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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIX HUNDRED AND SIXTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 16 February 1956, at 2 p.m.

President:

Mr. SEAR

(United States of America)

1. Examination of conditions in Ruanda-Urundi [3b, 4] (continued)
2. Examination of conditions in Togoland under French administration [3e, 4, 5]
3. Examination of petitions [4]

Note: The Official Record of this meeting, i.e., the summary record, will appear in mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.660. Delegations may submit corrections to the summary record for incorporation in the final version which will appear in a printed volume.

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN RUANDA-URUNDI:

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY FOR 1954 (T/1197, 1201 and 1223) [Agenda item 3 b]
- (b) PETITIONS CIRCULATED UNDER RULE 85, PARA. 2, OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL (T/PET.3/L.5 and 6) [Agenda item 4] (continued)

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

General debate

Mr. GERIG (United States of America): After examining the annual report of the Government of Belgium on its administration of the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi and the supplementary explanations presented by the special representative, my delegation considers that progress generally is being made in that Territory. However, in certain aspects of political development and also in the field of educational development, certain questions remain in our mind.

While we appreciate that the Administration accepts the principle of closer union between the two pays of Ruanda and Urundi, we wonder whether sufficiently concrete plans are being developed to bring about such union. We fully recognize that efforts to unite peoples who have been ethnically, historically and traditionally distinct for so many years is no easy job. We would urge that, in developing the two pays towards the objective of self-government either as a unitary state or within the framework of a federal union, continued and diligent efforts be made to accustom the inhabitants to more democratic ~~methods~~, with a constantly broadening electoral base, and that continued efforts be made to show the advantages of closer union of these two territories.

We believe that political development should be given due emphasis in the plans of all Administering Authorities. We wonder whether, in Ruanda-Urundi, political development is in fact keeping pace with the steps being taken in the economic and social fields. We are convinced that continued expansion of the powers and functions of the various councils throughout the Territory will be an important step toward political advancement.

(Mr. Gerig, United States)

It is worthy of note that the native councils set up in 1952 have continued to function and that the two High Councils of Ruanda and Urundi have been active and interested in the administration of local affairs. The fact that the Mwami are no longer exerting the right of individual decision in the High Councils is a development of importance. My delegation hopes that the councils will continue to develop in a more representative manner and that the aim of the Administration will be to establish, as soon as possible, a direct electorate adapted to local conditions on the basis of adult suffrage.

My delegation wishes to commend the Administration on its continued efforts to abolish the ubuhake system, a project requiring great patience and effort. As the system progressively diminishes, we hope that it will be possible to establish a meat industry within the Territory.

In noting the various economic programmes, my delegation should like to commend the Administration on its efforts to improve the standard of living for the inhabitants of the Territory, particularly its efforts to tackle the soil erosion and reforestation problem and to provide adequate drainage and water supply.

We agree that the introduction of manioc as a food product, which can be stored in the ground for two and a half years, will be helpful in avoiding possible future famines.

We were glad to learn of the pilot project initiated in both pays to study the biological balance between man, earth, vegetation, water and cattle, and we will await their findings with the greatest of interest.

My delegation hopes that the imminent establishment of the Ruzizi hydroelectric plant will be a decided help in initiating secondary industries and that efforts will be made to train the indigenous inhabitants for increasingly responsible positions in such enterprises.

We were glad to see that the number of gainfully employed has been increasing each year. We feel that the rate of industrialization necessary for dealing with the population problem, however, is not yet satisfactory. But we think that, as the ten-year plan for economic and social development gets more fully underway, more opportunities for gainful employment will open up and a rapidly increasing number of the inhabitants will be able to make a living outside of agriculture.

(Mr. Gerig, United States)

The Administering Authority, we feel, should be commended for carrying out the recommendation of the Trusteeship Council to abolish penal sanctions for breach of labour contracts. While we appreciate that relations between management and employees can often be worked out through company unions, we feel nevertheless that, with growing industrialization taking place in the Territory, unions on a wider industrial basis should be developed. We have no doubt that the Administering Authority is fully aware of this problem and will give such unions all appropriate assistance.

My Government believes that the Council should commend the Administering Authority also for its fine achievements in the educational field. It seems to us that anyone who reads UNESCO's latest observations on the annual report before us would agree with our opinion on this point. These observations show that steadily rising appropriations are devoted to education, that a remarkably high percentage of education funds are devoted to capital works, that the total number of children at school has risen constantly and has more than doubled between 1950 and 1954, that the number of girls in school has steadily increased to 27 per cent of the total, and that the expansion of vocational education is noted with satisfaction.

My delegation was also pleased to hear the special representative say that a second university is soon to be opened in the Congo, which will give Ruanda-Urundi students additional opportunities for higher education.

These are all achievements of which Belgium may well be proud.

My delegation hopes that the day is not too far distant when Ruanda-Urundi will have its own university to meet the growing needs of its large population and expanding educational system.

We wish to commend the Administering Authority for its steady expansion of teacher training facilities and to express the hope that it will continue to give increasing attention to the need for more, and more qualified, teachers.

Finally, my delegation shares the view of the last two Visiting Missions that the advantages of higher education in Europe and the Americas far outweigh the disadvantages, and we hope that the Administering Authority will grant further scholarships for study abroad.

Mr. CASARDI (Italy) (interpretation from French): The annual report submitted by the Administering Authority and the supplementary information furnished by the special representative demonstrate, in the Italian delegation's opinion, a substantial degree of progress in the situation in Ruanda-Urundi. This progress, of course, is more or less marked according to various fields involved: political, economic, social and cultural. In any event, the Italian delegation finds the position very satisfactory and wishes to congratulate the Administering Authority.

In the political field, of particular interest is the development of the activity of the indigenous councils in the chiefdoms, sub-chiefdoms and States instituted under the Decree of 14 July 1952. We hope that these bodies, which introduce into the indigenous traditional structure administrative functions in the democratic meaning, may become more effective with the passing of time and may, therefore, exercise a growing influence on the Territory's social and political development. We are convinced, as a matter of fact, that the Administering Authority, which is in a position to assess the significance of such a development, will not cease to give its particular attention and care to these councils, by increasing their responsibilities and their functions as soon as they have demonstrated sufficient maturity and judgement in their decisions. We hail this important initiative. We are convinced that these councils will in the future provide a useful school for training and preparing an ever-growing number of persons qualified for public office. Through an active participation in the councils, a growing number of indigenous inhabitants will acquire direct experience of the complex problems connected with modern administration.

The statement made to the Trusteeship Council by the special representative to the effect that a reform of the Council of the Vice-Governor General was at present under study with a view to broadening the bases of the Council constitutes, in the Italian delegation's opinion, an important factor which will complete the work begun under the Decree of 1952.

The Administration's efforts in the economic and public works fields have been substantial. We consider that the development of industrial agricultural crops, the proposed reorganization of the zootechnical resources and the

(Mr. Casardi, Italy)

projects for draining and conserving the soil are activities which must be very carefully and thoroughly developed in the future. The dearth of agricultural resources in the Territory and the poor quality of mineral resources, when viewed in the light of the dense population and the increasing population rate, present the Administering Authority with a rather significant problem, since the necessary balance must be maintained between the growing population and the increase of means of subsistence.

It is necessary to encourage a diversion of economic activities in order to go beyond the stage of a traditional subsistence economy. This is a problem which is much more important for Ruanda-Urundi than for other Territories. In this respect, we believe that it would be well to bear in mind in future not only improvements to be made in the agricultural field, but also all activities which might encourage handicraft industries, and so forth. As regards the latter industries, the plan now under study to increase present sources of energy in the Territory will certainly be a determining factor. We believe that any effort aimed at increasing handicraft and industrial activities is all the more necessary in view of the pressure of population growth. As has been noted, this Trust Territory continues to depend upon more or less permanent emigration outlets, a subject which the Administering Authority continues to study with great care. However, such outlets will have only limited possibilities in the future since, as the special representative has stressed, the people in question are not very willing to emigrate permanently, unless they can resettle in a neighbouring territory where they can find their own social environment.

As regards education, two facts furnished by the special representative are of particular interest. I refer to the establishment of a pre-university school at Usumbura and to the inter-racial coeducational institute in that city. The Territory will no doubt substantially benefit from these two institutions of higher education. A fundamental prerequisite to the development of the indigenous communities towards a larger participation in the Territory's political and administrative activities is the possibility of entering institutions of higher education. The University of Elizabethville, presently under construction, will no doubt prove very beneficial to the Territory.

(Mr. Casardi, Italy)

We should like to express the hope that some special schools of that University -- schools which the special representative himself mentioned -- may be established in the Territory to complete the general educational picture.

If we examine the position as a whole, we come to the conclusion that considerable progress has been made in the Territory. As I said at the outset, we congratulate the Administering Authority. It will no doubt continue to follow the problems connected with the political, social and economic development of the population. This population, whose traditional structure has very broad bases, would seem to have capabilities of developing more rapidly than some other populations in which an excessive division of the indigenous political and social entities makes more difficult progress towards participation in the more complex forms of modern life.

In conclusion, I should like to thank the representative of Belgium and the special representative for the very useful information they have given the Trusteeship Council. All members of the Council have certainly appreciated their patience and competence.

Mr. S. S. LIU (China): With the very able assistance of the special representative we have carefully examined the annual report on the administration of Ruanda-Urundi for 1954. As the result of this examination, my delegation feels called upon to make the following brief observations.

In the political field we have been pleased to hear from the special representative that two reforms have been set in motion. The first of these, that related to the regularization of the salary scales of the customary authorities, has already been put into operation, we are told. The other reform, namely, that connected with the reorganization of the Council of the Vice-Government General, is being studied by that Council. From what the special representative has been able to disclose, the main aims of the reform are in accord with the thinking of the Trusteeship Council, and we earnestly hope that the number of indigenous members of the Council of the Vice-Government General and the functions of that body will be considerably enlarged. We look forward with great interest and concern to receiving some definite and encouraging information in the next annual report.

It will be recalled that there are several other points which formed the subject matter of a number of resolutions adopted at the fifteenth session of the Trusteeship Council last year. These resolutions still remain to be implemented. To mention a few points in this field, there were the definition of the status of the indigenous inhabitants, the widening of the powers and functions of the indigenous councils, the placement of indigenous inhabitants in higher and more responsible administrative posts and the separation of executive and judicial functions. On each of these topics the representative of Belgium and the special representative have sought to explain to the Council why little or no action has been taken by the Administering Authority. We still hope, however, that something will be done to alleviate the anxiety of the Trusteeship Council on these matters.

In the economic field a certain measure of progress has been reported during the period under review. We are gratified to see this development and do not intend to detain the Council on this phase of the advancement of the Territory. In general, we have noted with satisfaction the continued growth of agricultural production, and in particular we have been pleased to learn of the marked reversal of the situation with regard to the coffee crop of 1955. Furthermore, the progress made in connexion with the problem of stock-breeding is equally

(Mr. S.S. Liu, China)

satisfactory. We are especially pleased to note the action taken by the Bami on the ubuhake system. We hope that the decree being considered by the Mwami of Urundi will soon become law, if it has not already.

