.

Discrimination is shown even in the different treatment accorded to European and African prisoners in the fact that corporal punishment is still used in respect of Africans. Discrimination still exists in respect of salaries. The Administering Authority has attempted to explain that an African tractor driver could never be as qualified as a European tractor driver, and that therefore he can only earn forty-five francs whereas the European tractor driver can earn three hundred francs for the same job. An African typist

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

can earn one hundred francs whereas a European typist can earn five hundred francs. The statement was made in the discussion that this did not concern the quality of the work, because the concept could not be admitted that an African could not master that type of specialized work. It is not a type of work which calls for extremely high specialization. Perhaps one cannot find scientists or other specialists among the Africans at the present time. However, here we are referring to blacksmiths, tractor drivers, engine drivers and so forth. Again, a difference in salary exists between Europeans and Africans in these jobs.

I consider it necessary to dwell on another problem. In 1953, there were approximately 150,000 salaried workers in the Territory. In the mines where thousands of workers are employed, the salary of the African is nineteen francs per day plus various extras. Conditions are atrocious and the buildings have no windows, as the Visiting Mission stated. I mention this example because the Visiting Mission offers evidence of the very low standard of living of the African population in general and of the African workers in particular. Reference is made to the fact that workers live in houses without windows. I must say that a house without a window is not a house, but is a barn or a stable.

However, in 1953, in spite of a certain lowering of prices on the world market, the mining company derived large profits from its exploitation. In earning such profits, these companies should be concerned with the condition of their workers.

It must be noted that there are no trade unions in the Territory. The authorities have not officially prohibited the establishment of trade unions, but they have hindered their formation. I shall not speak for the time being of restrictions imposed on trade union activities, since there are no trade unions, but there are restrictions which are applied in connexion with them. A three-year professional status is required for membership. Certain conditions of residence are required. As the Administering Authority itself has stated, the workers have not yet achieved a permanent character, as they have in Europe or in other countries with highly developed industries.

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

The large majority of workers are temporary people, working for one or two, or perhaps three, years under contract and, since the conditions required by the Administering Authority are that trade unionists must have a provisional status of three years, it means that most of the workers will never be members of trade unions. The usual thing is for trade unions themselves to determine the conditions of the admission of their members, but in the Ruanda-Urundi, the Administration takes over that responsibility.

The authorities on the spot have created an ersatz of workers' representation, the Committee on Labour and Indigenous Social Progress, the functions of which are to make recommendations on a series of very limited questions, such as conditions of employment, salaries, bonuses, etc. This Committee is called upon to defend the interests of the workers, but no workers are included in its membership. It is composed of five senior Government officials, five representatives of employers, and five representatives of workers' interests - one European missionary and four African clerks. The composition of this Committee indicates that it is far from being in a position to defend the interests of the workers, and we cannot accept as correct the views of the Administering Authority that the workers are not qualified to defend their own interests.

I should like to refer to the ordinance regarding family allowances for workers. This law has been in existence in the Belgian Congo as far back as September 1933, and the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi stated that it would be applied also in the Territory on 1 January 1953. Under this ordinance, the workers receive a family allowance. It would seem that such an allowance would contribute to improvement in the housing conditions of families, but, as a matter of fact, the employer representatives in the Committee on Labour and Indigenous Social Progress have protested against its application. The Governor issued an order postponing the entry into force of the decree until 1 January 1954; then it was postponed until 1 January 1955. I do not know whether it has come into effect or not; I doubt it. The Governor-General of the Belgian Congo has appointed a Commission to study the economic difficulties inherent in the application of the ordinance.



(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

What does this example show? It shows the concern of the Committee on Labour and Indigenous Social Progress with the fate of the workers. It also shows that the Colony of the Belgian Congo enjoys certain privileges and that this ordinance which, in the first place, appeared to confer material advantages on the workers, has been in force in the Congo for several years. When it was a question of applying it to the workers in Ruanda-Urundi, its application was not carried through. Apparently the Governor made an effort to have it applied, but it was not done. In this respect, therefore, the Trust Territory is in a worse situation than the Congo, which is a Colony.

I should like to make a few remarks about the health situation. We are rather concerned to see that the number of hospitals and dispensaries in the Territory does not seem to have increased. In 1952 there were 35 hospitals, and the number is still the same. The number of dispensaries and infirmaries has increased by ten. According to the WHO report, the number of doctors has decreased; there were 63, and now there are only 61. Thirty-five or forty years ago, when the Territory came under Belgian Administration, there was not a single African doctor. I admit that there has been an increase in the number of dentists; for example, in 1952 there was one dentist, and now there are four. Therefore, there has been an increase of 300 per cent, but I would call attention to the fact that there are more than four million inhabitants in the Territory, and one dentist to a million indicates a considerable shortage of dentists in the Territory. I think that the Council should take note of the fact that very little has been done in this field, rather than, as it usually does, note with satisfaction the increase in the number of dentists.

The Trusteeship Council should recommend to the Administering Authority the abolishing of laws of a discriminatory nature in the Territory, the adoption of measures towards raising the standard of living and increasing the salaries of workers, abolishing the legislative provisions limiting the organization and activities of trade unions, improvement in medical services, the increase of credits and allocations, and urgent measures towards the training of indigenous doctors.



(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

Education, as representatives know, is largely in the hands of religious missions. The report of the Administering Authority gives no information concerning the number of children of school age, but information obtained from UNESCO indicates that about 15 per cent of children of school age are attending school. In the primary schools, only 34 per cent of the total number of children of school age are attending these schools. However, even that does not show the whole picture of the situation as regards education. We can see this quite clearly in the information regarding the division by classes. For instance, in the first year the number of children is given as 104,000; the second year, 42,000; the third year, 26,000; the fourth year, 15,000; the fifth year, 9,000, and the sixth year, 1,400. That means that in the last class of the primary school, one student out of a hundred reaches the sixth year class. Most of the children remain in the first and second classes.

Without going into the details of the quality of the education, representatives can see for themselves what two years' primary education means. What does it give to the children? At the most, they would learn to read a little, to sign their names and, perhaps, to count to a hundred. Two years of school actually leave the child ignorant and illiterate.

The secondary education situation is even worse. There are two secondary schools in the Territory, and the total number of students is barely 1,500.

In the matter of education for girls, no indigent girl has completed secondary education, and the Visiting Mission considers this to be a very urgent problem. Indigenous teachers are trained in the mission schools. It would seem that the quality of the teaching is fairly good in some of the schools, but in the secondary schools, which train teachers for the primary schools, a course of only four years in primary school is followed by a teacher's training course of two years. That does not make a teacher.

The total amount of education a teacher receives is six years, if one counts the two years of specialization. What can such a person teach? The facts prove that the qualifications of the teachers in the Territory are not sufficient. There is no establishment for higher education. The Administering Authority has already promised us that it would study the possibility of establishing a university or a similar institution in the Territory. Now we are told that the university will be opened in the Belgian Congo and that the inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi will have access to it. Actually, that represents no change, because the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory have been able in the past to continue their studies in neighbouring territories.

In those circumstances, I consider that the Trusteeship Council should ensure that higher education will be given in the Territory itself. In stating that the university in the Belgian Congo will be open to the inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi, the Administering Authority presents the Council with a fait accompli. In other words, we may not expect that, in the near future, a university will be established in the Trust Territory itself. The Trusteeship Council must recommend that the Administering Authority should establish a university or a similar institution in the Trust Territory and should increase the allocation for education, so that the number and quality of teachers may be increased. Furthermore, the Trusteeship Council should recommend that the Administering Authority should introduce compulsory free education in the Territory. The Council should also recommend that the number of scholarships for higher education should be increased, so that deserving students in the Territory should be able to continue their education abroad.

In conclusion, I should like to say this: Last week, the representative of New Zealand said that centuries had been required in Europe to put an end to feudalism. He used that as a comparison, stating that it would require at least as long a period in Ruanda-Urundi. In other words, the representative of New Zealand said that it would take several centuries before Ruanda-Urundi could attain self-government.

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

It is possible that it took centuries for Europe to rid itself of feudalism, but we do not know what period the representative of New Zealand took as his starting point. We do not know whether he started with the neolithic period or the period of slavery. In any case, we know that the feudal system lasted for several centuries in Europe and that slavery existed in other continents in the East. But in Europe, even during the times of feudalism, there were self-governing and independent States. Hence, the comparison made by the representative of New Zealand does not seem to us to have any real relation to the question of the time-limit for Ruanda-Urundi's attainment of self-government or independence.

Of course, there is feudalism in this Trust Territory; in fact, it has a rather primitive form. But all of those elements, even when viewed with other social phenomena which are just as much outmoded, cannot constitute reasons for refusing to grant self-government or independence to Ruanda-Urundi.

Hence, I believe that all the members of the Trusteeship Council must give most serious attention to this important question, for the granting of self-government or independence to the Trust Territory represents the last stage in the implementation by the Administering Authority and the Trusteeship Council of the provisions of the International Trusteeship System.

Mr. Krishna MEMON (India): In submitting our statement on the Administering Authority's report on the territories of Ruanda and Urundi and on the Visiting Mission's report and the observations thereon, we should like to make some preliminary remarks on the Trusteeship Territory itself and the Administering Authority's position in relation thereto.

First, my delegation not only desires, but is anxious, to recognize the advances in social and other conditions that are made in Trust Territories -- and that applies no less to the Trust Territory administered by the Belgian Government.

We are dealing now with an African territory. Territories in Africa are not uncommon features. After all, with the exception of Egypt, Ethiopia and the Union of South Africa, Africa is colonial. We are therefore accustomed to countries of Africa which are either colonies or colonial territories under the Trusteeship System; the present case, of course, falls within the latter category.

We all have our different views on the political, moral and other aspects of the Trusteeship Agreements. There is, however, one difference between Belgium as an Administering Authority and the two other great Administering Powers: The empire of France and the empire of Britain have extended far and wide, all over the world. Those two countries entered the field of colonial expansion some three or four centuries earlier than Belgium. The Belgian Government's experience of colonial rule is very limited. So far as I am aware, Belgium has only one colony: the Belgian Congo. When, therefore, we are told, "This cannot be done" or "That cannot be done", we are entitled to submit to the representative of Belgium and to his Government the experience offered either by those of us who have liberated ourselves from colonialism or by those who are administering colonial territories. In other words, while I have no desire to minimize in any way the vast contributions made by self-sacrificing men -- whether they be missionaries or administrators like the representative of Belgium here -- it is important for us to remember that these men can borrow only from their own experience in one territory. Hence, to say that this or that practice is not possible on the basis of what has been experienced in that one territory is not to give the whole of the picture.

We are therefore entitled to look round Africa. We have been asked: What is the basis for this or that observation? We have been told that the Visiting Mission had nothing to go by in making this or that observation. - Our answer is that, apart from all our conceptions about what humanity is entitled to, we have the whole of the African territories on which to base our remarks.

On one side of these two territories which are now called Ruanda-Urundi there is the Territory of Tanganyika. Now, regardless of our dissatisfaction with the pace at which matters are proceeding, that Territory is bound to be an independent State in a very short time. In that Territory, the indigenous peoples are participating in legislation and will very soon, we hope, participate in executive responsibilities, at least in a limited way. Tanganyika is similar to Ruanda-Urundi in the sense that there are enlightened administrators there -- however we may differ with their views on certain matters.