In the social field our attention is still focussed on some of the same things which we stressed before. For one thing, we are still concerned with the continued existence of the curfew and the restrictions on indigenous movement at night. The Administering Authority has consistently maintained that it is the indigenous inhabitants themselves who wish these restrictions to be retained for their own protection. We have no intention of disputing this point. However, even granting that the view to which I have just referred, and to which the Administering Authority attaches such transcendent importance, truly represents the consensus of indigenous opinion, we still feel -- and we hope that the Belgian authorities, including the representative of Belgium here, whom we regard as a very good friend, and the special representative, will not take umbrage at this humble submission of ours -- that as soon as the two steps which the Administration regards as essential before the restrictions in question can be removed are taken the present objections of the indigenous inhabitants to the abolition of the curfew should disappear. These steps, it will be remembered, are the provision of an adequate police force and the provision of adequate lighting. To my delegation it seems very clear that the immediate problem before the Administration is to strive towards some definite results in providing an adequate police force and adequate lighting in the areas concerned. We would ask the Administration to take some definite steps to increase, gradually if necessary, both the police force and the amount of lighting in these areas pending the canvassing of public opinion on the advisability of retaining the restrictions in question. For it is, to our mind, a duty of the Administration to provide these essential services which are indispensable for the effective administration of the Territory.

Another thing which has troubled my delegation very much is the continued existence of corporal punishment in the Territory. I need not go into the reasons for urging the immediate abolition of the entire system since that has been done before. The only thing we feel in duty bound to do is to repeat our earnest request for the complete abolition of the remnant of the rather severe punishment which is still being meted out to indigenous offenders.

There are other matters on which we might comment, but for this session we have chosen to say nothing more about social advancement and to await further developments which we hope will bring about considerable improvements over the present situation.

Finally, the field in which the largest measure of progress has been made during the period under review is that of education. The general tenor of the observations of UNESCO bears witness to this conclusion. My delegation feels that the Trusteeship Council should give due credit to the Administration for the success it has achieved in the educational field. However, the two points which my delegation raised during the questioning period are, we feel, still valid. The first of those points, which arose out of UNESCO's observation with regard to the insufficiency of school inspectors, has been recognized by the special representative himself. The other point, which related to fundamental education, seemed to be somewhat disputed by him and by the representative of Belgium. However, after the lucid clarifications made by the representative of UNESCO, there may be ample room for reconsideration, and the necessity for some co-ordination in bringing together the already multifarious activities of the Administration in relation to fundamental education under one project may not be doubted.

Before concluding this brief statement, I wish to thank the representative of Belgium and the special representative for their kindness in assisting us in the examination of the report before us. The presence among us of the special representative again during this session has been most welcome to my delegation. He has aided us by answering the numerous questions we have asked of him, and has very kindly provided all the supplementary information that we have sought.

Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom): At the outset of our discussion of this item, the representative of Belgium referred to the confidence which his Government felt in presenting the report on the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi to the Trusteeship Council. I feel sure that members of the Council will share that same sense of confidence in the Belgian administration of this Trust Territory. My delegation has been impressed by the grasp which the Administering Authority has of the very serious problems of this Territory and the energy with which it is overcoming them. I trust that other representatives agree with me and that the Council will deem it appropriate to congratulate the Administering Authority for a year of solid achievement.

The Administering Authority is facing a most serious problem in the large and increasing population of the Territory, which is more densely populated than any other part of Central Africa. Nevertheless, the intensive measures which the Administration has adopted over the years to increase agricultural production have had the effect of assuring a livelihood to the population, and it was gratifying to know that agricultural production as a whole increased by 4.5 per cent during the year 1954.

Whilst, as the special representative has pointed out, the difficulties, for example, of reclaiming marshland become increasingly greater, there is no doubt that much room still remains for the adoption of the improved methods of agriculture, with consequent increases in production from land already under cultivation. It is satisfactory also to note that there is little danger of famine in the country, largely due to the excellent system of roads and transport facilities which permit the rapid movement of foodstuffs. We should remember that in parts of Africa elsewhere there does still exist a danger of famine, where communications have not been sufficiently developed.

In the political sphere representatives will note with satisfaction the smooth operation of the Councils which have been established at the levels of Chiefdoms and Sub-Chiefdoms and, at the higher level, the Council will have noted the warmth with which the special representative described the interest and initiative shown by Councils of Ruanda-Urundi in the varied matters which were before them during the year under review.

(Sir Alan Burns, United Kingdom)

Some representatives have expressed particular interest in drawing the two parts of this Territory closer together politically. While it is clear that we must agree with the Administration's view that a future in common for the two parts is highly desirable, my own view is that it might be unwise to stimulate artificial contacts at the present time. As the breadth of experience of the leaders in the two parts becomes greater, and as the number of problems, economic and otherwise, which affect the two parts become better understood, it will be natural, for common sense purposes, to develop the increasing co-operation between Ruanda and Urundi. What form of association the two States evolve for themselves is a matter for the future. I make this comment in passing merely because positive efforts in the direction of unifying the two States might possibly have the reverse effect of that which the Administration and many members of the Council desire.

I listened with great interest on Monday last, 13 February, to the remarks of the representative of Belgium, who, from his great experience, warned us of some of the dangers inherent in any change in the indigenous system of land tenure. The subject is, of course, one of vast complexity, but I should like to say, from my own experience, that I entirely agree with the views expressed on this subject. Again, any change which might be sought precipitately by the Administering Authority might have the most serious consequences for the great majority of the population, whose interests the Council itself is most concerned to protect.

The Council should, in the opinion of my delegation, commend the Administering Authority for its land policy as a whole, one feature of which, as the Council may be well aware, is that alienation of land has been closely restricted. While not in any way minimizing the need for elements of industrialization of the Territory -- and in this connexion the Council will have learned with satisfaction that the hydro-electric plant in the Ruzizi Valley will be completed in 1957 -- the efforts of the Administration are rightly being concentrated primarily on agriculture, to which I have already made reference.

(Sir Alan Burns, United Kingdom)

The excessive number of livestock in the Territory, due largely to the belief of the inhabitants that the possession of large herds confers social prestige, is a problem of which the Administering Authority is well aware, and it is satisfactory to learn of the recent steps which have been taken to deal with this problem.

In the social field, the Council will be particularly gratified that legislation has been passed abolishing imprisonment for breaches of labour contracts, and that other measures have been introduced to improve conditions of labour in the Territory. The great problem, of course, is to increase the will to work, not only among organized labour, which the special representative has told us is less deficient in this respect, but also among the pastoral population at large; but this, of course, is another long-term problem.

In the sphere of medical services, the Administration has made a considerable effort during the year under review, no less than 16.74 per cent of the Territory's total expenditures being devoted to public health. There has, moreover, been a welcome increase in almost all categories of medical staff, and considerable progress has been made especially in the development of protective measures against disease.

In the field of education we have noted substantial progress, with continuing increases in the primary school enrolment, and particularly in the enrolment of girls. Not, of course, that the problem of wastage does not remain a serious one, as in most other Territories, but this is a problem which can only be overcome with time as education comes to be accepted as a social obligation among the inhabitants of the Territory in general.

It is satisfactory to note also that vocational education is expanding steadily and that the Administration is devoting a considerable effort to this important branch. In fact, throughout the field of education, it is clear that the Council will wish to commend the Administering Authority for the success which its energetic measures have achieved.

It only remains to express the thought with which I opened my remarks, namely, that the Council must feel a sense of confidence in the Belgian administration of this Territory.

In conclusion, I should like to thank the special representative for his comprehensive and patient replies to our questions. Mr. Leroy has this year, I feel, had a particularly heavy task to discharge, and he has done so with his customary efficiency.

U PAW HTIN (Burma): My delegation is not prepared to make a statement today, Mr. President, and we shall appreciate it if you will allow us a little more time. Probably we shall be prepared to speak tomorrow.

Mr. THORP (New Zealand): It is always probable that, in the year following the examination of the report of a Visiting Mission, the Council will find in the next annual report on the Territory rather less material than usual with which it is unfamiliar, for the two reports generally overlap. This fact may excuse the relative brevity of the statement which I propose to make.

Ruanda-Urundi is isolated in a sense that no other Trust Territory is isolated. It has only recently begun, with the help of the Administering Authority, to discard its own peculiar pattern of feudalism. If this society is to evolve as a stable democratic community, without violence and with the maintenance of good relations between the groups which constitute it, the old institutions which are sound must be built on, or replaced as necessary, gradually and in constant consultation with the people and their representatives.

We do not expect, at this stage of the Territory's development, to be informed, when we take up this report, of large changes in the political scene, of spectacular accesses of economic strength, or of great social upheavals. What we look for now is confirmation that the courses determined by the Administering Authority have been pursued firmly and imaginatively in the period under review.

(Mr. Thorp, New Zealand)

These main lines of policy laid down by the Belgian authorities have received the Council's endorsement in the past, whatever differences of emphasis the Council might have indicated it would prefer placed on this or that activity. The New Zealand delegation, noting the appreciable progress achieved in Ruanda Urundi, certainly concurs in the favourable judgment expressed by the Council over the years.

In the picture of Ruanda Urundi's development which we have from the report and from the helpful statements of the special representative, one feature stands out as being of particular and of continuing importance. This is the decision taken in 1954 by the people's representatives in Ruanda and in Urundi to suppress the Ubuhake contract, the keystone of the feudal form of society existing in the Territory. This decision and the action taken to implement it, seem to my delegation to deserve, and indeed to require, special attention by the Council in its reports to the Assembly. In this reform there are political, economic and social implications of great scope. The discontinuance of the Ubuhake system overshadows in importance other institutional changes because it is fundamental to so much of the progress for which the Administration is aiming. The representatives of the inhabitants have been brought to this decision primarily in response to the advice, guidance and encouragement by the Administering Authority.

The Administering Authority certainly deserves recognition for its efforts, and last year, in its observations, the Council gave this recognition. But only a beginning has been made with the process. In my delegation's view, the Council should continue to throw the weight of its opinion behind that of the Bami and the Administering Authority to the effect that these contracts are a hindrance to Ruanda Urundi's development and should be dissolved as fast it is practicable to do so.

If it were possible to select from the activities of the Administering Authority any particular measure as being calculated to lead to the achievement in the shortest possible time of self-government or independence at this stage of Ruanda Urundi's development, this seems to my delegation to be a move of central importance.

(Mr. Thorp, New Zealand)

The New Zealand representative, who was also Chairman of the Visiting Mission in 1954, last year made a very full statement of the New Zealand delegation's views on conditions in the Territory. I shall not attempt to cover the whole of this ground again.

Now that the elective principle has been introduced in both local and higher councils, we confidently expect that, as the people come more and more to appreciate their responsibilities, they will be given increasing areas of control and powers of decision. That there is every justification for this confidence is borne out by the decision announced by the special representative that the Council of the Vice Government General should discuss in April of this year a change in its composition.

We expect, of course, that any changes in composition will be in the direction of creating a still more representative body, and we believe the Council should commend the Administering Authority for the step which it has decided to take.

I should like to repeat here what was said by my delegation last year, that New Zealand would be delighted to see Ruanda Urundi make the fastest possible progress and reach self-government as early as possible. We imagine that the Administering Authority shares that hope.