On the other side of Ruanda-Urundi, there is Uganda. The people of Uganda have been governing themselves. I do not say that those people are governed in the way that Belgium, or India, or the United States, or the United Kingdom, are governed -- of course, no one governs as well as we do -- but the fact remains that in Uganda the indigenous people are governing themselves. What is more: the British, who are no fools in colonial administration, have discovered that it is the best way of governing. It is economical; it provides them with a buffer against possible popular sentiment, and so forth. There have been disturbing reports at times about dissatisfaction in Uganda. But where is there not such dissatisfaction? The fact is that the African peoples in Uganda have a "look-in", indirectly, in the administration.

Hence, in examining this Trust Territory administered by the Belgian Government, one must look at the context in which it is placed. I shall return to this subject a little later.



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With regard to the progress that has been made in this Territory, this is about the thirty-fifth year of Belgian stewardship and the seventh year in which the Belgian administration is making a report to this Council. We are happy to note that, in the seven years under trusteeship, considerable progress has been made. Of course, one cannot draw realistic inferences from percentages: if first there is one dentist, and then there are four, that is an increase of 300 per cent -- or, if there are two children in a class and one of them is second, he is also in last place. For instance, we find that in the last three years the number of pupils attending school has nearly doubled. But, although it has doubled, there are only 200,000 children attending school -- and that appears to be a very small number, considering the population of 4,000,000. However, that is not to minimize the fact that progress is being made. What we are looking forward to, and what I am sure the Belgian authorities are looking forward to, is that this advance will be measured in terms of geometrical progression rather than arithmetical progression, so that in a short time it will be possible to catch up.

Here my delegation would like to make an observation which is not made with any intention of offering unsolicited advice to the Belgian Government but merely in the hope of sharing our experiences with the Belgian authorities. It has been our experience in India that one will never achieve full education of children until the parents are educated: there will never be universal education of children until there is universal literacy. Therefore, side by side with the education of children, there should go the effort to bring about literacy. We have discovered that illiterate parents are not nearly so desirous of having their children educated and not nearly so amenable to plans for educating the children. Of course, it is true that conditions in our country are different. However, in order to solve the problem in our country, which had an illiteracy rate of 85 per cent in 1947, we have planned for the liquidation of illiteracy in a period of sixteen years, starting from 1947, so that by 1963 there will be no illiterate person in India. I am glad to say that, after seven years, the programme is proceeding ahead of schedule, with the result that today there are about 80,000,000 or 90,000,000 literate people in India.



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In this field, therefore -- whatever may be the objectives in the political field as regards a time-table -- the Administering Authority might take into account the suggestion that there be some planned scheme for bringing an end to illiteracy within a definite period.

Before I leave this subject, I should like to say that we make these remarks only by way of sharing our experience, for whatever it is worth, with the Belgian Government, and I hope that our observations will be taken in the spirit in which they are offered.

When all that is said, however, we cannot help observing that the advance in education seems to contract and to become very small when we get to the higher levels of education. Unless there is higher education -- not necessarily in terms of creating savants and scholars -- the Territory will not be able to provide the civil service that is necessary or the degree of informed public opinion on which alone an enlightened government can rest. When we look at the picture of secondary education in the Territory and the facilities that are provided for the African population, we see a somewhat dimmer picture, and the inferences have to be drawn from that picture not merely in terms of quantitative increases in a table of statistics but in relation to the fulfilment of the purposes of the Trusteeship Agreement. It is not merely a question of producing a number of people who can read and write. We have to have people in the Territory who can administer. After all, administration is more than half of politics and political control. Unless there are Africans who are capable of administration, unless there is a whole supply of cadres creating a demand for administrative jobs and thus bringing pressure on the Administration, it is not likely that they will advance toward the purposes of the Trusteeship Agreement.

Therefore, it is to be hoped that the Administering Authority, which has a very enviable educational system in the home country and a very catholic tradition in regard to education itself -- people go there for specialized education even from our country -- will take a substantial step toward absorbing large numbers of these persons in their own home territory. Again, we say this only by way of suggestion -- because Belgium is not one of the Trust Territories.

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But we certainly can make this request of the Administering Authority -- and it is probably more feasible than in some other places, because in their home country there are no racial or other difficulties. This can perhaps be done in the next few years, long before universities are established in the Territory, for the purpose of higher university education and for the providing of teachers, social workers and the medical services. It would be impractical to suggest that in the next few years the necessary staff, the necessary cadres for administration or education or social service, will come out of universities established in Africa itself. It is true that the British authorities have begun university education in Africa itself. But no one suggests for one moment that those universities will in the next few years provide all the personnel that is required. It is a good thing of its kind but, from the point of view of quantity, we have to look to the metropolitan country -- which, as I have said, has very catholic traditions in education -- to absorb large numbers of these people. An attempt in that direction would have not only quantitative results but also a highly beneficial moral effect on the population.

The only other aspect that I want to discuss in regard to education is what appears to be the unanimous view of the Visiting Mission that there is little knowledge of the status of the Territory as a Trust Territory and that dissemination of information on this matter is limited.

Speaking for myself, I think that this is quite natural. If education is not widespread, you cannot assimilate very much. You cannot put out posters provided by the Belgian Government or by the United Nations if nobody can read them. Dissemination, then, goes along with the capacity to assimilate. Therefore, we must not take this thing out of its context. If there is an attempt by the authorities to prevent knowledge of the United Nations, that is a different question. But there is no evidence of that. The evidence here is that people do not know very much. The answer is that people do not know very much, partly, I suppose, because of the paternal attitude of the Administering Authority, and, secondly, because there is no widespread education. It is not to be thought that primary education is adequate for the purposes of absorbing political ideas or ideas of trusteeship which it is sought to disseminate in this way. Therefore, to return to what I said a while ago, it is not sufficient to have these children's schools and colleges, because the children are only part of the

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population. Unless there is adult literacy, it will not be possible to achieve this or to promote education on a large scale.

We are happy to note that many welfare centres have been started and that a network of hospitals and dispensaries have been established. But here, again, their progress in relation to the needs of the Territory will depend largely upon the provision of personnel. Therefore, the position here is the same as in the case of education.

We are also very happy to note that the Administering Authority has introduced training centres for the education and training of the indigenous inhabitants, and that they are based upon the villages. It has been the experience in our country that basing these institutions on the villages is not only a wiser and more economical proposition administratively, but is a social experiment which has paid dividends. It has brought within the field of practical realisation the advance of self-government, the capacity to use political power in the villages themselves. In India today, our community projects cover a fifth of the territory, and they cover about 50,000 villages.

Four years from now, they will cover the whole of India, 600,000 villages, which is the whole of our population. These projects provide for the training not only of village social workers but also for training in all these other branches of administration, and of economic and social life.

When they were first launched, there were sceptics in our country and it was thought that for rural populations which are so scattered, with the enormous amount of financial commitments that are required in this direction, and also where the administrative machine can only reach it in a very sparse kind of way, that these projects would not work. But in the last five years the sceptics have been converted and those who were cynical have become wiser than they were. Therefore, we are happy to notice that the Administering Authority has paid attention to the shifting of these trading centres to the villages of these Territories.

Conservative as it may sound, we are a people who believe that the villages and rural life of a country should not be destroyed in any uninformed advance towards industrialization, while the social structure of a country can be turned upside down, especially in the process of an evolutionary pattern of progress.

In regard to labour legislation, it is noted both in the Administering Authority's report and the Visiting Mission's report that there has been an amount of liberality and a system of labour inspection has been introduced. The representative of the United Kingdom will be able to tell the Council that insofar as his country was concerned, the advance of labour and its release from what was tantamount to wage slavery of that time, began in 1840 with the employment of four factory inspectors. Inspection is the beginning of social conscience, and therefore we are happy to see that a system of labour inspection has been introduced. These inspectors will be people who are not part of the employers' strata, they will be civil servants of the Administration who, like members of the Visiting Mission, will give objective accounts, and will themselves act as a stimulating factor.

But at the same time we are bound to say that while minimum wage rates have been fixed, these minimum wage rates are very low. We are not in a position to comment on this, because while they are low, at any rate the fixation prevents a degree of exploitation. We must look to the Administering Authority in regard to two things: one, there should be representation of labour at a proper level and they should not be represented by someone else for a long time, although at the beginning this may be necessary. It is always better that the people should speak for themselves than that they should be spoken for by others. Therefore, while we welcome all these new steps which have been introduced -- such as leave with pay, a higher standard of urban housing, and the attempt to raise the standards of living -- they still are at the level of a direction rather than an achievement.

A direction is to be welcomed, but we look to the Administering Authority, with its own traditions and the development of its metropolitan life in that direction, for greater progress in this department.

In the economic field, the budget of this Territory has been practically doubled. Whether that is due to the difference in the value of money -- I mean the real value of money - or the higher amount of expenditure on constructive fields, I am not at the present moment able to say, but I have no doubt that if there is a hundred per cent increase in the budget, it means that there must be a considerable amount of expenditure in the Territory providing greater consuming power for the population and, no doubt, a degree of production which is in excess of the previous level.

There is also the annual loan of four hundred million francs in the indigenous welfare fund, which is used in the development projects of the Ten-Year Plan. It is interesting to notice that the Administering Authority has no ideological objection to planning as such. The Ten-Year Plan covers economic, social and educational fields. I wish to return here again to what I said at the beginning of these observations, namely that whatever may be said about timetables in regard to political development, we have found from experience that the setting of targets for educational development is not only healthy but practical. What is more, unless there were those targets, it would be very difficult to push progress forward to the extent we would like.



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We have noticed, however, that in the Belgian scheme most of these projects are well ahead of schedule -- which is also our experience. It is one of those things that we find in what is called an undeveloped country, that people are far more ready to absorb and to reap the fruits of advancement than those who are their superiors think they are ready for. These targets are always exceeded, and that is our experience.

We have another aspect of the agrarian life of this country in the attempts made at reforestation, anti-erosion and the elimination of marshes in these areas. We ourselves would like to see the results of these anti-erosion schemes in this Territory, because it is not only a particular Belgian or Ruanda-Urundi trouble; it is a world problem of anti-erosion, where humanity, in its wisdom, has been cutting down trees for the last five thousand years and reaping the consequences. It is one of those things which if we do not take care of at present, the future will take revenge upon us.

Then I see what I am very much accustomed to seeing in my country, namely that nearly four million trees have been planted. I think, without being cynical, that it would be interesting to see how many of these trees have survived, because every year they are planted, as many are destroyed as are planted. What we would like to see in these things -- and I do not say this particularly in reference to this Territory; I say it for my own country as well -- is the net increase in the amount of tree plantation, because out of every one million trees planted, 900,000 are either destroyed or eaten by cattle or kicked around; so that next year they will say "we have planted another four million trees", with the result, if you mathematically calculate it, that there will be nothing but trees in Ruanda-Urundi.

I hope the representatives will pardon me if I take this realistic view about it. What is more interesting is to see how many trees survive. What is the rate of infantile mortality among the trees? Very high. Much higher than among children.



Food production appears to have increased by seventy-seven per cent in five years. That of course is not in excess of the increase in food production in undeveloped areas in Asia. We ourselves have increased it to a very much higher percentage in our part of the world. But I rather suspect that some of these food products are probably products of export. If that is so, then the question must be related to the amount of sustenance material that is available for the population. But again, the credit is due to the Administration in the sense that advance has been made in this direction.

We also notice that there is an increase in the production of cash crops. We must assume, in relation to what was said a while ago with regard to labour legislation, inspection and minimum wages, that these healthy labour conditions, or rather labour legislation and so-on, equally apply to industries like coffee, cotton and tobacco. Normally, as regards territories administered by the metropolitan countries, they send up to the International Labour Office very healthy and enviable schemes of legislation; but then when you turn around to find out to whom it applies, it applies to the urban labour, which is already shouting and kicking, and probably staging protest meetings about them, or where the missionaries are working, or something of that sort. But what we want to know -- if the coffee plantations are like the tea plantations were in India ten years ago -- is whether in the tobacco fields, in the context of having to compete with tobacco all over the world, these minimum wage conditions and conditions of protection apply.

We say with some feeling that there is no labour in the world today which is more exploited than plantation labour. It has none of the amelioration that comes from ordinary disorganized agriculture. In disorganized agriculture there is a degree of room for being lazy and not being pushed. You are supported by your relations and there are all kinds of things. There is a degree of unorganized happiness in ordinary agriculture. But when you come to plantation labour, you have all the evils of the factory and none of its benefits. When it comes to benefits, it is agriculture; when it comes to strictness, it is industry. That is our experience.

So that in the cultivation of these cash crops -- which incidentally must be beneficial to the metropolitan country in the way that it earns foreign exchange -- we hope that there will be improvement in the field of urban labour, with the necessary variations. It is not possible to hold the same thing in the case of this kind of labour. But with regard to all these plantations, there is no reason, because of the very high price of coffee in the world, why these things should not be done.

I do not say it is not being attempted. I do not see any evidence in the papers which I have read that this applies to this part of labour. Naturally, one has a suspicion that usually the advertised or well-known conditions of labour employment are for urban labour and for industrially organizable labour. The reason is that industrial labour where the people are in a factory is capable of organization. However, both employers and government are chary about permitting organization in plantations. And plantation labour, where families live together in conditions into which I am not going to go, is an area where much greater attention is required.

We are happy to notice that the Administering Authority reports that vast storage facilities have been introduced and that communications have also been improved with the result that there is no thirst or famine.

It is not my desire to go into every item of economic development in this way. However, the reports reveal that the progress of industrialization is very limited in these areas. It would be very wrong for us to rush into hasty criticism in this regard. We have no idea as to what extent this Territory can be industrialized. I have no doubt at all that, in the years to come -- whether it be the other African Territories or the Belgian African Territory -- a great deal of industrialization is inevitable and necessary, at least in order to raise the standards of life and the hygiene of the populations. However, the report presents a rather dim picture in this field. With the advance made in labour legislation, and no doubt with the stray observations we find here and there about the entry of the Belgian labour movement into the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi and the Congo, we must expect some progress in this direction.

Our greatest hope in all these matters largely must rest upon the enlightenment and the democracy in the home countries. That is the experience of all countries which have gained their independence by the evolutionary process; that it is not only their efforts but also the feelings of the metropolitan country based upon a realization of human rights as such which is their greatest asset. And we have no reason to think that this sort of thing will not take place.

There is reference to the stabilization of prices with regard to coffee and cotton. Here again I hope the representative will not take my observations on what the Administering Government has offered. But simply to say that prices are stabilized does not mean that the grower is getting the benefit out of it. We want some indication, as in the case of cocoa or any other product, that this stabilization of prices, while it is a good thing in itself, is something that conveys at least a proportionate advantage to the grower and not only to the middleman employed in this business.

We come now to a part of this report on which the observations we are going to make do not permit of easy presentation. First of all, I want to deal with the positions of the Trust Territory and the Visiting Mission. We have here a very extraordinary situation. A Visiting Mission is sent out by this Trusteeship Council. From those seats where the representatives of the Administering Authorities sit, the point has been made that this Visiting Mission's report is not a unanimous one; there are disagreements and, what is more, as should be expected from any country that has the rule of another, there is always the attempt to divide and rule. Therefore, the differences expressed by the Chairman have been presented as though we have before this Council not one report but two reports. Secondly, my delegation cannot subscribe to the view -- and if that is the view of the Council as a whole, we must reconsider our position in appointing representatives to the Visiting Missions -- that the Visiting Mission consists of three or four individuals. The Visiting Mission is a projection of the Trusteeship Council. It is responsible to the Trusteeship Council. You nominate the Governments and the Governments nominate the people. The members of the Mission are not just three or four individuals functioning in suspended animation.

I can imagine a situation where differences among the personnel of the Visiting Mission are such that they make two reports. But in this case, there are not two reports. There is only one report and that report is presented, I presume, by the Chairman. Therefore, there is only one report. That does not mean that either the Chairman as an individual or his Government cannot have different views on different subjects.

(Mr. Krishna Menon, India)

I have read this Visiting Mission's report more carefully than one normally reads it and I have not found the reason for the observations made either by the representative of Australia or by the representative of Belgium in milder terms. I shall come to this in a moment.

In 1945, when these matters were discussed in London, the Chinese delegation of the day made certain observations with regard to the composition of the Visiting Mission. Those observations, if they had been followed out, would have made these Visiting Missions very much more scrutinizing and rigorous bodies. However, like everything else in the United Nations, we had to find a common degree of agreement. That agreement was reached, and the principal opponent of the other view, the United Kingdom, accepted this compromise. The representative of the United Kingdom found that the revised wording of the original United States proposal was satisfactory. The Chinese representative remarked that his delegation originally had proposed that representative inhabitants of Trust Territories should be included. He stated, however, that he was correct in understanding that in the periodic visits which could be made the representatives of the Trusteeship Council would have direct contact with the inhabitants of the Territory.

Now, here is the most important part. The representative of the United Kingdom remarked, "What will happen in fact is that, in the official visits, the representatives will go to the Territory, get all the facts they would want. If they could not do so, they would make an unsatisfactory report on their return."

It is quite clear from the rules that have been made and the discussion that took place in London in 1945, that these Visiting Missions are integral part of the machinery of the Trusteeship plan. They are not just three individuals who can be disowned at will. It is quite true that a representative appointed by any Government cannot commit his Government because his Government has not briefed him.



Here we have an objective study of the situation by people who have been nominated by the Council. The castigations that have been made about them are of a character which, if they were really meant, should have led to representatives concerned moving a lack of confidence in them. We are not prepared to accept the position where representatives make observations of this character about a Visiting Mission and not about its proposals. The statement that the Visiting Mission exceeded its authority -- that is to say, it having acted unconstitutionally -- that is a charge. And even though we do not represent the Visiting Mission, we would take this view: for the Trusteeship Council to turn around and say that the Visiting Mission has acted ultra vires, has acted unconstitutionally, has gone beyond its powers and has misbehaved, is not proper.

I am glad to notice in the observations made by the representative of Australia that we shall always have the prestige of the Council and the welfare of the inhabitants in our minds. I entirely agree with him and I want to add that an observation of this kind, which throws the baby out with the bath water, instead of criticizing a particular proposal, charges bad faith. This is not a measure that will create

prestige for the Trusteeship Council and confidence in the people or even willingness on the part of others to participate in future Visiting Missions.

In great respect, we have our responsibilities to our public opinion and to our Parliaments. We cannot put ourselves in a position where our accredited representatives go on missions and are disowned by the parent authority or are sought to be disowned or it is suggested that they should be disowned. In this connexion, I propose to take some time on this matter as it is of some importance.

I invite your reference to rule 96 of our rules of procedure. It reads as follows:

"The Trusteeship Council" -- not the Government -- "shall select the members of each mission who shall preferably be one or more of the representatives on the Council... A mission and the individual members thereof shall, while engaged in a visit, act only on the basis of the instructions of the Council and shall be responsible exclusively to it."

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Therefore, rule 96 makes it quite clear that this Visiting Mission, either separately or as a whole, is a corporate body and is a projection of the Trusteeship Council itself. There is no separate existence. It is like a drafting committee. It is possible to throw out the report of a drafting committee and it is possible to have the report redrafted. But we cannot say that the drafting committee exceeded its authority or that it misbehaved in any manner in presenting a report which it deemed was right.

I propose to read some part of this castigation not with a view to establishing a debating point. We regard it as vital because, if a Visiting Mission is going to be treated in this way, we must know where we stand. These are the statements, and I want to know if anything can be stronger. The representative of Australia, in dealing with the report, says:

"It is an unfortunate document" -- this is not any proposal.

It is a wholesale condemnation -- "It reveals how subordinate organs of this Council can overlook the solemn aims of the Trusteeship System and the fundamental unity of purpose of this Council."

With great respect, I must record my protest against this statement that any subordinate Visiting Mission has overlooked the solemn aims of the Trusteeship System; that is to say, here are four or five countries, including the representative of Australia, on whom the Administering Authority's spokesman in this particular matter seems to place so much reliance, on members who seem to overlook the solemn aims of the Trusteeship Agreement. In that case, would the Chairman not have recorded that, in his opinion, his colleagues had disregarded the solemn aims of the Trusteeship Agreement? We do not see anything of that kind. A delegation may object that the Chairman has not defended the report, but that is a different matter. However, to say that they have overlooked the solemn aims of the Trusteeship System is a very serious statement to make. The statement continues:

"I would not wish to take up the Council's time with a detailed itemization of the misconceptions and the false comparisons which have been injected into this document."

If I may say so, that is very strong language to use with regard to a responsible body like the Visiting Mission. The representative of Australia then goes on

"to direct the Council's attention to the Mission usurpation of the Council's function..."

"Usurpation" is a term with which we are not very familiar because we are not an imperial power. An act of aggression is a grossly immoral action. The representative of Australia continues:

"...to make recommendations. The Mission has presumed to interfere in matters of detailed administration of this Trust Territory in several of its major recommendations."

I want to ask the representative of the Administering Authority where this Mission interfered at any time with the administration of Ruanda-Urundi. I have seen nothing in the observations by the Administering Authority. I feel sure that with the kind of thoroughness with which the representative of Belgium deals with this work and his great sensitiveness towards interference with it, he would have brought it before the notice of the Council. I have seen no evidence anywhere where that Mission has presumed to interfere in matters of detailed administration of this Trust Territory. The representative goes on to say that his delegation "notes the disassociation of the Chairman from the bulk of the major recommendations" of this report. I was taken aback when I heard this because I had not read the report prior thereto.

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The representative of New Zealand sits next to me, and it is always dangerous to discuss differences with a person who sits next to you. Therefore, I did not do so. I am not a courageous person in these matters, especially when a Commonwealth country is concerned. I therefore went home and studied this question and obtained a breakdown of the figures.

What did I find? I found that there were thirty-six recommendations made by the Visiting Mission. Disagreement expressed by the Chairman appears only in connexion with six of the recommendations. When I use the word "disagreement", it does not mean that the Chairman disagreed entirely with six; he may have expressed reservations concerning some of them; he may have wanted them put in a different way; he may have had doubts concerning some of them.

I believe that it speaks well of the Visiting Mission that they were able to agree to such an extent in the same report. Of thirty-six recommendations, the Chairman disagreed with six. Since when does six constitute the bulk of thirty-six? However bulky the six may be, they cannot constitute the whole bulk of thirty-six. I would not say that such an observation was calculated to mislead, but I do say that the effect of it does mislead those who read it.