The only factor limiting this development should be the capacity of the people and their representatives to meet the demands which their new powers make on their judgment. We note with satisfaction that the Administering Authority has on many occasions declared itself prepared to broaden the functions of the Councils according to their capacity to accept increased responsibility. This process will go forward most smoothly, in the experience of New Zealand, if circumstances permit the fullest discussion of successive reform with the people, and for that reason we are particularly pleased to note that this question of the composition of the Council of the Vice Government General will be discussed first in the Council itself.

Given existing political boundaries in Central Africa, it is certainly logical to work towards a closer association of Ruanda and Urundi. Whatever the outcome, moreover, any betterment of relations between these two rather unco-operative groups of peoples will be desirable for its own sake. It is a

(Mr. Thorp, New Zealand)

situation in which we must recognize the limitations which circumstances place on the freedom of action of the Administering Authority. Since the problem is rooted in psychological and social conditions which the Administration is in the best possible position to understand, my delegation has no intention of indulging in detailed suggestions for drawing the States together. Clearly the school at Astrida and the inter-racial college will have some influence, but on this scale progress will be very slow. Perhaps the best chances of success lie in obtaining co-operation at the highest levels of leadership of both States. We would certainly hope that means could be found of bringing the Bami and other leaders together whenever grounds can be found for joint discussions on common problems which provoke no controversy. We would, however, agree with the representative of the United Kingdom that to push this development in an artificial fashion may have harmful rather than helpful results.

My delegation does not, on the basis of its study of the problem, share the misgivings which are occasionally voiced here about the effects on Ruanda Urundi's development of the administrative union with the Congo.

The summary observations on this subject attributed to the New Zealand representative in last year's report of the Council to the Assembly naturally appeared there with the full knowledge of my delegation. Unhappily, the need for compression obscured the meaning for at least one reader of the report. In the Fourth Committee the statement which appears on page 82 of the Council's report for 1954/55 was interpreted as implying that the Congo would progress more slowly than Ruanda Urundi, because the former was a Non-Self-Governing Territory and therefore in some manner lived in a different world. What the summary does not bring out is, of course, this: In the judgment of the New Zealand representative the natural obstacles to political development in the Congo -- of physical size and of an even less organized and integrated population -- made greater Ruanda Urundi's prospects of early political development. The remark that in no circumstances should the progress in the Trust Territory be delayed by any such relationship would have applied equally well to the reverse situation of the Gold Coast and Togoland, where it is the Trust Territory which stands to benefit from the association with a neighbouring Non-Self-Governing Territory.

(Mr. Thorp, New Zealand)

The vigour with which the Administration has tackled economic problems is evident from the information we have been given. It is reflected in the figures both of volume of trade and of the Territory's income. Such factors as the important increase in the number of new traders on the commercial register and the large new plantings of coffee indicate that this economic drive is drawing an equal response from the indigenous inhabitants.

It is reassuring to know that the Ten Year Plan in the economic and social fields, though it may have been reviewed and revised at some points, has been executed without interruption in this period. Such comprehensive blueprints for development seldom develop with the smoothness intended by their authors, since so many unforeseeable economic, physical and human factors may interfere with their fulfilment. The Ten Year Plan for Ruanda Urundi is certainly a massive contribution to the Territory's progress towards self-government or independence.

The Ruzizi Valley and other similar projects represent a bold attempt to solve the problem of over-population. They have been expensive to initiate, but there seems reason to expect that the cost of projects of this kind will reduce as the scale of settlement increases. Moreover, not only do such resettlement programmes begin quickly to make a contribution to the economy, but they present great opportunities for the introduction of modern ideas and practices in social organization, hygiene and health.

(Mr. Thorp, New Zealand)

Evidence of progress in the year under review is repeated in the field of education, where the figures show a further 10,000 pupils in primary schools. This represents a somewhat slower rate of expansion than in the previous three years. But the percentage of the budget spent on education and particularly what, in the observations of UNESCO, is referred to as the "remarkably high percentage" of funds from the extraordinary budget devoted to capital works demonstrate the Administering Authority's concern to ensure the rapid expansion of educational opportunity to the indigenous population. We feel that the Council might well remark with satisfaction on this feature in its report.

We have in the past shown a particular interest in the progress made by the Administration in expanding facilities for lay or official schooling. The Missions have an enviable record in education in Africa, and perhaps nowhere more than in Ruanda-Urundi, but the time must come, it seems to my delegation, when the pressure on their teaching and other resources will make it desirable for the Administering Authority to increase greatly the scale of its own direct participation. The representative of Belgium has referred to more than 600,000 individuals who are learning the rudiments of reading and writing in the non-subsidized schools of the Missions. We feel sure that the Administration has foreseen that a proportion of this considerable number will be left with a strong desire to carry their educational experience beyond this point, and will meet their needs, as far as is possible, within the limits set by the funds available. We learned with satisfaction, therefore, that the experiment in lay education described by the special representative as the first step in the establishment of an official lay primary education system has been taken with the opening of the Ngagara school.

To sum up, the New Zealand delegation sees much to commend in the work accomplished by the Administering Authority in this period. Perhaps the splendid record of economic advance tends to obscure to some extent the political progress which is also being made. We shall look forward with particular interest to receiving information about the discussions which will take place in the Council of the Vice-Government General after 16 April, relating to the change in the composition of that body. I should like to assure the delegation of Belgium that in making these comments we have constantly borne in mind the extent to which the efforts of the Administering Authority are hampered by the

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geographical isolation of the Territory, by the lack of homogeneity which old antagonisms have created between Ruanda and Urundi, by over-population and by the strongly entrenched elements of a feudal society. We recognize, in other words, that the Council must judge the achievements of any administration primarily in the light of the circumstances of each individual territory.

In concluding, I should like to thank the delegation of Belgium and particularly the special representative for their many interventions which amplified the material already in the reports before the Council.

Mr. GRUBYAKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Soviet delegation has heard with great interest the explanations of the special representative. It has studied the material before us. It has also heard with interest the remarks of the representative of Belgium, and in this connexion we should like to make the following comments.

The development of the Territory in the political field was considered and is being considered by the Trusteeship Council from the point of view as to what extent this development is in line with the terms of the Charter, the obligations assumed by the Administration and to what extent this development brings the Territory closer to the fulfilment of the purposes of the Trusteeship System. These purposes are set out in Chapter 12 of the Charter where the Organization and the Administering Authority have assumed the pledge to promote the political development of the Trust Territory towards self-government or independence.

The last ten years, during which Ruanda-Urundi was under Belgian Trusteeship, offers us sufficient material to enable us to assess to what extent this progress has been made. We should point out that the period of foreign administration in Ruanda-Urundi, as well as in other Trust Territories, is far more extensive than this ten-year period. Let us not forget that Ruanda-Urundi was seized by European colonists at the end of the last century. Therefore, when we appraise the last ten years of development, we cannot overlook the fact that the country was under colonial administration for more than half a century, and this, I submit, surely is a sufficient time to develop the State and the people.

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

From the report of the Administration we see that the Administration does not envisage any specific deadline for the attaining of self-government or independence notwithstanding the recommendations of the General Assembly to that effect. In practice, the Administration is not taking any steps in order to promote the achievement of independence by the people of Ruanda-Urundi. The Visiting Mission of the United Nations, which visited the Territory in 1954, submitted sufficiently convincing evidence in its report in favour of the setting of a deadline for this event. It pointed out that the people of Ruanda-Urundi are a hard-working and intelligent people, with its own indigenous culture and philosophy. It has demonstrated its ability to adapt itself to changing conditions, and it has also demonstrated its ability for future development.

The Visiting Mission pointed out at the same time that the present policy, even if carried out with the very best of intentions, could not inspire much confidence in the population, for within its framework progress will be small and somehow purposeless, since this policy does not envisage any real self-government and independence in the near future. First of all, the development of the Territory is not independent. It is somehow linked up with that of the Belgian Congo, and this is not merely an accidental association, as was pointed out. It is in a subordinate position to the Belgian Administration in the Congo in the person of the Vice-Government General. The colonial laws enforced in the Belgian Congo extend to the Territory, including such discriminatory laws as the sub-division of the population into civilized and non-civilized people. As the Administration points out, the Belgian Administration exists alongside a native administration. The Visiting Mission of 1954 deemed it dangerous to retain this dual system of administration, and it was pointed out that its retention could entail a slowdown in the political and economic progress of the Territory. We cannot fail to agree with these conclusions of the Visiting Mission.

The political aftermath of this system of administration can be observed in the Territory now. During the approximately forty years of Belgian colonial administration, the Belgian Administration remained a sort of closed shop, not allowing the indigenous people to participate in it. In its forty years of

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

administration, the Belgian authorities have not allowed a single native to occupy a leading post in this Administration. The highest post held by a native was that of medical or agricultural officer. An inescapable conclusion follows: The established principle carried out by the Belgian colonial administration has not promoted, but made more difficult, the participation of the local population in the administration of the country by retaining the administration exclusively in the hands of Belgian colonial officials. The Belgian authorities have not only set up a typical colonial system of administration, but also they have taken steps to retain the antiquated tribal institutions. They have caused tribal organizations to be placed under their own authority; they have subordinated the tribal chiefs and made them economically and materially dependent upon the Belgian Administration.

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

They have thus taken over the tribal administration and closed the way to making it democratic; they have prevented the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the administration of the Territory.

These conclusions make it necessary for the Trusteeship Council to include in its recommendations the implementation of the General Assembly decisions which relate to the setting of a time-limit for the attainment by the Territory of self-government or independence. The Administration should also submit to the General Assembly the measures that are being taken to that effect. We should also recommend that the Administering Authority take the necessary steps to make the administration of the Territory more democratic.

The economic development of the Territory has not changed during the past year, nor have the policies of the Administration in the economic field changed. The present economic situation in the Territory resembles a typical colonial economy. Those parts of the economy are developed which are complementary to the economy of the metropolitan country. Emphasis is placed on the production of export goods and on the development of mining, which produces raw materials for Belgian industry. The volume of exports and imports increased in 1954, yet the main bulk remained in the hands of foreign export-import companies.

The special representative stated that he could not quote the exact figures of the profits of these companies. However, we note that consumer goods are being imported, goods which could easily be produced in the Territory. The Territory exports cotton -- cotton is one of the main items of export. On the other hand, the Territory imports textiles. Page 243 of the report indicates that even old clothing is being imported. There is a surplus of cattle in the Territory, and yet shoes, including worn shoes, are being imported. There is no modern industry in the Territory for the production of consumer goods. There are no workshops for the production of agricultural machinery, even though agriculture is the main occupation of the people.

As we may judge from the chapter of the report which deals with economic questions, the Administration does not provide for the development of the types of industry necessary to raise the standard of living of the population and to promote the general economic well-being of the Territory.

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

The special representative during the question period cited as an example of industrialization the fact that a brewery was being built in the Territory. It is difficult to understand how that type of industry could be considered to be of primary need of the population. I do not say that it is a bad idea to build a brewery, but surely there are more important industries that might be built in the Territory. I do not say that the Administration is not showing concern for the thirst of the population. They seem to be importing large quantities of alcoholic beverages. We note, for example, that approximately 5 million litres of beer and 400,000 litres of wine have been imported. The population of Ruanda-Urundi, like the population of any other country, is no doubt pleased to drink these beverages. However, importing such large quantities of alcoholic beverages, bearing in mind that the population requires many other types of consumer goods, causes some dismay in my delegation.

The Administering Authority has repeatedly pointed out the shortage of land and the problem of over-population. The population is being encouraged to emigrate to the Belgian Congo and to other territories. We cannot fail to note that the population does require land; yet the amount of land owned by the indigenous population has decreased each year. According to the figures of the Administering Authority, the indigenous inhabitants occupy 36,000 square kilometres, which is 66 per cent of the usable land. Approximately 6,000 square kilometres remain which are not owned by the indigenous inhabitants. Yet the Administration has not put an end to its policy of land alienation in favour of the European settlers. The annual report for 1952 showed that the non-indigenous population held 223 square kilometres of land; the figure in 1954 had risen to 226 square kilometres. Land is the main source of the well-being of the population.

The participation of the indigenous population in industry, particularly in mining, is confined to the role of manpower. The theory of the development of mining industries presents a danger. The Administering Authority should take steps to develop agriculture and to put an end to the alienation of native land. It should also take steps to re-establish the rights of those whose lands have been alienated. Steps should be taken to promote irrigation and to improve and conserve the land.

In the cities, separate districts are maintained for Africans and Europeans, and Africans must obtain special permission to settle in a European district.

The indigenous inhabitants are deprived of freedom of movement within the Territory. To leave for a period of more than thirty days, the indigenous inhabitants must obtain appropriate permission.

The indigenous inhabitants are prohibited from appearing after nine o'clock in the evening on the streets of European districts, and they are prohibited from visiting cinema theatres and libraries intended for Europeans.

Finally, corporal punishment is applied to the indigenous inhabitants in the Territory.

There is also discrimination in the field of payment for labour. On page 480 of the report, we can see that an indigenous driver of a tractor receives 50 francs, while a European receives 300 francs; an indigenous chauffeur receives 60 francs, while a European chauffeur receives 300 francs; and there are other examples of such discrimination in the matter of salaries.

According to the data in the report, there are about 150,000 workers and employees, but there are as yet no trade unions in the Territory. The Administering Authority has established definite regulations for the organization of trade unions, which in fact amount to an obstacle to the creation of a trade union movement. As a rule, trade unions work out their own rules and regulations governing the admission of members, the holding of meetings, and so forth. But here the Administering Authority has laid down that a worker must have experience of three years to be a member of a union. But we know that most workers are seasonal workers, so that a three-year period of seniority prevents access of workers to trade unions. Of course, the labour committee and social welfare committee set up by the Administration are not workers' organs defending the interests of the workers. This is all the more true since they do not include any workers in their composition.

Workers' rights are not yet fully protected by law. There is a system of fines applying to indigenous workers, and questions as to penalties and punishment are decided by the Administration.

I must also state that the Administration in its report points out that the standard of living of the population is not yet high enough. On page 196, we see a statement to the effect that every increase in salary leads to the workers' not appearing at work and to their drinking more beer. Such a statement as to the effect of a rise in the workers' standard of living, such a statement about the people as a whole, cannot fail, of course, to offend the national feelings of the local inhabitants.

The public health services in the Territory are being developed very slowly, and the number of hospitals is unchanged. The number of doctors in 1954 was almost the same as in 1953 -- 63 general medical practitioners for more than 4 million people, and 4 dentists for the same population. During the whole time of occupation of the Territory, the Administering Authority did not train one doctor from among the native population.

In this connexion, it seems to me that the Trusteeship Council should urgently recommend to the Administering Authority that it liquidate discriminatory laws and practices and establish equal laws for all inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi in respect of public health and medical services.

According to UNESCO data, there are more than 700,000 children of school age in Ruanda-Urundi, but only 210,000 children are studying in primary schools. Most children receive only two years of instruction, and at almost every session of the Trusteeship Council it has been pointed out that this is an abnormal situation. Look at the figures: In the first class, there were 103,000 pupils; in the sixth, only 1,000. In other words, only about 1 per cent of the children go as far as the sixth class. But this six-year education does not provide any basis for these students to continue their education. In state schools, there are only 915 students. As far as secondary education is concerned, there are two State high schools with a student body of 233. As I have already called to the attention of the special representative, the number of students in 1951 was 282 -- that is, more than in 1954. There is no institution of higher learning in the Territory, and there are only 26 students who have received scholarships for study outside the Territory.

Attention has been directed here, as a positive point, to the fact that in the Belgian Congo a university is being opened which will also be available to students from the Trust Territory. Of course, it is a very good thing for the African people and for the Congo and for Ruanda-Urundi that another institution of higher learning is to be opened. But I would call attention to the fact that we are now dealing with a Trust Territory -- a rather large Territory from the point of view of area and population, the population numbering more than 4 million -- the type of territory which, under the Charter, should receive self-government and independence. Therefore, organizing higher educational institutions outside of the Territory, in the Congo, the Administering Authority should not postpone to the remote future the establishment of a higher educational institution in the Territory, bearing in mind the fact that the Territory is eventually to receive self-government and independence and should have higher educational institutions to train cadres for its administration and national economy.

The Trusteeship Council cannot be indifferent to such a fact as the extremely low level of education in the Territory and it should recommend to the Administering Authority that it provide for an extension of public schools and an increase in the number of complete primary schools -- not two-year schools -- and an increase in the number of high schools and the establishment of an institution of higher education in the Territory.

Mr. BARGUES (France) (interpretation from French): When one peruses the very comprehensive and able report of the Belgian Government and listens to the pertinent supplementary information provided by the representative of Belgium and the special representative, one gathers the impression that the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi is enjoying a very healthy and satisfactory situation. This fact must be viewed as a happy consequence of the work which the Administering Authority has carried on for some forty years with a constancy which excludes any spectacular manifestation but which, in the long run, is crowned with success.

The administration of Ruanda-Urundi in the past, as in the present, has posed some important problems. The Administering Authority had a very heavy task to discharge in ensuring the development of the Territory and the evolution of its population. It tackled this problem under the inspiration of the principles which

are the very foundation of Belgian overseas policy, which has proved its mettle not only in Ruanda-Urundi but also in the Belgian Congo and which is designed, first and foremost, to harmonize evolution toward higher forms of civilization while retaining intact social structures which have been consecrated over the ages by tradition.

(Mr. Bargues, France)

On the administrative level, the union with the Belgian Congo has brought appreciable advantages to the Territory. In this respect, one thinks particularly of what ~~the~~ Territory has gained from the activities of the scientific study and research institutions, which Ruanda-Urundi could not have easily organized and established itself. It is also fitting to mention the facilities open to the overpopulated areas of Ruanda to direct excess population towards the eastern parts of the Belgian Congo.

Political advancement during the past few years has been particularly reflected in the establishment of the advisory councils, whose members are either appointed, as in the case of the Council of the Vice-Government General, or elected by indirect suffrage, as in the case of the councils of the sub-chiefdoms, the chiefdoms and the pays; these members bring to the responsible authorities the views of the representatives of the population. This marks a substantial progress over the prior position -- even though the operation of a certain number of the councils has demonstrated that many chiefs and notables have not as yet acquired a very clear understanding of the obligations imposed by public service. A useful task of education and training is open to the local authorities in this domain.

The Territory's economy is showing progressive improvement. But in this field progress has been relatively slow. This could hardly be otherwise, since the Territory's economy is largely based on agriculture and cattle-raising. The country's resources are increasing, but at a slow rate. The same is true of exports. The development of administrative services, the effort to increase equipment and the improvement of social conditions result in an increase of public expenditure and imports. That in turn leads to a deficit in the balance of trade and an excess of expenditure over receipts.

These two factors do not, of course, in any way reflect an unhealthy situation in a country which is in the process of expanding. But it is also true that they must be borne in mind at all times by the Administering Authority.

A considerable financial effort is already being exerted by the Belgian Treasury, which, each year, gives a non-interest advance to the Territory of 400 million francs for the latter's extraordinary budget, thus lightening Ruanda-Urundi's financial burdens. The Administering Authority should be congratulated for this gesture. We should also note with satisfaction

(Mr. Bargues, France)

the measures taken to promote export trade. In this respect, the Trusteeship Council will follow with interest the steps undertaken by the Office des Cafés indigènes in controlling the quality of products, and by the Belgian Bureau of Foreign Trade -- particularly its new office in Usumbura -- in seeking new trade outlets.

The need, however, to find new resources and to expand exports must not blind us to the need -- no less imperious -- growing out of the insufficiency of foodstuffs for the indigenous inhabitants, a need aggravated by the growing population rate, which in turn follows upon the improved health status of the population. The Administering Authority has tackled this problem. It has obtained most interesting results in agriculture, in the struggle against erosion, in the improvement of pasture land, in publicizing agricultural methods and in mechanizing rural methods.

The policy wisely followed in this matter should result in a considerable improvement of living conditions in the Territory. The same end has been sought through the immense task assigned to the health and medical services, whose budget -- which is constantly increasing -- represents approximately 17 per cent of ordinary expenses in the Territory. The effort in this field must of course be continued, but it is already comforting to note the results which have been obtained.

Success has also been achieved in the educational field, if we consider the fact that the percentage of children attending school in Ruanda-Urundi to the school-age population is one of the highest in the African continent. The Catholic and Protestant religious missions are providing effective co-operation and are making a contribution to the work undertaken by the local authorities. The Council cannot but pay a tribute to the Administering Authority for the excellent results achieved in 1954. The French delegation will associate itself with any draft resolution drawn up to that end.

We are happy to address to the representative of Belgium and to the special representative our sincere thanks for the graciousness and courtesy with which they have provided the Trusteeship Council with very complete information on the position in this Trust Territory and on the problems of the Administering Authority.

Mr. Leroy withdrew.

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION (T/L.630):

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY FOR 1954 (T/1202, T/1202/Add.1 and 1223) [Agenda item 3e]
- (b) PETITIONS CIRCULATED UNDER RULE 85, PARA. 2, OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL (T/PET.7/L.10 to 13) [Agenda item 4]
- (c) REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS VISITING MISSION TO THE TRUST TERRITORIES OF TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION AND TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION, 1955 (T/1211 and 1228) [Agenda item 5]

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Tourot, special representative for Togoland under French administration, took a place at the Trusteeship Council table.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the Trusteeship Council, I wish to extend a warm welcome to Mr. Tourot. He is a distinguished Frenchman, who has served in Africa for twenty-five years. I, personally, remember that when I visited Togoland in 1954 Mr. Tourot was the soul of courtesy and helpfulness. His presence here will be of great assistance to the Council. Before calling upon him, I recognize the representative of France.

Mr. BARGUES (France) (interpretation from French): I shall leave it to Mr. Tourot and to Mr. Hunlede, who directs an important educational institution in the Trust Territory, to comment on and offer clarifications of the report supplied by the Administering Authority on conditions in Togoland under French administration in 1954, and to give members of the Trusteeship Council any information which they may need in order better to understand the report. I shall confine myself to reminding the Council of the guiding principles which have inspired and continue to inspire French action in guaranteeing the Territory's political independence. I shall also touch on the Territory's future prospects.