Having referred to this breakdown of thirty-six recommendations, I think it would be unfair to leave it at that, because then it might be possible to say that these six recommendations were the most important. I therefore attempted to get a further breakdown, and I found that there were seven political recommendations. For some reason, the people seemed to be more sensitive about political recommendations than anything else. If I may say so, I think that is because there is not sufficient realization of what Article 76 of the Charter means. Of the seven political recommendations, the Chairman disagreed in principle -- and disagreement in principle is something very different from all the misconceptions and falseness which has been referred to -- with two recommendations, and with regard to a third he reserved his position concerning the presentation. With regard to the presentation, which concerns the question of association with the Belgian Congo, what did the Chairman say? He said that perhaps it was a good thing for the Belgian Congo. In other words, if the Belgian Congo can obtain benefit, why should we deny it? That is the expression of a difference of opinion.

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In connexion with the disagreement expressed by the Chairman in the main political field, I should like, with the patience of the Council, to examine it. The first concerns the time-table for political development. What does the Chairman say? I shall not quote his words but just give the substance of his remarks. He states that he disagreed in principle with a time-table. That is to say, while he was not in favour of a target for self-government, he preferred a series of short-term programmes.

Now what is the difference between a target and a series of short-term programmes? Instead of having one target, he prefers to have progressive targets. It is therefore not a disagreement which vitiates the whole position of the Mission. The Chairman prefers, instead of having one target of twenty-five years, to have "x" targets for "x" years. I do not say whether I agree or disagree; but I do want to say this. The position of the Chairman, so far as I can make out from the text, is one according to which he does not regard the specific and very narrow recommendation that has been made of twenty-five or thirty years as the type of thing that he would like to put forward. But he has not objected to the consideration of this proposal, which is what one would understand from the objections raised to the Visiting Mission's recommendations. He has not objected to the idea that there should be progress in the Territory or that there should be short-term programmes. That is the main point.

The next point of disagreement concerns the recommendation made by the Visiting Mission that the two States of Ruanda and Urundi should some day become a unified State. My delegation does not commit itself on this proposition. We have not committed ourselves with regard to Togoland, and you know how difficult it is to resist British pressure. But they have not put pressure on us, and that is why we have not committed ourselves to unification or to any future programme.

However, if the Visiting Mission, in examining this problem, found that it was a good idea for these two States to be united, I do not see why they should not say so. They did not go to the Government House in Ruanda-Urundi and say, "You will unite these two States tomorrow or we shall report you." They simply said that in their opinion they believed that these two States, instead of



remaining apart and perhaps becoming involved in tribal friction, should eventually be brought together. In fact, to a certain extent they are together now. There is nothing here to which anyone need disagree.

The Chairman has said that he disagreed in principle to long-term objectives. However, when I read his statement, I find that he himself states that perhaps it is not a bad idea for these people to work together.

What I am trying to point out is that these are disagreements which must take place among four or five representatives with different backgrounds and traditions and, what is more, with the knowledge that they are there to express their individual views and to attempt to persuade each other, and, failing to persuade, then to record their differences.

I come now to the seventh recommendation, to which I have already referred, namely the question concerning the Belgian Congo. There again the Chairman's position was: let the people of the Belgian Congo also have certain advantages if they want them.

In connexion with the nine recommendations in the economic field, the Chairman agreed to all of them. I had thought that these would form the bulk of the disagreement, especially for people for whom the political is not so important as the economic. The Chairman agreed to every one of the nine recommendations in the economic field.

In the social field, the Chairman disagrees in two or three places. What did they ask? One thing was the removal of all restrictions of the movements by night of Africans in certain urban areas. It is not said that these restrictions will always remain. He agreed to their progressive relaxation. I have classified it in a way so as to be totally fair in defining the extreme positions of disagreement, and all the Chairman said was that he wanted a relaxation in the restrictions, while the others said that the whole thing was wrong. I believe that that is what they said. Even they, I would have thought, would have said that it would take at least a day, or ten days, or a year to bring it about.

Then it goes on. The Chairman's other disagreement is with regard to the period of detention of one month except in cases of extreme gravity. In that way it would look as though the Chairman was a person who wanted detention without trial. As the Chairman comes from New Zealand, I looked at his report, and what he said was: "Why this sanctity about a month? Could it be a longer or a shorter period? I think that the Visiting Mission should have said, 'Say, a month'".

I am labouring these points in order to point out that these so-called disagreements are ephemeral; they are superficial; they do not go to the root of anything. The only thing on which the Chairman is fundamentally in disagreement is in putting down a specific period of twenty-five years for the establishment of self-government, subject to the qualification that he himself thinks there should be something of an automatic pattern.

We come to education. There are eight recommendations, and the Chairman agrees with all of them.

That is the breakdown which I find from these reports.

The next question that has been raised here -- and I think that it was the representative of Belgium, if I am not mistaken, who raised the point -- was that a new departure had been made, and the poor Secretariat, to whose defence I do

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not have to come, as it can defend itself, ought to have warned these new members about it. First of all, may I say that there is nothing in this Visiting Mission's report which says that it has given instructions to the Administering Authority. The report comes to the Trusteeship Council, and if it says, "We recommend to the Administering Authority", it simply means that it hopes the Trusteeship Council will transmit that recommendation to the Administering Authority; so the channel of communication is from the Visiting Mission to the Trusteeship Council. The Visiting Mission has no direct access to the Administering Authority except for showing them around. The charge is that there has been a departure from previous practice, and why did not the Secretariat draw attention to it?

I go back to the report on Ruanda-Urundi of 1948, which is contained in the Official Record of the Fourth Session, Supplement No. 2, page 18, where we read the following:

"Consequently, the Mission feels justified in recommending that the Belgian Government should render the administrative union with the Belgian Congo more flexible, in order to give Ruanda-Urundi a more independent character and, should the need arise, not to hinder a development of the Trust Territory different from that of the colony."

It does not matter what they recommended, but the fact is that the Mission said: "The Mission feels justified in recommending that the Belgian Government"-- if it is wrong today, it was wrong then. It goes on to say in the same report:

"The Mission urgently recommends the Belgian Government to consider the possibility of radically changing the wage system of Ruanda-Urundi." (Page 42)

Here are two problems, and it is interesting to notice that it is not as though the Mission was composed of people who were so very different. Representatives will be interested to read that the Mission was composed of

France -- and I am certain that any representative of France would know the finesse and logic of a constitution or of its interpretation -- Australia, China and Costa Rica. So it was not as though it was a Mission which was very fundamentally different from any other. I have given two precedents which go completely against the contention that has been made that the Visiting Mission has departed from the normal procedure.

I would like to go to what is even more fundamental. What are the marching orders of the Visiting Mission? What is its "book of words", so to speak? They are the terms of reference. The Council will remember that the representative of France, the other day, was not going to leave any doubt in this matter with regard to the Visiting Mission to Togoland, and he raised the question about the terms of reference of the normal Visiting Mission, and my delegation agreed that he was right, because a Mission of this kind, composed of people who are selected for the particular purpose, should know what it is doing, and, therefore, if there has been any action ultra vires, then look at the terms of reference. Did the members of the Mission go beyond the terms of reference? I find that, on page 4 of the Visiting Mission's report, the terms of reference are set out seriatim:

"At its 548th meeting on 2 July 1954, the Council adopted resolution 999 (XIV) setting forth the Mission's terms of reference. By that resolution, the Mission was directed:

"(a) To investigate and to report as fully as possible" --

when you tell somebody to do it as fully as possible, they alone are the judges of what is full and what is possible --

"on the steps taken in the three above-mentioned Trust Territories towards the realization of the objectives set forth in Article 76 b of the Charter, " --

that is to say, they are to report fully on the realization of the objectives set forth in Article 76 b, which has been read so many times over --

"taking into account the terms of General Assembly resolution 321 (IV) of 15 November 1949;"

There are three things: first of all, to report as fully as possible, on the objectives set forth in Article 76 b, and in terms of General Assembly resolution 321 (IV).

Article 76 b, apart from other things, talks about the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the Territories and their progress of development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances, etc. So it is entirely within the powers of the Visiting Mission to make any observations, to draw any inferences or to present any picture which it thinks is warranted from its observations -- which is as fully as possible. That is what this thing says -- and in relation to Article 76 b, which deals with the independence of people, and in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 321 (IV).

Then it goes on to say:

"(b) To give attention, as may be appropriate in the light of of discussions in the Trusteeship Council and in the General Assembly and of resolutions adopted by them ..."

This Council is aware that both the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly have been most insistent, have had very strong views, on this question of a time-table. It is not a question of my delegation, or any particular delegation, or any particular session of the Trusteeship Council agreeing or disagreeing, but the Mission was asked to take account of these discussions and to make appropriate recommendations in the light of the discussions. Is it intra vires or ultra vires, when you have a Visiting Mission going out to examine the position arising out of Article 76 b -- to take into account the decision taken by the General Assembly in regard to Somaliland, the repeated draft resolutions that have been proposed -- and defeated, it may be -- the



resolutions adopted by the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly at various times? I do not want to be misunderstood by having it thought that I am advocating that these resolutions are binding on the Administering Authorities. I am not saying this; all I am saying is that the Visiting Mission is entitled to take this view and to record its observations in this particular manner on the one point on which the Chairman has expressed greater disagreement than on anything else, and I believe that the Chairman must have been aware of the fact, and that is why he did not write a dissenting minute, presumably. It goes on in the same way.

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The final provision of the terms of reference reads as follows:

"To transmit to the Council as soon as practicable a report on each of the Trust Territories visited, containing its findings with such observations, conclusions and recommendations as it may wish to make".

Now, if any error was made, it was made in formulating the terms of reference. The Council directed the Mission "to transmit to the Council...a report". Did the Mission not transmit a report to the Council? Does that report not contain the Mission's findings and conclusions? Was the Visiting Mission allowed to make recommendations? It was.

The next question concerns the publication of these documents. In this respect, I agree with the representative of New Zealand that the Trusteeship Council must lay down the rule on how publication is to take place. Speaking for myself, I think that it is proper for the Visiting Mission to report to the Trusteeship Council. After all, the Mission is a subordinate body appointed by the Council and it should report to the principals. But that is exactly what the Mission has done. It has been the Council's procedure to transmit these reports to the Administering Authorities. So far as I know, no other publication has taken place. Of course, if a document is distributed to a number of people, it soon amounts to general publication -- but that is part of the realities of this case.

The first Visiting Mission gave the Secretariat two days to transmit the report. In the "letter of transmittal" attached to that report, the Chairman said:

"I should be grateful if, in accordance with rule 99 of the rules of procedure of the Trusteeship Council, you [the Secretary-General] would forward copies of this report to the Belgian Government and the members of the Trusteeship Council" --

that goes much further than what has been said in the present case --

"and I should also be grateful if, likewise in accordance with the terms of this rule, you would leave an interval of two days between the despatch of this report to the members of the Council and its general distribution."

(Trusteeship Council, Official Records, Fourth Session, Supplement No. 2, p.1)

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In the present case, the Secretariat was asked to leave an interval of two weeks, rather than two days, so that, if anything, there has been an improvement. That operates rather against the idea that this Visiting Mission was "beating the gun". In fact, nothing of the kind occurred.

I do not want to read it out, but I would draw the attention of members of the Council to rule 99 of the rules of procedure, which deals with the question of transmission.

I have spoken at length on this matter. In our opinion, we cannot pass lightly over the fact that the Mission has been castigated in this way in the Trusteeship Council. That does not mean that we object to strong differences of opinion, however they may be expressed. We are not able to accept the view that the Chairman was one part of the Mission and the remaining members were another part; we are not able to accept the view that, in fact, there were two reports. If I may say so, that is a very embarrassing position in which to place a chairman. If there were a dissenting report, we should have seen it. The fact is that there is a unanimous report of the Visiting Mission, with differences recorded therein. I hope that, when the draft report on Ruanda-Urundi comes before the Council, it will be possible for us to state our obligation to the Visiting Mission and to do away with the effects of the statement that has been made. I may say that I have read the strong language in which that statement was couched.

I come now to the actual state of political progress in the Territory. Here, if the representative of Belgium will forgive me, it is my duty to deal with certain matters on which that representative has quoted statements by the President of India. I am not in the same happy position as the representative of Belgium in making references to statements by the President of India. The President of India is not an executive minister; he is the Head of State. It is not our constitutional custom to debate any personal observations made by the President. But the substance of the matter is to be found in Government statements.

We must express our appreciation to the Government of Belgium for the concern it has shown about our tribal peoples. I receive a considerable amount of literature about our tribal peoples from Belgian sources. We are happy to

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note that interest. What, however, is the position? We have tribal peoples in India, but every man and woman over the age of twenty-one belonging to those tribal peoples has the political franchise. In fact, everyone who walks on two legs in India and is over the age of twenty-one has the right to vote -- unless he is deranged -- and does indeed vote. These are not cardboard votes. I shall give the figures to prove it.

In our central Parliament -- our House of Commons, as it were -- there are twenty-five elected representatives of tribal peoples. Those seats are reserved for them for ten years. They are members of Parliament. They participate in the debates. In Bihar, for example, where there are large numbers of tribal peoples, nearly 10 per cent of the representatives are tribal people. That is exclusive of other backward communities -- the former untouchables, and so forth. These are tribal peoples who had never, in the past, stepped out of the tribal areas. Out of the 55 representatives that Bihar is entitled to send to the central Parliament, 6 are tribal people; in fact, that is just over 10 per cent. The same can be said of Orissa, where there are large numbers of what are called tribal peoples; in pre-independence days, some of these tribes were even criminal tribes. In Orissa, out of 20 representatives, 4 are tribal people.

I shall now give some figures for the State legislatures, where education and similar matters are even more important. In Orissa, out of 140 seats, 25 are held by tribal people. In Assam, where there are tribal people about whom I receive literature from Belgian sources, there are 108 members in the State legislature, and 25 are tribal people; that is a very considerable number, almost 25 per cent. I could give many more instances of that kind.

Reference has been made to the capacity of tribal people to participate in administration. We have local organs of government and, what is more, whenever there have been disturbances on our frontiers caused by elements which have aroused some of these tribal peoples, the disturbances have been most effectively dealt with by popular support. There are autonomous organizations in these tribal areas. If there are movements for autonomy, they are respected. What is most important, however, is that men and women belonging to these tribal peoples occupy very high positions in our services. This is not just a numerical question; it is not just a question of saying that there are 583 Africans as

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against 544 Europeans, when, of course, the 544 Europeans have all the high places and the 583 Africans have very little at all. That is not the position. The participation of tribal peoples in the central and the various State governments in India is being encouraged. In Assam, for example, one political officer and six assistant political officers are from the tribes. Perhaps all members of the Council are not in a position to appreciate the significance of the term "political officer". It is a term that has survived from the days of British administration. When we were a dependency and had no diplomatic services, the persons who dealt with other countries -- in the frontier areas, particularly -- were called political officers. These officers are at a higher level than administrative officers. In the old days, it was only very rarely indeed that any Indians were allowed to become political officers. I am not saying that in any sense of criticism of what took place in the past, but merely to point out that these political officers are at a very high level and that tribal people have attained such posts.

What is the significance of that? It is that, when the example of India is quoted, the whole of the picture must be taken into account. If Ruanda-Urundi will provide the political franchise to the tribal people, we shall be happy that we have been quoted. If Ruanda-Urundi will send their tribal people to schools and colleges to prepare them for posts in the diplomatic and educational and political services, we shall be happy that we have been quoted. I have with me a picture of one of our tribal people who is a political officer; members may see that he still wears tribal clothes; but he is a graduate of a university, as are all these people about whom I have spoken.

I am not for a moment suggesting that the Prime Minister and the President of India have been quoted adversely. All I am saying is this: In so far as India represents a parallel case, the conclusion to be drawn is that one cannot merely put a label of "tribal" on a person and thereby disqualify him from any administrative, political or social privileges. Our Constitution does not permit any discrimination against these tribal people. Hence, since the parallel of India has been drawn, it is my duty to submit to the Trusteeship Council that the parallel is one which should encourage the Belgian Government to make use of our experience and enable these tribal people to assume their



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rightful position. In fact, the Belgian Government has made a beginning in this respect by inviting one of the sons of a chief to act in an advisory capacity in the Belgian Foreign Office. There is no reason why these people should not be utilized in that way.

(Mr. Krishna Menon, India)

With regard to the proposals of the Visiting Mission, which are supported in general by my delegation, we consider that, while progress has been made in the way of establishing the machinery of what may in the future be legislatures, they do not at the present moment have roots among the people. This is nothing unusual. In all dependent countries this stage has been traversed. But I cannot agree with the approach of the representative of New Zealand to the effect that, just because it required two hundred or three hundred years to break down feudalism in one country -- and I do not want to join issue with him with regard to the dates -- it must take two hundred or three hundred years in another country. If that were so, we should not have higher mathematics today; we should all be calculating on our fingers and we should be learning everything by trial and error, as a little mouse in a psychological experiment learns how to open a trap-door. We profit from the experience of humanity, and it would not now take two hundred years -- it would not take two years -- to break down feudalism.

At the present time, the real source of authority is through the chief. He nominates the people who elect him. It is a very curious system -- something like a command performance. He nominates the college of electors -- and they then invite the same strata of people.

But, having said that much, I should like to say that, whether or not the High Councils satisfy all the requirements of a democratic legislature, the fact remains that they are there, and it provides a platform, a theatre, an arena of discussion.

Therefore, we propose as an immediate measure the transference of greater functions to these bodies. I am not for a moment withdrawing from our position that people, tribal or otherwise, are entitled to rule themselves. That is a position from which we will never move. But, having said that, I would say that, imperfect as these bodies may be, the Administering Authority in the last few years has set them up. If they acquire greater and greater functions, then, in spite of the fact that they do not have the necessary qualities of democracy, some of the indigenous population will exercise those powers and, when they exercise the powers, will acquire responsibility and will advance in that way.

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I feel confident that the representative of Belgium will feel that this criticism that we have offered is of a constructive character. We are not merely saying: "This will not do. These people are 21; give them the vote". We do not say that that should necessarily be followed in Ruanda-Urundi. But we think that these Councils should have greater functions given to them, so that the broadening of their base will be almost automatic.

We should like to see similar progress in regard to the Advisory Council of the Vice-Government-General. At the present time, out of 22 members, only five are Africans. Considering that they are handpicked, considering that they are appointed, considering that they did not come out of the pressures of any difficulty or objectionable opinion, it should be easily possible to find other members of the indigenous population. If the representative of Belgium says that no more than five Africans can be found for this body, then we come back to the question: Why can they not be found? They cannot be found because there is no education, no responsibility. It is a vicious circle. Unless you put them in these places, they will not have responsibility; unless you give them responsibility, they will not be educated.

Out of 22 members of the Advisory Council, as I have said, only five are Africans. The Visiting Mission has recommended that there should be a majority of Africans. I am not prepared to say whether there should be eleven or twelve or fifteen -- but I think that a degree of generosity in this direction pays.

We are very much concerned about the fact that the admission of Africans into the services -- I am not talking about Africanization at the present time -- is most unsatisfactory. There were 524 Europeans and 559 Africans in 1952. Two years later, there were 564 Europeans and 592 Africans. And I want to be perfectly frank about it: If there are jobs that only Europeans, by training or experience, can do, that is very wrong. For example, I would not want to be treated by a dentist, if he does not know dentistry, just because he happens to be of a particular race. When you put alongside these figures the fact that most of the Africans are in lower or menial positions, without a great deal of control, the picture becomes clear.

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There is one further point on which my delegation wishes to express its very strong opinion: the categorization of people into civilized communities and uncivilized communities. We have had many occasions to refer to this. Who is to determine the nature of civilization? Are the people who have gone out and exploited others -- as we have all done in various phases of our history -- more civilized than those who have been exploited?

This is a kind of stigma that is attached to these people. I do not say that it is so meant or that it is so accepted in that place. But I do not know why there should be this division into an upper class and a lower class. We are all moving toward societies of greater and greater equality. Therefore, to divide Africans into the civilized and the uncivilized appears very wrong, and I think that the whole basis of the division will become unnecessary when it is realized that there is greater education and everything else.

I now come to my final point, which is addressed to the representative of Belgium. This Territory, which was part of the German Empire and was taken over as part of the booty of war, came under the mandate system of the League of Nations. It was a "B" mandate, and the "B" mandates were set forth as follows:

"Other people, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prevention of abuses..."

This paragraph is very well known. Why have I read it out? It should be placed in juxtaposition with the Trusteeship Agreement. With great respect, I should like to point out that the approach of the Administering Authority to the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi is as though the "B" mandate still survived. But the "B" mandate has lapsed; there are no more mandated territories. There are only Trust Territories, and they are governed by Article 76 b of the Charter. There is therefore no longer a case for exclusive paternalism. I would be the first one to admit, without any reservation whatsoever, that a great deal of material advance has been made -- but the Government is still paternal. However, the "B" mandate no longer exists. When the mandate was surrendered and when the Administering Authority concluded an agreement with the United Nations, it

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accepted Article 76 b of the Charter, and there is now a new position. The objective of Trusteeship is different from the objective of the previous tutelage. The objective of that previous tutelage was only good government. Now it is self-government. And there is a difference between good government and self-government. However good a government may be, that does not negate the case for self-government. I should like to point out that, in regard to these former "B" mandates, the position realized in Tanganyika ought to be realized in other places. These areas are capable of self-government.

Finally, the question has been asked: What evidence is possessed by the Visiting Mission, or by delegations such as ours, that these people can govern themselves, or can progress toward self-government and independence? The answer is very simple. I stated the negative side of it in the beginning. The Belgian experience is limited to the Congo. Our answer is: Look around Africa. In a year and a half the Sudanese will be independent -- these people of the Sudan who come not necessarily from the same racial stock, but from a similar racial stock. There is the neighbouring Territory of Tanganyika. There is a movement toward self-government and the election of representatives to legislatures, and there is a gradual evolution -- however tardy or limited it may be, and however unsatisfactory to us -- toward the delegation of powers to local inhabitants, African and Asian. In Uganda there is the same position. In Somaliland, Trusteeship is to come to an end in ten years.