In Article 76, the Charter states that one of the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System is:

"to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence".

(Mr. Bargues, France)

Thus, the Charter no doubt wishes to establish a parallel between the improvement of the material conditions of economically backward populations and the cultural, political and economic development of those populations. It is precisely this parallel which France has always attempted to maintain in the territories for which it is responsible, by providing for a harmonious and co-ordinated development of the social and economic structure and the political institutions.

(Mr. Bargues, France)

An economically wealthy society with backward political institutions would contain the seeds of bad development. However, a parliamentary system which was not balanced by concomitant progress in the economic field, in the field of public health and in the field of education would lead to a serious disequilibrium which would confront the people with undoubted dangers. In this connexion we must act with caution to avoid the hasty development of freedoms leading to the loss of all freedom. The more advantages people draw from their freedom, said de Montesquieu, the nearer will they approach to the time when they have to relinquish it.

In order to see the progress made by Togoland we have only to look at the report of the Visiting Mission which, having visited the Territory in 1955, carried out a thorough investigation of the conditions under which the Administering Authority exercised the mandate conferred upon it. Will the President allow the French delegation to pay a sincere tribute to the chairman and members of that Visiting Mission for the objectivity and competence which they demonstrated in the drafting of the two documents (T/1206 and T/1211) now before the Council? These two documents represent a valuable contribution to the efforts still required to determine the future of Togoland and its inhabitants.

The Mission does not conceal its satisfaction at the extremely effective way in which the public health services function, and is impressed by the size and quality of the hospitals. It notes that administrative action had resulted in a constant increase in the number of schools and students during recent years. The development of the radio broadcasting network is also praised. Again, the Mission welcomes the efforts of the Administration to develop agriculture and to improve the standard of nutrition of the inhabitants, and finally it does not hesitate to qualify as remarkable the progress achieved in all spheres in the Territory.

This progress was possible only because of a considerable financial effort furnished by the taxpayer in the mother country. The Mission indicated quite rightly, in its regular report, that subsidies from the metropolitan country are necessary to supply the investment fund which, in 1953, covered 50 per cent of the expenditure and now covers 75 per cent. It would be well to add that

as from 1 January 1956 all expenditure in the social field and expenditure incurred for the purpose of increasing production is being completely covered by subsidies. Only the infra-structure and equipment expenditures are reimbursed up to 25 per cent of their amounts.

If we wish to assess political progress objectively we should remember that at the end of the 19th century, and even at the beginning of the 20th century, African societies lived in a state of tribal anarchy. The Togolese population now forms an orderly society whose members enjoy essential freedoms and participate, in a more and more direct way, in the management of public affairs. The pre-war period constitutes a first phase in this evolution. It is characterized by the establishment of consultative councils made up of officials and notables chosen because of their competence and their representative character. These persons furnished advice, and their advice was heeded. The second stage of crucial importance is to be found in the 1946 reforms which involved representation of the population of the Territory in metropolitan assemblies -- the National Assembly, the Council of the Republic, the Assembly of the French Union -- and the establishment of a Territorial Assembly whose members are, for the most part, indigenous inhabitants, and which is given wide deliberative powers, including the power of voting the budget.

The principle of adult suffrage has been laid down by law since 1952, and if, for purely practical reasons, it has not yet been fully applied, it is important to point out that municipal commissions are designated on this basis, and that the number of electors inscribed, which was fewer than 8,000 in 1946, had risen to 190,000 last July, when the new Territorial Assembly was elected, and to 213,000 for the legislative elections of January.

Lastly, the National Assembly, in November 1955, voted on a law -- which has not yet been adopted but which will no doubt be taken up again -- providing for the total application of universal adult suffrage. The 1955 reforms have opened up a new phase in the political development of Togoland. As members of the Council are aware, the powers of the Territorial Assembly, and in particular its deliberative powers, have been considerably increased. A Government council has been set up, half of its members being elected. Each member is entrusted with an administrative branch whose activities he verifies, and one can see that this is the forerunner of a cabinet.

All administrative sections have a budget which is voted by an elected council, and municipalities are to be established in the main urban centres on the model of those which exist in the metropolitan country under the law of 1884. As the result of these reforms the Togolese population has reached a degree of political maturity which, on the one hand, shows that the purposes of the Trusteeship System are close to achievement and, on the other hand, will make it possible to determine the future status of the Territory without much delay. The Territorial Assembly, when it met for the first time and used its right, in July 1955, to express its view on political problems, voted unanimously for a motion submitted by the Parti Togolais du Progrès and the Union des Chefs et des populations du Nord which, working for a new system in Togoland and the end of the Trusteeship System, expressed the hope that the population of the Territory might be able to pursue its development in close association with France. A representative of the French Government speaking before the members of the Visiting Mission, and the representative of France in the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, have officially stated that the Administering Authority owed it to itself to take account of the view of the Territorial Assembly and to follow it up as necessary by inquiring directly as to the aspirations of the population, considered by Article 76 of the United Nations Charter as one of the essential elements in judging the orientation to be given to the development of a Trust Territory.

(Mr. Barques, France)

Moreover, the General Assembly of the United Nations, at its tenth session, noting the wish expressed by the Territorial Assembly, the statements of the Administering Authority and the opinion of the Visiting Mission, contemplated the possibility of measures which would be designed to elicit the opinions of members of the population regarding their future.

The General elections, which were held on 2 January 1956, and the consecutive formation of a new government have not yet given the representatives of the Administering Authority time to see under what procedure the population of Togoland might be called upon to pass on the political future of the Territory, and it is advisable, before anything else, to complete the installation of the new political organs, the Assembly, the Council of Government Municipalities and District Councils, which are still being set up.

Finally, a plebiscite is to be held within several weeks in British Togoland, and it is preferable to await the results of that in order to avoid any interference or overlapping between two problems which must be dealt with separately.

It is for these reasons that it is not possible for me to submit today to the Trusteeship Council precise proposals concerning the measures to be taken to determine the aspirations of the population of Togoland under French Administration concerning the political future of that Territory. These proposals will be submitted either during the present regular session of the Council, or during a special session which the French delegation might possibly ask you, Mr. President, to be good enough to call.

The meeting was suspended at 3.50 p.m. and resumed at 4.20 p.m.

Mr. TOUROT (Special representative for Togoland under French administration)(interpretation from French): First of all, I should like to thank you, Mr. President, for the gracious words which you extended to me earlier, and in reply to your welcome I would simply like to voice my desire to co-operate fully with the Council when I sit here as the special representative of Togoland under French administration.

I rather belatedly, for which I apologize, submitted some additional information for the year 1955 to supplement the report for 1954. The report of the Visiting Mission already deals with this information, and without going into more detail than is necessary, I shall simply depict briefly the achievements in 1955 in such a way as to supplement the information before the Council.

The year 1955 marks a milestone in the history of Togoland since new political institutions were established this year, and this marks a decisive turn in the political evolution of the Territory. These institutions consist of the establishment of a Government Council, the broadening of the powers of the Territorial Assembly and administrative decentralization at the level of the districts, whose councils were incorporated. As soon as a decree in April 1955 made the law of 16 April 1955 applicable in Togoland with regard to these institutions, the Territorial Assembly was dissolved under regular procedure and on 12 June 1955 the electoral body was convoked to elect the members of the Assembly, which then elected the five members of the new government council.

The Commissioner of the Republic in Togoland appointed the four councillors which he was entitled to appoint under law. Each councillor was allocated a specific sphere of activity which was defined as follows: agricultural

(Mr. Tourot, Special representative)

expansion, land tenure and urbanism, economic and industrial expansion, public health, judiciary and customs, public works and transport, education, youth and sports work, social work and public finance.

These various sectors were thus entrusted to the elected and appointed councillors comprising one physician, one secretary of administration, one businessman, one accountant, one Catholic priest, one business director, one agricultural engineer, one public works employee and one industrial employee. This indicates that all the different committees are represented on this Council.

Without awaiting the conclusion of the installation of these premises, the Governing Council assembled and it now meets once a week under the leadership of the territorial chief and it participates in a most effective and total manner in the administration of the Territory.

Thus, all decisions of an administrative nature are taken in Council and the budget for 1956 was studied, discussed and submitted to the Territorial Assembly by the Councillors themselves. Since this organ has been operating during the past months, it has been comforting to note that there was a perfect degree of co-operation, from the outset, between the service heads, the territorial chief and the government councillors. The operation of the Government Council and of these institutions seems to be fully successful, and it may thus greatly expedite the political evolution of the Territory.

As regards the new Territorial Assembly, it already has held its budgetary session within the framework of its expanded deliberative powers. Its position has thus been enforced and its members are becoming increasingly aware of their duties and responsibilities. The district councils are beginning to assume the role of territorial assemblies, or rather of regional assemblies. They have recruited very representative elements.

To complete the statement on the new political setup in the Territory, I would say that the four mixed communes of Lomé, Anécho, Atakpamé and Sokodé

(Mr. Touro, Special representative)

are about to be granted universal suffrage. The revision of electoral rolls is being very carefully undertaken. These four communities will have an elected mayor who will replace the administering mayor now appointed by the territorial head, and new municipal elections will take place shortly before next November.

As regards the financial situation of the Territory, a committee was created to study the possibilities of improving our fiscal system. I am referring to this because I believe that the Council is greatly interested in this matter. Indeed, it has decided to overhaul, broadly speaking, the business tax. As regards direct taxation, equalization of taxes has been undertaken. The communities are now free to decide their own local taxation systems. The taxe de circonscription has been dropped from the roll of territorial taxes. The local district heads will have to collect a tax set beforehand by the Territorial Assembly. The Government has decided that the so-called district budgets will be collected on the spot and therefore the burden will not fall on the rest of the population. The number of taxpayers exempt from a certain type of taxation has been increased. The tax will be reduced by one-half for the one-third upper portion of this category. There has thus been a general reduction of direct taxes and I think that this should be stressed.

Criticism has been voiced about the profits tax. A new type of tax is envisaged here.

(Mr. Tourot, Special representative)

As regards overall tonnage of goods marketed in Togoland in 1955, the proportion is fairly similar to that of 1954, 38,600 tons instead of 39,700 tons.

Exports amounted to 42,798 tons for a total value of about 3,664 million francs, with 60,000 tons imported, worth 3,146 million francs.

As regards customs duties, they amount to one billion francs as against 955 million francs in 1954.

The economic situation of Togoland is a healthy one, I must say. It is vulnerable from one point of view because the coffee and cocoa problem is a difficult one. There has been a drop in the market prices of the world, and a study has been undertaken to rectify the situation and in order to assist the planters and cultivators.

The agricultural services have pursued a three-fold development in agriculture by distributing seedlings, improving productivity and combatting the various diseases. The Government has undertaken actions such as that of developing cotton growing by establishing a cotton stabilization fund.

As regards mining, whereas the neighbouring territory has large mining possibilities, Togoland seems to be rather poor in mining resources. However, a large supply of phosphates has been found in Anecho. Prospecting parties have worked on this basis, and they are now convinced that 500,000 tons of phosphates of high quality can be mined yearly. These operations can come into force in 1959, and there are approximately 15 million tons in reserve. They envisage investments of 4 or 5 billion francs.