The inhabitants of this Territory are not, as some people think, "primitive" -- whatever that may mean. People have an idea that, because this Territory is near the Congo, the inhabitants are Congo pygmies or something of that character. All the anthropological evidence, all the historical evidence, the evidence of contemporary history, -- and our belief -- that a human being is entitled to express himself, whatever the colour of his skin or the shape of his head or the quality of his hair -- all of this points to the fact that these people are capable of self-government. If they are not capable, then there is something wrong with the whole system of administration.



Therefore, we stand fully by the recommendations made, though on the point as to whether the two territories should be united, my Government does not commit itself. It must be decided according to the wishes of the people, the same as in British Togoland and anywhere else, and according to their interests. But it is one of those observations which is worth while bearing in mind, because in Africa, where the tribal system has been so strong and in fact where modern circumstances can lead to fratricidal war, if it is possible for a paternal power, without interfering with that basis, to bring about a unity, that would be of great advantage.

Secondly, we would say that with regard to the time-limit, what is meant is that self-government must not be at some far and distant date, from freedom brought in from precedent to precedent. There will be no necessity for those of us who are constructive critics to talk about a time-limit if the development contained automatic advance. We talk about a date on the calendar because we do not see anything in front of us. But if we knew that the pace of advance was such that the goal was within sight, was inevitable, then there would be very little said about it. No one talks about the time-limit of self-government in the Gold Coast or in Western Samoa; it is only when there is no admission of the people to the administrative services, when there is no education, when there is separation into civilized and uncivilized, when there is talk about them being tribal peoples, when all the elections are indirect, when the people who have to elect are ordered by the electees to stand in line, it is in those circumstances that we ask for a date on the calendar.

Therefore, my delegation desires the Council to understand that when we speak about a time-limit, it is not necessarily an unalterable doctrine; the substance of it is that the movement towards independence must be within tangible time. If the Administering Authorities, quite correctly, do not want to be committed for twenty-five years because they may think it could be achieved in ten years, we do not blame them.

I was telling the representative of the United Kingdom the other day about a great statesman of England who, in 1905 or 1910 or around that time, said, in discussing reforms for India: "India will not be fit for parliamentary institutions in five hundred years". Slightly wrong, was he not? So that I agree that there may be a case for not putting a date on the calendar, but let us find an alternative. Let the administrative machinery, the educational machinery, the advance that is made, the executive machinery, the approach of the Administering Authority to the whole of the problem show, far more than good government, that it is approaching self-government, so that the thing will be proclaimed by itself and there will be no need for an external stamp to be put upon it.

The meeting was suspended at 4.35 p.m. and resumed at 5.05 p.m.

Mr. TARAZI (Syria) (interpretation from French): My delegation has carefully studied the Administering Authority's report on Ruanda-Urundi and we have also consulted the report of the Visiting Mission which visited the Territory in 1954. We have also heard the statements made to the Council both by the special representative and by the representative of Belgium, and I should like to make the following comments, which are prompted by our constant concern for objectivity. I do not think it is necessary to repeat again that when we make criticisms we are merely performing the duty which devolves upon every member of the Council under the terms of the Charter. Unfortunately, that is what the Belgian press did not understand last year when it attacked the representatives of Syria, the Soviet Union and India for their statements in the Council during the debate on Ruanda-Urundi.

Views may differ regarding the manner in which the Trusteeship System should be operated, but the purpose of the system remains constant -- and incidentally the representative of Belgium, whose statements are always so admirable, has never departed from the view that it is well constantly to propound the final objectives of the Trusteeship System.

Starting from this point, I must say that I quite agree with most of the Visiting Mission's conclusions. The report which it forwarded to us shows that its members performed their duties with a high sense of responsibility and I congratulate them on the work they did. Some of the representatives who have spoken before me have not agreed with the Visiting Mission's proposal that a deadline be set for the achievement of self-government or independence in the Territory. Their arguments did not convince me. The Mission did not overstep its terms of reference.

Some representatives have used the words "usurpation of power" to describe the work of the Mission, and here I must say that I agree entirely with what the representative of India said a while ago. In public law, to be guilty of usurpation of power means that one has to act contrary to the constitution or to legal provisions which are in force, as for example would be the case of a person who usurped a government post by force. To consider that the Visiting Mission was guilty of usurpation of power we should have to prove that it

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overthrew the Council by a sort of coup d'état and acted in lieu of the Trusteeship Council, ignoring the provisions of the Charter, the rules of procedure of the Council, and the terms of reference of the Visiting Mission. That is the meaning of the words "usurpation of power". We find such a definition in General Principles of Constitutional Law by Professor Gaston Jèze, who says that "usurpation of power means seizure of power by force irrespective of the constitution and of existing laws." We find a similar definition in Treatise on Constitutional Law by Duguit. Thus the representative who spoke of usurpation of power might have done well to refer instead to going beyond the powers assigned to the Mission. While juridical language can be fairly flexible, legal terms after all have their meaning and therefore I cannot allow further statements that the Visiting Mission usurped the Council's powers because it arrived at conclusions which did not meet with the approval of certain members of this Council.

If it had been said that it had gone beyond its powers, or had abused its powers, that would have been more understandable, but to say that it usurped its powers means that it threw out the Trusteeship Council and acted in its stead. If I had been a member of the Visiting Mission, I would have considered this statement to be slanderous, but I was not a member of the Visiting Mission and it is merely as a representative on the Council that I wanted to uphold the Mission, not only the Mission which went there last year but all the Visiting Missions which have visited these Territories in the past and will do so in the future.

Thus the Visiting Mission did not seek to substitute itself either for the Trusteeship Council or for the Administering Authority; it merely interpreted one of the provisions of the Charter, namely that which deals with the achievement by the Territory of self-government or independence, as it understood it.

(Mr. Tarazi, Syria)

Of course, you can criticize the conclusions of the Mission. We can each of us have our own views on the subject. However, in the belief of my delegation, you cannot doubt the right of the Mission to undertake all the investigations it sees fit and to set a deadline for the Territory in its own judgment. It is useful to point out at this point that the conclusions do not seem to us excessive. Indeed, they are moderate, and the deadline after all is far removed from the terms of reference. Therefore, there is no reason to voice such pessimism or indeed exaggerated optimism regarding the achievement of such self-government or independence.

It is a fact that the Administering Authority will continue to perform its responsibilities, and the future reports which it will forward to this Council will show the rhythm of evolution of the Territory.

With respect to political developments, I must note first of all that the administrative union between Ruanda-Urundi and the Belgian Congo offers certain benefits. Nevertheless, the Visiting Mission has pointed out some of the drawbacks that follow from such a union. Even though these drawbacks in the view of the Mission are mainly economic, there is one other drawback which has not been mentioned. It is that there is a danger of linking the fate of a Trust Territory with that of a colonial territory. I think that the Administering Authority will pay due heed to this factor.

As regards the status of the inhabitants, my delegation shares the view of the Visiting Mission regarding the classification of the natives into several categories. We do not think that such a classification can create and develop a sense of unity between the various elements of the native population. It is of course necessary to promote the evolution of the masses, but the building up of a certain so-called evolved type of citizen might lead to the establishment of a narrow elite which will be prejudicial to the development of the Territory as a whole. As in the case of other Territories, the Administering Authority has not yet set up a definite status of citizenship. You will recall that France has pursued such studies in Togoland and the Cameroons. We hope that Belgium will proceed likewise in Ruanda-Urundi.



(Mr. Tarazi, Syria)

The over-all political organization of the Territory has shown progress since the decree of 14 July 1952 came into force. However, legislative powers are still vested in the Administering Authority and they have not yet been transferred to the native authorities. As the special representative pointed out, the native authorities exercise their powers only in terms of local customs and traditions. The participation of the natives in the Council of the Vice-Governor-General is not based on an electoral principle.

The political organization of the natives has shown an evolution. It was epitomized by the decree of 14 July 1952, but the structure of the system has not yet been affected. Elections take place but only notables participate in them. You would think that the population would benefit from its own nominees. That is why we endorse the conclusions of the Visiting Mission when it considers that it is necessary to grant to the Councils a more representative nature and to broaden their basis, particularly in the case of the Conseil de sous chefferie where one must establish as soon as possible a system of direct electoral representation.

The division of the country into two distinct parts from the point of view of administration may, in the more or less near future, give rise to problems which we will have to settle very soon. It is true that the Administering Authority is over and above the subdivisions. It exercises the powers of a central government both in regard to Ruanda and in regard to Urundi. However, it will be necessary to consolidate the natural links which exist between these two units. We have no doubt that existing differences are relatively unimportant, and the Administering Authority should try to establish a federal system which would enable the two bami to have grouped around them a contemporary and up-to-date organizational structure. If such an organization existed, it would be a model school where the native administration could learn the exercise of power and the principles of democracy. Here again we endorse the views of the Visiting Mission in paragraph 161 of its report.

(Mr. Tarazi, Syria)

It is possible that the suggestion which I make may be difficult to implement. However, the decree of 14 July 1952 could be regarded as a first step along the path to reform. Other steps should follow and the Administering Authority, I am sure, will study them and adapt them to the local conditions as the Territory evolves.

A consideration of the judiciary system gives rise to two comments. First of all, the police tribunal which hears certain cases is made up of a magistrate who is an official at the same time. Then, the central and the native administration participate in the functioning of the native tribunals. I think it is necessary to separate completely the judiciary system from the administrative system at all levels, irrespective of the juridical status of the persons that come for trial.

As regards economic development, the data supplied by the Administration has been confirmed by the Visiting Mission. The Belgian Government is looking to the economic advancement of the Territory. The Ten-Year Plan, however, has not affected the basic nature of the economy. The balance of trade was in the red in 1953. The deficit is fairly important. The native population should be encouraged to participate more closely in the establishment and the building of its own economy.

It appears from the report of the Administering Authority that most of the companies active in the Territory are foreign-owned. Some of them are established in the Belgian Congo. The role of the natives is confined to the co-operatives. We do not ignore the difficulties of the population in passing from an agricultural stage of development to a more advanced stage of development.

(Mr. Tarazi, Syria)

However, we believe that the co-operatives constitute the necessary transitional phase. Yet, they would be insufficient if they were not followed by an increase in native industry activity on the local level.

Since agriculture is at present the main resource of the Territory, it is proper that the Council should undertake a study of the land system. Here again we note that non-natives are holding the land in accordance with the registration system. The natives hold their land in accordance with custom and tradition. The Administering Authority contends that the present system ensures the better protection of the rights of native landholders.

The Visiting Mission has noted the quality of the road system in the Territory. There is no doubt that an increase of the road system in this Territory would promote the economic and social systems of the Territory. We agree with the Visiting Mission that it is necessary to develop the road system by establishing transportation systems and by having the administration participate directly in those areas where local initiative is lacking.

We believe that the curfews and restrictions placed upon the free movement of the natives should be discontinued. The Council has studied this matter in the past and resolutions have been adopted. If, as the Administering Authority states, the natives are opposed to the abolition of the night curfew, it is necessary to enlighten them of the advantages of putting a more liberal system of freedom of movement into effect. The administration is in a position to increase security measures. However, if the natives remain tied to their customs, they will not be able to progress or to emancipate themselves. The special representative has assured us that this question will be put for consideration to the native authorities. We hope that the next report of the Administering Authority will show that progress has been achieved in this field. However, we would also like to see general measures adopted. In this connexion we endorse the views of the Visiting Mission, which considers that the restrictions should be abolished not only concerning the more advanced elements of the population but also concerning the whole population.