The Pechiney Company is continuing its prospecting of chromites in Mount Ahito, and 500 tons of ore have been sent to its factory in Haute-Savoie, at Cheddé, to examine the possibility of manufacturing highly refined ferrous chromite.

The mining office, in co-operation with the Office of Mines and Chemical Products, is busy with iron in Bangeli in the north of the Territory.

Bauxite from Mount Agou has been found. This bauxite contains high quality ore, but the deposits are unfortunately limited.

(Mr. Tourot, Special
representative)

As concerns public works, the principal achievements for 1955 have been the following: At Lomé a hotel has been built from the local budget, also an administrative centre and several administration buildings, asphalt works, and the extension of the electrical network of Lomé. The hospital at Tokoin has been completely finished with the construction of the clinic, of the maternity ward and some enclosures. A bridge has also been built of a length of sixty metres on the Mono, to Dotèkopé, improving the Blitta-Haute-Volta route by the construction of numerous works of art and enlarging the fault in Aledjo. These works were financed by the four-year plan. Finally, well-digging has been continued around Anécho, Tsévié and in the Dapango cercle, without counting the water supply at Gboto, Sanguera, Afagnagan, Ahépé and Vogan. Several construction projects have been finished, especially the vaccine-producing centre at Sokodé.

In 1956, the local budget provides for the construction of a palace of the Government Council and for administrative buildings. Under the four-year plan a central post office will be constructed at Lomé, also reinforcement of large engineering projects on the Blitta-Haute-Volta route, the supplying of water from Atakpamé and water-supply systems for Kouve, Tchekpo, Vogan and Ahépé are to be completed as well as the digging of additional wells.

In the social field a great effort has been made in the past years both for teaching and for public health, and efforts in these fields have been actively pursued. The number of school children has increased from 52,409 in 1954 to 57,035 in 1955. For the school year 1956-57 they have risen to 62,035, or an increase of 4,626 pupils, of which 7.6 per cent is in the south and 9 per cent in the north.

I also wish to point out that there is an increase in the number of girls attending school.

The number of students in secondary education has not increased in the same proportion, for the local authorities cannot proceed faster than conditions permit; however, they have maintained their efforts for the primary schools in order to provide an ample supply of pupils for the secondary school system. Thus, as regards the secondary school plan, a laboratory was set up in the high school at Lomé, as well as a modern

(Mr. Touroff, Special
representative)

section and a fifth class which has been opened at the college at Sokodé. Also St. Joseph College has received ^{5 million francs} from FIDES for a system of internship. Notre Dame College has received 10 million francs from the same source to finish its work. The Evangelical Mission has also received 2 million francs.

As regards technical effort plans have been made for its development. Courses in automobile mechanics and manual sections have been set up in each district. All these measures were taken in technical education prepare for the future.

In the field of higher education, 69 students are studying in France on scholarships, and in the years to come this figure will be rapidly increased.

As regards public health, 1955 saw the establishment of a new maternity service in the Lomé hospital, the opening of two new medical posts at Nuatja and at Tabligbo, as well as the completion of a technical centre at Dapango.

Hospital bed occupation has been increased to 8,257 in 1955, as compared with 6,000 in 1954.

The mobile hygiene section has continued its efficient work in the Territory especially against trypanosomiasis. Three prospecting teams in the region of Lama-Kara, Mango and Sokodé have visited over 143,000 persons and have given 57,000 vaccinations. The figure for infected persons, which was 2.2 per cent for 1937 has fallen to .03 per cent for 1955. These prospecting teams also began the anti-malaria struggle in 1955 between the Gold Coast and Dahomey. This struggle took the form of destroying the larvae of the insect by means of DDT and by the spraying of the marshes. This action protected about 33,000 persons in 1954; 12,000 dwellings were treated with DDT around Lomé. In the area of Anécho, 137,000 persons were protected and 73,000 houses treated with DDT. In 1956 a campaign covering 100,000 inhabitants in the zone of Tabligbo.

In the social field, the system of family allotments envisaged under the labour code of 1952 was recently adopted by the Territorial Assembly on the proposal of the Government Council, and all the employees in Togoland reaped the benefits from this new social security scheme.

(Mr. Tourot,
Special representative)

Another point that should be stressed is the struggle against alcoholism, which has engaged the attention of the Administration. A decree of 20 May 1955 has regulated the number of stores selling alcohol.

A last important point to be stressed is the Africanization of the personnel. A draft law was filed with the National Assembly in Paris which bears on the organization of the civil service in the Overseas territories. If this bill is voted, the local services will be able to reorganize all their personnel. This will allow for broader access to the higher posts by the local elites. The status of this personnel shall be subsequently discussed by the Territorial Assembly. The overseas administrative personnel is already open to overseas citizens. In practice, in Togoland, we have thus, as the Visiting Mission noted, native officials whose number will increase as the needs increase.

These, briefly speaking, are the main traits of the activities pursued by the Administration in French-administered Togoland, in close co-operation with the local elites -- a co-operation which is increasing steadily under the terms of the trusteeship that has been entrusted to France.

Mr. Tourot withdrew.

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN RUANDA-URUNDI:

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY FOR 1954 (T/1197, 1201 and 1223) [Agenda item 3 b]
- (b) PETITIONS CIRCULATED UNDER RULE 85, PARAGRAPH 2, OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL (T/PET.3/L.5 and 6) [Agenda item 4] (continued)

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

The PRESIDENT: With the Council's permission, I should now like to recognize the representative of India, who will make his final statement on conditions in Ruanda-Urundi.

Mr. LALL (India): In terms of our agreed time-table the first Trust Territory which we have brought under our scrutiny at this, the seventeenth session of the Trusteeship Council, is Ruanda-Urundi. It is not my intention in the least to take this opportunity to make a general statement on trusteeship matters. But nevertheless the fact that this is the first time that delegations around this table are making major statements at this session of the Council, coupled with the fact that we do not have a system of general debates, does make it appropriate and necessary for us at the outset, as it were, of this session to state our general position regarding the context in which we will make our remarks about Ruanda-Urundi.

The year 1956 opened for Africa with a memorable event. That event was the proclamation by the Sudan of its independence. That act has been followed by the further welcome acts of an application from the Sudan for membership of the United Nations and a unanimous recommendation in favour of that application by the Security Council. But this is not all, so far as this necessary process of Africa coming into its rightful place is concerned. The General Assembly has sent to the Trust Territory of British Togoland a Plebiscite Commissioner who is at this moment engaged in completing preparations for ascertaining the will of the people of that Trust Territory, now that the Administering Authority has declared that the objectives of the Trusteeship System have been achieved. These two are striking events and I will not at this moment elaborate on other similar indications deriving from the forces which are at work in Africa -- forces, may I say, for which both the African people and the Western people and Administrations with whom they have for some time now been in contact, are responsible.

It is in these more auspicious circumstances than usual that we come to consider the situation in Ruanda-Urundi, and my delegation for one has no doubt that the Administering Authorities are as aware as we are of the great events which have taken place in Africa and of the great forces which are at work in that continent, moving the minds of people toward the fulfilment of their legitimate aspirations. It is because we feel that the Administering Authority is well aware of these factors and is playing its own part, within the spacious framework of the Trusteeship System, to further the orderly impact of these forces, that we are able at the very outset of these remarks to draw attention with confidence and with hope to certain developments in this Territory.

(Mr. Lall, India)

Before I make those remarks may I, on behalf of my delegation, express our thanks and appreciation for the assistance which has been rendered by Mr. Leroy, the special representative for Ruanda-Urundi, in the examination of the annual report of the Territory for 1954. Mr. Leroy has dealt with questions with patience and skill, and his presentation of the case for the Administration has facilitated greatly our task. We have also been fortunate in having with us again the representative of Belgium, Mr. Ryckmans, whose fruitful interventions are based on a knowledge of this Trust Territory and the neighbouring colony of Congo which is probably unmatched.

The developments which have impressed us in Ruanda-Urundi include the successful working of the indigenous Councils which were set up fairly recently. We also welcome the steps now being considered by the Administration to increase indigenous participation in the government by increasing representation in the Vice-Government General Council. We also look forward to the early expansion of the present suffrage and to the results of the endeavours which are being made to develop closer relations between Ruanda and Urundi. We have also noted certain welcome reforms such as a more stable remuneration for the customary authorities and the continuing efforts in the economic and social fields to which we shall refer later.

I turn now to more detailed remarks on the political picture as we see it in Ruanda-Urundi. We feel it to be realistic, to make for more orderly progress to some of the conclusions to which I will presently come, to start with the Sub-Chiefdom Councils. These are over a thousand indigenous Councils which function in the rural areas. They are elected, we find, by a system of indirect suffrage, and they have virtually taken over some of the functions which in previous times were performed by the tribal Chiefs. Thus they represent a first step in the democratization of the administrative organization in the rural areas of the Territory. It is a most interesting fact, and one to which we attach the greatest significance, that the tribal Chiefs themselves have reacted favourably to this development. The reason why we attach significance to this fact is obvious, but it nevertheless needs statement.

(Mr. Lall, India)

It is this: Here is an area steeped in a feudal tradition. Nevertheless those who stood to gain most by the continuance of that tradition, that is, the Chiefs themselves, have proved to be willing and happy to see the process of democracy being set to work in their own spheres. We suggest to this Council and to the Administering Authority that this single fact is a clear indication of an even greater readiness among the mass of the people themselves for the development of institutions through which they can impress upon the Administration their needs and their political wishes.

Our first suggestion, therefore, is that ^{these} Sub-Chiefdom Councils should be given greater powers, particularly in such fields as the settlement of local disputes and the raising of funds for community projects such as the purchase of improved seed, the setting up of schools, better housing, sanitation and minor local irrigation works. We base this suggestion, might I reiterate, on the fact that there is a clear indication of willingness among the people and their Chiefs to develop this system of Sub-Chiefdom Councils.

In this connexion it is relevant to refer to the proposed electoral reform of which we have heard from the Administering Authority. We understand that for the elections which are to be held toward the end of this year the Administering Authority will institute a larger electoral college. That in itself is an excellent idea but, when we come to hear of the method suggested for this increase, we would seriously urge upon the Administering Authority to give the matter some further consideration. The proposed method is that the Sub-Chiefs of each area will draw up a larger list and submit it to the Administering Authority. The authorities then will presumably accept or somewhat alter the list. Is it not possible, we would ask the Administering Authority, to have a broader based system for enlarging the electoral list? As it is, it would appear, in fact, that the electoral lists will be packed by the Sub-Chiefs with their own nominees. Perhaps one alternative which might be considered is that the present list of electors should sit together and make recommendations for a wider list.

(Mr. Lall, India)

Perhaps, furthermore, they could be given certain broad criteria on which to base their recommendations, and these criteria might contain the principle, for example, that all able-bodied working men above the age of, let us say, twenty-one, should prima facie qualify to be included in the list. Also, all educated men and women might be another generally acceptable criterion. In this way a more widely based list might be drawn up. We should be grateful if the Administering Authority would consider these suggestions and in due course let us know the extent of the increase of the electorate.