In the social field, two points seem to be of considerable importance. I shall merely list them in the hope that the Administering Authority will give them its attention. First, we do not believe that a distinction should be made between the Europeans and the natives in theatres and other places of public performance. Furthermore, the prohibition of native attendance at films which have not been submitted to the local control authorities, does not seem to be justified in every case.

We note that the establishment of trade unions has not yet been authorized. We believe that the Administering Authority should encourage the trade union movement. The representative of Haiti has spoken of the need to ensure the participation of the workers in the Committee on labour, with which I agree.

As regards the ability of the native worker, the views of the Administering Authority do not seem to agree with the views of the Visiting Mission. The Visiting Mission believes that the native population is endowed with the virtues which will enable it to progress. The Administering Authority therefore has the means of turning the local manpower into an example by teaching it the various arts, crafts and trades.

In the field of education, I would like to support the conclusions of the Visiting Mission as regards the education of girls. We believe with the Visiting Mission that the number of high schools should be increased. May I point out in passing that the Arab language is not taught in the Territory even though it is the vernacular of a part of the population.

The Administering Authority has abandoned for the time being the organization of elementary university training in the Territory. It is true that some of the natives have the opportunity of going to Belgium to pursue their studies. We believe, however, that the establishment of a university in the Territory, where the population is more than four million, is necessary. Meanwhile, the Administering Authority should make more scholarships available. At the present time, only monitors and primary school teachers can be trained in the Territory. High school teachers must be recruited abroad. I do not know whether the Administering Authority is considering the establishment of a teacher-training school, which could supply the high schools with the required teachers.

Mr. EGUIZABAL (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish): In intervening in the general debate on conditions in the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration, my delegation will pay special attention to the report of the Visiting Mission which went to that Territory in July and August of last year. We do so for reasons which, I am sure, will not escape the understanding of the members of the Council: (1) this report is the most recent document published about the Territory, (2) this report contains a detailed description of the Territory and includes practically all the matters concerning the Territory and its most urgent problems, and (3) I personally was a member of the Visiting Mission, and the report has been somewhat unfairly and unjustly dealt with in the Council.

I do not intend to defend the report. This afternoon we heard a brilliant statement made by the representative of India, and I therefore feel that I need not come to the defence of the report. The report is sufficiently clear and it speaks for itself in presenting the facts and problems with which the Visiting Mission met. It sets out the conclusions reached after the problems were studied in the light of the terms of reference laid down by the Council and of the resolutions of the Council and the General Assembly, in accordance with the spirit of the Charter and the principles governing the Trusteeship System.

The Visiting Mission always bore in mind the pertinent provisions of the rules of procedure of the Council. The report, therefore, is the result of all these factors. It is also the reflection of deep conviction based on the purest of principles from which we shall never depart. Circumstances must be adjusted to principles, and not the reverse.

Aside from the merits or demerits of the report, it does present a very complete picture of the conditions prevailing in Ruanda-Urundi, not only on how it strikes the eyes of the visitor who is looking for beautiful landscapes or those who share the views and interests of the administration, but also on how it strikes the eyes of those who come to the Territory with a firm purpose in mind to see how conditions are progressing and to see whether or not the annual reports of the Administering Authority are accurate.



If things were otherwise, it would be very bad indeed. No member of the Visiting Mission had any mental reservations because we were convinced that here, in the Council, truth was always spoken, and we expected that truth to be confirmed in the Territory. We went to the Territory fully aware of our duties and responsibilities and prepared to abide by the terms of reference laid down by the Council. We went there to listen and to investigate, and to report back with regard to all these matters. We went to analyse what we saw and heard. We went with the intention of drawing conclusions and eventually making recommendations, and that is all the report does. It may contain mistakes either in judgment or in statements. It is a work of human beings. But it is an attempt to be sincere and honourable and to convey something which the annual report does not convey, namely, the atmosphere of the Territory, the status of the population, the reaction of the people to the policy of the Administration, and the possible reaction of all this upon the future of the Territory itself. All these things were seen through the eyes of those not directly involved in the Administration of the Territory. We wished to look at the situation with a more serene, perhaps even more objective, attitude. The most eloquent proof of our attitude was the recognition, by the representative of Belgium in his preliminary statement, of the spirit of justice which prevailed in the Visiting Mission vis à vis the Administration. He said: "The honesty of the intentions of the signatories of that report is not in doubt... there is no question about their desire to do justice to the work of the Belgian Administration in Ruanda-Urundi. Thus, for instance, the report points out in paragraph 190 that certain parts of the ten year plan, particularly in regard to education, are being carried out more rapidly than had previously been thought possible". (T/PV.594, page 48) The speaker cited at least twenty or twenty-five further examples. In certain of these examples he did not agree with the very concise and succinct language used; possibly, then, he could send in a supplementary report, so that the slight defect in the Mission's report would redound to the benefit of all.

(Mr. Eguizabal, El Salvador)

The Mission could not see absolutely everything. My delegation, however, having studied the report of the Administering Authority, and being aware of the situation in Ruanda-Urundi after having been there and having studied certain documents, wishes to praise the success which the Administering Authority has had in the Territory, especially in the economic field, where great progress has been made. I should like to point to the struggle against soil erosion, resulting in a great deal of land being now available for agricultural production. Indeed, this struggle might serve as a model for other Territories.

I should like to express satisfaction concerning the programme for resettlement of the indigenous population in order to solve the problem of over-population in certain regions. I refer particularly to the Ruzizi district and the regions of Mosso, Bugesera and Mutara, where agricultural production is being increased by means of modern methods, which will result in considerable benefit to the population. These plans of the Administration are very valuable and are being implemented, but they will take time and money. The Administration might benefit by taking advantage of services that have already been established throughout the Territory. Social progress could be made if use were made of the existing dispensaries and schools and in setting up some social life around these centres.

I should like to express also our gratification with regard to the drainage of water in certain parts of the Territory, and other progress of a similar nature.

In the field of health, our satisfaction has been expressed in the report of the Visiting Mission.

In general, the economic situation in the Territory is satisfactory, and we believe that in this connexion the future is promising. However, it could be more so, since at the present time the policy which is being pursued in this field constitutes a basis for the whole structure which must be built up. Of course, to a great extent, the capital comes, and must continue to come in the form of assistance from outside the Territory.

(Mr. Eguizabal, El Salvador)

Nevertheless, my delegation shares the opinion of the Visiting Mission to the effect that development based only on loans or gifts will give an artificial character to the economy of the Territory. Hence, the policy followed in this field must be revised in certain of its aspects in order to allow private enterprise, as well as the indigenous population, to participate. The indigenous inhabitants should be encouraged to take part in the development of the Territory, especially in certain aspects of the ten-year plan. The population itself must play a direct role in the development of their own country in order to increase their productive capacity and advance beyond a subsistence economy.

We believe that, through the development of a co-operative movement on a large scale, that stage can indeed be reached.

The livestock problem is a particularly difficult one. An attempt should be made to establish an export industry in connexion with cattle. This would result in raising the standard of living of the population and ensure progress in all fields. This is a question of cause and effect. Economic progress produces social progress, and this, in turn, ensures political progress; and it works also the other way round. We must conclude, therefore, that these factors directly affect the overall situation and serve as a basis for the whole social structure. They must be encouraged and developed. They have one common denominator. Therefore, we cannot agree with the general policy of the Administration in bringing Ruanda-Urundi to its final objective as laid down in the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement, especially articles 3, 6, 7, 12 and 16 of the Agreement. We believe firmly that a policy based on the predominance of one single factor which would not operate within the functions of other factors -- I refer to the economic factor -- is not in conformity with the spirit of the Charter and, therefore, upsets the whole plan.

(Mr. Eguizabal, El Salvador)

No matter how praiseworthy are the intentions of the Administering Authority, no matter how much devotion is shown by Belgium, no matter how much sympathy there is for the indigenous inhabitants -- and we do not question for a moment that that sympathy exists -- that is not enough. We believe, on the contrary, that such factors would tend only to maintain the Territory under the Trusteeship System indefinitely. Such a position is counter to all logic and all natural inclinations. The trusteeship status is a temporary status and, hence, it must have a limited duration.

We therefore agree with the conclusion of the Visiting Mission on the achievement by Ruanda-Urundi of self-government. In paragraph 133 of its report, the Mission states that "it is within the bounds of possibility to develop these people to become ready for self-government in twenty to twenty-five years". We formally propose that the Council should make that recommendation to the Administering Authority.

I shall not dwell any further on this point. My delegation has already given its views during the general discussion on Tanganyika, in which a similar case was examined. I do not want to repeat myself or to take up too much of the Council's time. Our position is well known; it is to be found in the official records.

I have already said that my delegation has devoted much study to the Visiting Mission's report. I should add that we fully share the opinions and conclusions contained in that report. In fact, we contributed somewhat to the formulation of the report. I do not think that it is necessary for me to submit arguments on the questions dealt with in the report. I shall merely make some brief observations on those questions.

(Mr. Eguizabal, El Salvador)

As regards the indigenous political structure, the Visiting Mission's report states the following:

"The present indigenous political structure, though good enough as a first step in democracy, still retains certain feudal aspects, which should be removed as early as possible." (T/1141, paragraph 141)

The Mission states that it believes that:

"the Councils should be given a more representative character and that there is need for broadening their basis, particularly on the sub-chieftom level, where direct elections adapted to local conditions on the basis of adult suffrage should be introduced at an early date." (Ibid)

My delegation believes that the step recommended by the Mission would be extremely useful. Practice is the best school of democracy, and suffrage is one of the best courses taught by that school. It is the best way for a people to learn how to exercise its political rights. Like the Visiting Mission, we feel that the Territory's political organs have reached the stage of development where they may be given more responsibility and more power. It is only in that way that the representatives of the people will be able to learn how to manage their own affairs. If the Administering Authority does not act with great caution, it will run the risk of gradually destroying the capacities of the population and the indigenous institutions.

As regards the central government, my delegation believes that the primordial objective should be the progressive Africanization of all the public services so that, in the time limit proposed by the Visiting Mission, there may be a sufficient number of indigenous inhabitants capable of playing an effective role in the governmental organs.

With respect to the Council of the Vice-Government-General, we endorse the opinion expressed in the Visiting Mission's report that the Council, in its present form, represents not the population as a whole but only a small part of that population. As is suggested by the Visiting Mission, the masses of indigenous inhabitants should be represented. A first step in that direction would be to increase the Council's membership by including four members elected



(Mr. Eguizabal, El Salvador)

by the High Council of Ruanda and four members elected by the High Council of Urundi. The members of these bodies are for the most part chiefs and sub-chiefs, and we believe that some way should be found to ensure that the population is represented.

The problem of the duality of the administrative structure has been occupying the Trusteeship Council's attention for some time. At its thirteenth session, the Council took note of the difficulties which that system presented in the development of a territorial government in which the indigenous inhabitants would be able to participate fully. Furthermore, the Council expressed its desire to receive from the Administering Authority a statement of policy in this matter, and it asked the Visiting Mission to study the question and give its opinion in its report.