While we have stressed the need to increase the powers of the sub-chiefdom councils and have suggested methods of securing a wide franchise on which to base these councils, this must not give the impression that my delegation is concerned only with this aspect of the administration of this Territory. Indeed, I want immediately to say that we are convinced that, side by side with the development of the functions and powers of the sub-chiefdom councils, attention must be paid to increasing the powers of the high councils of the two States. Even more, there should be simultaneous attention paid to the proposed council of the Vice-Government-General. The reason why we stress these points is that we are aware of the fact that, if it is only the functions of the local councils which are expanded, the reforms will tend to encourage sectionalism in the Territory. The development of local government therefore must be accompanied by the development of the councils at the apex. We welcome the fact that the Administration is contemplating the reform of the council of the Vice-Government-General in such a manner as to provide for larger indigenous representation. We note that the Administration considers that this development will provide a common ground for indigenous representatives from the two States to meet and discuss problems affecting both States.

What we would suggest for the Administering Authority's consideration is this: In view of the fact that sectional interests have already begun to make themselves manifest in the Territory, and in view of the fact that those interests must receive some encouragement from the reforms which are likely in the near future to extend the range of functioning of the sub-chiefdom councils, it is most important that the proposed reform of the council of the Vice-Government-General should go as far as possible in the direction of adequate indigenous representation. The indigenous representatives from

(Mr. Lall, India)

Ruanda-Urundi should be in a majority in this council. From an administrative point of view, we can see no objection whatsoever to that. After all, this is at present only a consultative body, and in order that the wishes of the people should be known to the Administration is it not logical that the representatives of the indigenous peoples of the two States should be in a clear majority in this purely consultative council? We would request the Administration to take this suggestion into account so that the effect of sectional forces could be counteracted. Might we add in this connexion that we shall watch the development of this council's activities with continuing interest, for we see in it the nucleus of a central legislative body for Ruanda-Urundi.

We have referred to the functions of the Vice-Governmental council. At this stage it is only a consultative body. We would hope that in the very near future a convention will be established to the effect that the advice of the council will be accepted as a matter of course. If this is to be so, it underlines the need which we have already mentioned to increase the representation of the indigenous peoples. In this connexion, it is relevant that there is in fact no white settler problem in this Territory, and it should not, therefore, be difficult for the Administration to implement this suggestion. It is also relevant that the Administration itself has shown commendable firmness in guarding the land rights of the local people in formulating a policy of land alienation which has, by and large, excluded any growth of foreign settlements.

We have no doubt that the Administration will agree with us in noting with interest the development of the Mouvement Politique Progressif in the Territory. Provided this political organization seeks to further the interests of the people in an orderly manner, it will undoubtedly serve a most useful purpose. But, of course, so that orderly channels for political development are made available for this and other political organizations to express their views, it would appear to us to be essential that the reforms to which we have just referred should be accelerated.

I now turn to the economic sphere. Here we are glad to recognize that there has been continuing progress in many fields. The Administration has given a good deal of thought and time to the implementation of its Ten-Year Plan,

(Mr. Lall, India)

and commendable work has been done in draining marshes and implementing anti-erosion measures, thus leading to land reclamation and re-afforestation programmes, both of which will be valuable to the Territory. It is also a creditable achievement to have overcome the threat of famine by establishing adequate reserves of foodstuffs and improving communications. We note, however, that the Ruzizi hydro-electric project is still in the balance, mainly due to differences of opinion among technical experts. We hope that the Administration will be able to take a firm decision about this important project in the near future. We hope the electric power which will be made available from this project will be used to set up industries in the Territory so that the raw materials of Ruanda-Urundi are, so far as economically feasible, consumed in the Territory in the interests of the people.

In this connexion, we must express our concern at the relatively poor industrial development of the Territory. We are, however, very glad to note that the Administration has set up an institute which, after suitable experimentation, sponsors local industries. So far, this institute has carried out experiments regarding the processing of bee's wax and banana beer. We hope that the activities of this institute will be extended to other industries as quickly as possible.

We feel we should also draw the attention of the Administration to certain other misgivings which we have regarding the economic situation in the Territory. It appears that the economy of the Territory is mainly based on the coffee crop, which is now produced for export in a large number of indigenous co-operatives.

Although we warmly commend the Administration for its support and guidance of these co-operatives in the face of some opposition from the colons, nevertheless the danger in the development of a one-crop economy must be borne in mind, particularly when the returns from that crop depend, naturally enough, on the fluctuations in the world price of coffee. Undoubtedly one of the aims of the ten-year plan is the diversification of the Territory's economy, and we hope that early and tangible steps will be taken to achieve this objective.

Meanwhile, we note that the population of the Territory is growing steadily. Consequently, the pressure on the land resources is becoming a problem. Undoubtedly the Administering Authority is bearing this question in mind; and may we suggest that this factor in the situation enhances the urgency for over-all schemes of economic development, including particularly schemes of industrialization which will relieve the pressure on the land?

Turning now to social matters, we feel that the Administering Authority deserves credit for the considerable achievements in the fields of health and social services, better housing, and improved standards of living and labour conditions. It is clear that the Administering Authority is taking an active and continuing interest in these matters, and there is reason to hope that conditions will improve steadily.

There are, however, certain aspects of these spheres which cause us some concern. For example, not only have penal sanctions for breaches of labour contracts engaged the attention of this Council, which has frequently recommended their abolition, but we have also learned from the representative of the ILO that this objectionable practice has been abolished in all other Trust Territories. Obviously its continuance in Ruanda-Urundi is an anachronism, and we would earnestly request the Administering Authority to abolish this system. The decree of 1954, which reduces imprisonment to one month in cases of wilful breach of contract and imposes fines for less serious cases, does not substantially alter the situation. However, we see in this small step an indication that the faith of the Administering Authority in this obnoxious system is being shaken. We trust that they will speedily go the whole way and abolish this unfortunately unique characteristic of the Administration of this Trust Territory by the end of

the current year. It is relevant in this connexion that the Committee of Experts of the ILO felt that abolition is practicable. Moreover, the ILO Convention of 1955 has laid down that penal sanctions should be abolished not later than one year from the date of the Convention's ratification, and I understand that Belgium has ratified the Convention.

I come to three other matters which suggest discrimination of a character that is contrary to the Trusteeship Agreement and the provisions of the United Nations Charter. I refer to the curfew in certain urban areas which have a substantial European population, the restrictions on residence and the laws concerning personal status.

Surely it should be possible, even in Ruanda-Urundi, to run an urban area according to the norms of practice in such areas. It is not necessary, normally, for urban life to be restricted by such measures as a curfew, and we see in the present arrangement in Ruanda-Urundi a sort of down-grading of the urban life of the Territory. Such down-grading cannot but have many kinds of harmful effects. It must create some hidden resentments among the people, and those resentments cannot but mean that their attitudes towards outsiders will be extremely resentful and, consequently, very dangerous. Surely it would conduce to the general welfare of the Territory, and to good relations between the Administering Authority and the people, if this curfew system were abolished and its place taken by normal policing and street lighting.

I come now to the system of permits for non-Europeans residing in the so-called European area. This seems to us to be particularly difficult to understand, especially as the Administering Authority in Ruanda-Urundi has, let it be said to its credit, not practised racial discrimination as such. Then why the need for this system of permits? If the three main communities, African, European and Asian tend, of their own volition, to live in separate areas, that, surely is not something to impose by law or regulation. Such regulation becomes a measure of segregation, and such segregation is surely not sanctioned either by the spirit or the letter of the Charter or of the Trusteeship Agreement. We have certainly been told by the special representative that four Asians and two Africans have been permitted to live in the European area, but that sort of permission is not one that fills us with any enthusiasm for the very basis on

which the system operates is most objectionable. However, the fact that permits have been given to some persons is again a sign that the system of segregation is not one which even the Administering Authority can really and wholeheartedly uphold. In the circumstances, would it not be best, especially in view of the provisions of the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement, to abolish this system altogether?

I should like now to touch on the question of the personal status of the inhabitants of this Territory. We fully realize that in this Territory most of the indigenous persons would probably desire, in many matters, to continue to be governed by their own customary laws. Even when there is movement to the urban areas, this desire will often continue. However, there may be cases when the tribal and customary laws are not entirely appropriate or do not meet the wishes of the parties to a suit. Possibly the Administration had this sort of situation in mind when it introduced the decrees of 10 September 1952, but we would ask this Council to consider the effect of those decrees whereby provision has been made for registering indigenous inhabitants in the "Registry of Civilized Persons". A provision was also made for handing out "Civic Merit Cards" to indigenous persons whose conduct was considered to be good.

Many delegations have, quite rightly, pointed out that this particular form of administrative activity is discriminatory and relegates the indigenous people as a whole to an inferior status. It is a system which does not encourage respect for human rights, which is one of the objectives of Trusteeship, as specified in Article 76 (c) of the Charter. Surely, if what is sought is to make it possible for the local people to take advantage of laws other than their own tribal laws this can be secured in a less objectionable manner. It could, for example, be decreed that when the parties to a suit so desired they would be governed by the civil laws of Belgium applicable to the suit concerned. Such a system would be easy to operate and would remove the odium which attaches to the present arrangements, which are, moreover, not in consonance with the Charter.

We come now to educational matters. In a sense, considerable progress has been made in this field. We were pleasantly surprised to hear the estimate of the special representative that illiteracy extends to only about one-third of the population; but might I suggest that perhaps this calculation requires some

re-consideration? It would probably be correct if we could assume that anyone who had ever been enrolled in any of the various kinds of schools in the Territory -- including the bush schools -- became literate. As we sought to point out during the question period, it is possible that the students of the bush schools attain a kind of literacy before they complete their two-year course; but we also pointed out that the experience of other countries has shown pretty conclusively that education for so short a period as two years does not stick. People relapse into illiteracy. This must be all the more so in this Territory as there is practically no literature in the indigenous languages. When we drew attention to these matters, the special representative, undoubtedly with a degree of justification, pointed out that, as it was, the Administration was expending a very large part of the budget on education and it would, in the circumstances, be difficult for it to do anything more.

(Mr. Lall, India)

That might be so at the present moment, but what is a matter of great concern to my delegation is this: is it not likely, and unfortunately so, that the Administration is letting itself take the view that the bush schools are, in educating many thousand people, and that therefore the Administration's responsibility in respect of their education has been taken over by the Missions.

It would suggest that this is not in consonance with the facts. The education being given to the children at the bush schools must, in the nature of things, be largely transitory. Indeed, virtually, this benevolent effort creates the illusion of education and, therefore, leaves unfulfilled a major responsibility. It therefore remains a problem to which we must again draw the attention of the Administering Authority.

Perhaps a workable solution can be found. As pointed out by the representative of Belgium, these schools are often established at the request of the local population and with their assistance. We feel sure that the local population would welcome the raising of the schools to full primary standard, and we consider that the Sub-Chiefdom Councils might be encouraged to interest themselves in the possibility of providing a little more finance so as to enable this necessary improvement in these rather rudimentary schools to be effected.