Members of the Trusteeship Council know what the special representative said in this connexion; they know the opinion of the Government of the Territory; they know from the report what answer the Visiting Mission was given on this subject. All that my delegation need say on this matter, therefore, is that we are in favour of replacing the Europeans in the administration by Africans -- a step which will lead progressively to the elimination of the duality of the administrative structure. We have stated, furthermore, that the sense of unity between the two parts of the Territory should be encouraged in order to develop homogeneity and lay the groundwork for a single nation. My delegation shares the Visiting Mission's opinion that a dual administration endangers the Territory's political and economic progress. That dual structure can only retard progress. Although there are certain links between the two administrations, we cannot support the thesis that the only solution to the problem would be to transfer powers to the indigenous authorities, rather than to place indigenous inhabitants in the Belgian administration.

The Trusteeship Council should recommend that this problem should be given the Administering Authority's most urgent attention, because the very constitutional future of the Territory is at stake. The 1951 Visiting Mission said that in view of the small size of the Territory and its geographical situation, Ruanda and Urundi had a common future, economically and politically speaking, and that the only possible solution was a union of the two territories.

(Mr. Eguizabal, El Salvador)

The last Visiting Mission endorsed that opinion and, in accordance with the desire expressed by the Council, made its own statement on the question.

In our opinion, the essential problem is to ensure the Territory's evolution toward a single governmental structure. The very future of the Territory revolves around that point. The question is at the foundation of the entire problem. At present, the Territory is divided into two little feudal States, and the present policy is only dividing them further by emphasizing the small differences that exist. That is very dangerous, because rivalries are being kept alive. The Visiting Mission therefore believes -- and my delegation shares that belief -- that the only democratic solution is evolution towards a single administration and that the continuation of two different systems would serve only to perpetuate feudalism.

(Mr. Eguizabal, El Salvador)

Political progress can only be achieved by increasing points of contact between the two systems until they are merged into a single system. There must be progressive Africanization of the administration -- and the same for the various Councils. Thus, two objectives would be achieved -- first, the disappearance of the feudal structure of the indigenous structure -- and this would bring about the suppression or deletion of the two separate states. The whole thing would be merged into one single structure. Thus, we would be doing away with feudalism and we would be introducing the Africanization of the whole structure. This would help them toward the ultimate goal of self-government or independence.

The report tells us that the Mission, bearing these fundamental principles in mind as well as the concern expressed by the Trusteeship Council with regard to this problem, and in view of the requests of the Council itself that it should express its opinions with regard to this particular item, felt that the final objective might be the establishment of the three functions of the constitutional state -- legislative, judicial and so on. These various political and judicial organs might be set up on a modern basis. The recommendation of the Mission is well known. Therefore, I shall not read it out. But naturally my delegation fully endorses that point of view.

It is quite evident that this suggestion brings with it a consideration of the administrative union to be found there -- because this administrative union, as is well known, dates from the mandate period. The 1925 law governs this, and we believe that it is not in conformity with the aims and purposes of the Trusteeship System, but even, in certain elements in conflict with it.

There is one factor which must be revised immediately, as the Council has recommended on previous occasions. That is the almost complete dependence of the Territory on the Belgian Congo colony. This dependence is very clearly established under the law. The law says that Ruanda-Urundi is a province of the Belgian Congo and that the legislation of the Congo that is against the mandate will be applied in Ruanda-Urundi only by means of an executive order from the Governor, and this is left to his discretion; that legislation for the Territory

(Mr. Eguizabal, El Salvador)

depends upon the Governor-General, and the connexion between the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi is very close. This law is still in force and is an obstacle in the path of Ruanda-Urundi toward the objectives laid down in the Charter. This 1925 law is in contradiction with the letter and spirit of Chapter XI of the Charter and even in conflict with the Trusteeship Agreement itself. We believe that these provisions of the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement must prevail, and therefore we believe that special policies and special laws must be drawn up for Ruanda-Urundi that would be completely different in spirit and letter from the laws and regulations governing the Belgian Congo.

We agree with the Visiting Mission in this field -- and, although the law governing this administrative union has not yet been revised, the Governor of the Territory ought to be directly and exclusively responsible to the Minister for Colonies and not have to answer to the Governor of the Belgian Congo.

The only place where any positive benefits have arisen from this -- I refer to certain specialized and technical services -- these services should only be continued until the revision of the 1925 law to which I have been referring.

The social policy of the Administration is something that does not conform to the Charter or the Trusteeship Agreement and does not conform with the very principles of the Trusteeship System. A policy which rejects fundamental freedoms, such as freedom of movement, and which does not respect human dignity -- I refer to corporal punishment -- and which embodies social discrimination, with categories as between the civilized and the uncivilized, with registration where you have to go and register to prove that you are a person -- such a policy, I say, can never lead to social progress which would lead to self-government or independence. This goes against all modern civilization. Such spiritual asphyxiation can never lead a people to self-government and democracy. You can only achieve democracy by opening the doors to ideas and education and science. Democracy is freedom, it is justice, it is equity, it is morale. This can never be administered through an eye-dropper. It must be given in great and generous quantities, and to all without any distinction. Not to allow this for indigenous inhabitants is to close one's eyes to all history.

(Mr. Eguizabal, El Salvador)

Therefore, we agree with the Visiting Mission in this part of its report, and we join all the comments made in the social field -- and we hope that the Administration, when they consider these ideas, will only see the benefits which will accrue to the Territory if these recommendations are implemented.

I was going to comment on certain of the comments made on the Visiting Mission's report by the Administering Authority, because we have a number of incomplete quotations there that lead to error. But I have thought it over -- several times, as a matter of fact -- and therefore I prefer to refrain from doing so, because it involves something rather personal on my part and I do not like to undertake personal comments here, because it leads to nothing practical and sometimes is not too edifying. Let everyone here formulate his own judgment.

There is only one thing that I cannot pass over, and that is a concrete accusation against the members of the Visiting Mission and the Secretariat that went along with the Visiting Mission. We are said to have broken a direction from the Council with regard to anonymous petitions. Now, I will speak about this if the President will allow me.

The members of the Council will recall the discussion which took place at the 600th meeting of the Council with regard to the fact that the Visiting Mission, on page 93 of its report, says that it received three confidential reports. One appears on page 95 of the report.



The representative of Belgium mentioned this as one of his criticisms of the Visiting Mission. He said that the Visiting Mission had gone against a decision of the Council which reads as follows:

"Anonymous communications sent to the Secretary-General or to the Council will not, if circulated, be published as unrestricted documents unless the Council decides otherwise."

The argument to the effect that the Visiting Mission violated this decision of the Council stems from the decision of the Council. But this decision of the Council has no relation to the case under discussion. Neither the Secretary-General nor the Council has received an anonymous communication which was sent here as a petition. It is not a question of a letter being sent to the United Nations by some person or persons whose identity is unknown. It is the expression of an opinion in a confidential manner; in other words, it is a point of view of a person who exists, who is known, and who wishes to express what he has on his mind, but at the same time he has certain reasons for not wanting his identity to be divulged outside the circle of the members of the Visiting Mission.

It cannot be said that the decision adopted by the Trusteeship Council is applicable to this case. If there were any doubts as to whether the Mission acted intra vires or ultra vires, the terms of reference are laid down and the official acts of the Council would put a final end to such doubts. The Visiting Mission not only acted appropriately in this case, but it did exactly what the Council expected it to do.

All members of the Council know that attention has always been directed to the great deal of work created as the result of the heavy volume of petitions coming in from all Trust Territories. Experience has shown, over and over again, that when a Visiting Mission reaches a Trust Territory, it may be certain that the petitions and other things will increase in number. Previously the Visiting Mission sent all these documents, almost automatically,

to the Secretary-General and the Council, thus increasing the work of the Council with regard to these petitions and communications. The problem became very acute and the Council had to face up to it. The solution, which is now in force, was established by the Council at its tenth session, and two special committees studied this particular problem. Firstly, the Committee on the Examination of Petitions said the following -- this information appears in the documents of the tenth session:

"When the Visiting Mission travels through a Territory, it affords an occasion to individuals and groups to present their opinions concerning all matters. That is a good way of collecting information. But it may be questioned whether these questions and memoranda are petitions stricto sensu. The authors of communications often want the Mission to take their opinions into account in drafting its report. They also want the Trusteeship Council to be informed with regard to their personal opinion. As long as they follow the procedures of the Council, indeed, each of these communications must be considered as petitions ..."

Secondly, under item 11 of the agenda we find a report of the Committee which considered Visiting Missions. In paragraph 32 of the report we find the following:

"The Committee has taken note of the report of the Committee on Examination of Petitions and particularly notes the opinions voiced by the Chairman to the effect that it is for the Visiting Missions to decide which of the communications they received are petitions that must be sent to the Council for examination, and which are communications to be taken into account when the Visiting Missions' reports are drawn up."

Then paragraph 32 of their report says the following:

"The Committee feels that the procedure which has been established by the Council provides the necessary guidance for future cases which may arise in connexion with Visiting Missions."

The Council decided that in the future it would be guided by these and other principles as established by the two Committees to which I have referred. It went even further when it revised its rules of procedure. As regards rule 84, which deals with the procedures to be followed by Visiting Missions, it added a rule which did not exist previously but which is now part of the rules of procedure and establishes this principle which we are now discussing. Paragraph 2 of rule 84 of the rules of procedure reads:

"The visiting mission shall decide which of the communications it receives are intended for its own information and which of these are petitions to be transmitted to the Secretary-General, pursuant to paragraph 1 of this rule, to be dealt with in accordance with rules 85, 86 and 90."

As regards the matter which is now under discussion, the Visiting Mission decided that the points of view which were expressed to it confidentially deserve to be mentioned in the report and, having taken such a decision, it is obvious that they need not have sent the communications to the Secretary-General. I must add that the Mission reached the decision that these views, which were made known to it in a confidential manner, should be mentioned in the report.

It may be true that the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi may be the only Territory where a certain amount of caution had to be exercised. However, the Visiting Mission nevertheless felt that it was called upon to take the decision. The previous Visiting Mission was obliged to state that various indigenous inhabitants had approached the Visiting Mission and had expressed fear that if they stated their points of view and their complaints, they might expose themselves to direct or indirect reprisal from the Administration.

I have one final consideration, namely, that the Mission, in our opinion, after having read and heard the observations and comments from the Administering Authority, as well as from certain other delegations, can now feel, more than ever, tranquil, and it can feel that it has done its duty. I speak with

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(Mr. Eguizabal, El Salvador)

great conviction. I believe that a new era has now been opened up in the Council, a healthier, more efficient and more realistic era. It can be said perhaps -- and I hope the Council does not think I am being disrespectful -- that the Council has come to the end of its inactivity and that it is now embarking on a period of great activity. Those days when this Council was simply a social club are behind us. We are now going to be dynamic and as active as we ought to be, because any system, any organ, is capable of improvement. We do not wish to stagnate; we want to be dynamic; we want to be more and more alive and stronger and stronger.

(Mr. Eguizabal,  
El Salvador)

I wish to express my thanks to the special representative for all the information and help which he has given to us. I wish to thank all of you for having been kind enough to hear me out.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): With the last statement, we have now heard interventions from all representatives in the general debate on Ruanda-Urundi. We have only to hear the statements by the representative of Belgium and the special representative, and then to designate the Drafting Committee, the report of which we shall await.

In view of that and in view of the fact that we have reports ready for consideration by the Council, as we are behind in our schedule, I would take the liberty of proposing that we have a morning meeting tomorrow and an afternoon meeting as well.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.