We would also suggest that the machinery for school inspection might be improved and that special attention should be given to the problem of the very large number of unqualified teachers in mission schools. At present, as many as 72 per cent of the teachers in Mission schools are said to be uncertified, and we feel sure that the Administration will take steps to ensure that the target date for acquisition by these teachers of proper qualifications will be strictly adhered to. In this connexion it seems to my delegation that the scheme of producing teachers after two years' training following a five-year primary education requires reconsideration. It seems to us that emphasis should be put on the higher category of teacher-schools which have a four-year course following graduation from selected primary schools.

The progress of secondary and higher education in the Territory also needs to be accelerated and, indeed, is largely non-existent, for facilities at present are woefully inadequate. Particularly as the economy of the Territory is such that its diversification now has become an urgent matter, would we request the Administering Authority to give urgent attention to the need to expand immediately the facilities in the Territory for technical education.

(Mr. Lall, India)

The fact that political progress too is being made in the Territory is another reason for quickening the pace of educational development, and it need hardly be stated that as the people's political awareness increases, so, too, will increase their demand for qualified doctors, engineers, lawyers, indigenous administrators, and so on.

There is thus an immense task awaiting the Administration in the field of educational development. In this connexion might I also refer to the UNESCO recommendation for a project for fundamental education. We have taken note of the remarks of the representative of Belgium, who takes the view that much is already being done on the lines which UNESCO has in mind. Our view is that if this is the case so much the better, but how does existing activity preclude improved techniques?

What we would earnestly request the Administering Authority to consider is this: UNESCO might be asked to draw up a project for fundamental education for this Territory, or for a part of it, and then the Administering Authority could set about seeing to what extent it could put such a project into operation. Surely the expert advice of UNESCO in this field is to be welcomed. In addition, the Administering Authority might consider sending some of its own experts to the UNESCO centres in Cairo and Mexico to study methods of fundamental education.

It is appropriate at this stage for us to acknowledge with gratitude the collaboration of UNESCO, WHO, and ILO, whose contributions this year have been most useful. We regret that FAO has not seen fit to contribute in similar measure, and we hope that amends will be made in the immediate future. Obviously, the agricultural development of this Territory is of great importance, and we would therefore welcome the collaboration of FAO in the annual examination of conditions in the Trust Territory.

Before closing these brief remarks my delegation feels it necessary to make some reference to the matter of a time-table for the fulfilment of the purposes of the Trusteeship System in this area. This is an issue which was raised specifically last year, and then the Administering Authority informed us that it felt quite unable to look ahead to a precise date for the fulfilment of the Trusteeship System in Ruanda-Urundi. We remain convinced, however, that such a time-table is a feasible one. But at the same time, in this particular case,

(Mr. Lall, India)

in order to facilitate the task of the Administering Authority, we would urge upon its consideration a kind of interim suggestion. If the Administration feels that it cannot look ten or fifteen years ahead, surely it can, in the political sphere, look three, five or eight years ahead. If this is granted, then we would earnestly suggest to the Administering Authority that it should look at certain important political and administrative aspects of the situation urgently with a view to fixing suitable intermediate targets. For example, there is to be a new electoral reform this year. Let us, then, take this reform as the intermediary stage to universal suffrage and fix a three-year period, after the close of this year, for the achievement of universal suffrage. Again, this year there are to be some reforms of the Council of the Vice-Government General, and we trust that they will include the establishment of a convention that the advice of the Council will normally be accepted. We are further assuming that the Administering Authority will see its way to agreeing that the majority of members of the Council of the Vice-Government General should be indigenous inhabitants of the Territory. On these assumptions, may we not ask the Administering Authority whether it cannot fix a date three or four years hence when that Council will be given certain legislative functions in addition to its other functions? Other examples could be cited, but I think that my idea now is sufficiently clear and, in any case, the instances which I have given here are purely illustrative. My suggestion to the Administering Authority is that it might give attention to this matter of intermediary target dates and let us know its mind at the earliest opportunity.

Once again may I thank the special representative and the representative of Belgium for their great assistance to this Council, and to my delegation in particular, in the examination of the report on Ruanda-Urundi.

The PRESIDENT: We shall continue with the other statements on Ruanda-Urundi tomorrow morning.

EXAMINATION OF PETITIONS: 138TH, 139TH, 140TH, 141ST AND 142ND REPORTS OF THE
STANDING COMMITTEE ON PETITIONS (T/L.619, 623, 624, 625 and 626) [Agenda item 4]

The PRESIDENT: The Council has before it the five reports of the
Standing Committee on Petitions. In accordance with established procedure, we
shall consider each of these reports separately. The first is the 138th report
(T/L.619), which contains in its annex four draft resolutions. We shall vote
first on draft resolution I.

Mr. CUTTS (Australia): My delegation has certain amendments to propose
to draft resolutions I and IV of this report. It might be convenient for the
Council if I indicated the amendments which we have in mind with respect to both
of those draft resolutions at one and the same time. These two draft resolutions
relate to petitions.

The PRESIDENT: May I ask the representative of Australia to proceed to both of these resolutions relating to petitions from the organization known as the Union des Populations du Cameroun.

Mr. CUTTS (Australia): Some days ago the Trusteeship Council reached a decision upon an application from this body for an oral hearing of certain of its representatives. The decision which the Council took was not to grant this oral hearing, and I simply refer to this to indicate the grounds on which this decision was taken. This body had been dissolved and declared illegal by the Administering Authority, and the Council, in deciding that it would not grant an oral hearing to representatives of this body, took the view that it would be inappropriate for the Council to take any action which might appear to give recognition to a body dissolved by the Administering Authority. Such action might be liable to the construction that the Council was calling in question or passing judgement upon decisions of the Administering Authority.

This decision of the Council of course did not involve necessarily approval in substance by it of the Administering Authority's decision, but merely recognition of the legal effects of the action taken by the Administering Authority.

For the same reason, the Council decided that it would not be appropriate to communicate the nature of its decision to the applicants for an oral hearing. This decision which was taken by the Council some days ago is quite in line with the position taken by the Standing Committee on Petitions, and most of the petitions are from the Union des Populations du Cameroun. In most of those petitions, the Standing Committee on Petitions has recommended a kind of impersonal formula which would not appear to imply recognition by the Council of the continued existence of this body.

Resolutions I and IV do not follow that pattern and of course one might well ask why the Standing Committee on Petitions has presented a different form of resolution, in respect of these two petitions, from the form which it has recommended in regard to other petitions from this body; and the reason is to be seen in the date of this document (T/L.619).

(Mr. Cutts, Australia)

This document is dated 25 July 1955. The action by the Administering Authority to dissolve this body was taken on 13 July, and I think that one might fairly presume that the Standing Committee on Petitions, when dealing with these particular petitions, was not then aware of the action taken by the Administering Authority. For these reasons, my delegation wishes to propose certain amendments to the two resolutions to which I referred, in order to bring them into line with the other resolutions recommended by the Standing Committee on Petitions in relation to petitions from this body, and also to bring them into line with the decision taken by the Trusteeship Council a few days ago.

May I indicate the actual textual changes. As regards draft resolution I, in paragraph 1, in place of the words "Draws the attention of the petitioners to", substitute the words "Takes note of". With regard to paragraph 2, I would redraft it to read as follows:

"Observes that any complaints concerning alleged acts of brutality committed by the Chief of the Gendarmerie may be referred to the competent judicial authority."

We would eliminate in the first part the words "Suggests to the petitioners that they may bring" and substitute the words "Observes that".

Those are the amendments which my delegation wishes to propose with respect to this particular draft resolution. It might save time if I were to indicate now the amendments which we propose to draft resolution IV. With regard to this resolution, in paragraph 1 we would delete the words "Draws the attention of the petitioners to" and substitute the word "Recalls". We would redraft paragraph 2 and the initial sentence of paragraph 3 to read as follows:

"Notes the observations of the Administering Authority; and the statements of the representative of the Administering Authority, in particular that:"

The present paragraph 4 would thus become paragraph 5, and we would propose deleting the present sentence and substituting the following:

"Observes that examination of the allegations made in the petition would be facilitated by the provision of additional details thereof."

The PRESIDENT: May I ask the representative of Australia whether those amendments are in print so that we can read them?

Mr. CUTTS (Australia): They are in my own handwriting and I shall give them to you at this time.

Mr. JAIPAL (India): I should like to say, first of all, that the Standing Committee on Petitions did not actually take any decision on the specific question of whether or not the Trusteeship Council may communicate with political organizations that have been prohibited. However, the resolutions adopted by the Standing Committee on Petitions recently could be interpreted to mean that it does not recommend that the attention of the petitioners should be drawn to the observations of the Administering Authority, as is the practice in the case of other petitions. But I feel bound to point out that under rule 93 of the rules of procedure of the Trusteeship Council, the Secretary-General is required to inform the petitioners of the actions taken by the Council on each petition. So that unless this rule is suspended, I do not see how one can fail to communicate with the petitioners, even though they may belong to prohibited organizations.

Mr. ASHA (Syria): With all due respect to the representative of Australia, I have not been convinced by his argument in favour of these amendments. In the first place, I would like to see these amendments in writing.

The PRESIDENT: As there is no objection, we will request the representative of Australia to present these amendments in writing. In that case, we will postpone further consideration until we can receive these amendments in writing. We will now proceed with the next petition item, if there is no objection.

We shall take up the 139th report of the Standing Committee on Petitions contained in document T/L.623. This report contains in its annex ten draft resolutions proposed by the Committee, and we shall first vote on the draft resolution contained on page 1 of the Annex.

Mr. GERIG (United States of America): In looking over this next report, it seems to me that the same situation must arise in connexion with several of these actions that are proposed to be taken by us. Therefore, the same considerations would apply, am I not right?

The PRESIDENT: I would say to the representative of the United States that there is no motion before us, and unless there is a motion before us to amend, we will proceed to take a vote.

We shall first vote on draft resolution I.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 6 votes to 4, with 3 abstentions.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 7 votes to 1, with 6 abstentions.

Draft resolution III A was adopted by 7 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

Draft resolution III B was adopted by 7 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

Draft resolution IV A was adopted by 7 votes to 3, with 4 abstentions.

Draft resolution IV B was adopted by 7 votes to 3, with 4 abstentions.

Draft resolution V was adopted by 7 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

Draft resolution VI was adopted by 13 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

Draft resolution VII was adopted unanimously.

Draft resolution VIII was adopted by 7 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

The PRESIDENT: Page 3, paragraph 3, of document T/L.623 contains the recommendation of the Standing Committee:

"that the Council decide that no special information is required concerning the action taken on the resolutions annexed to this report".

We shall now vote on this recommendation.

The recommendation was adopted by 8 votes to none, with 6 abstentions,

The PRESIDENT: We will now take up the next report, the 140th report of the Standing Committee on Petitions contained in document T/L.624. This report contains six draft resolutions in its annex proposed by the Committee. We shall vote first on draft resolution I A on page 1 of the Annex.

Mr. BENDRYSHEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(interpretation from Russian): I propose to add an additional paragraph to this draft resolution, reading as follows:

"Expresses the hope that the Administering Authority, in accordance with the Trusteeship Agreement, will ensure freedom of speech and freedom of assembly for political parties and organizations of the indigenous population".

Mr. BARGUES (France)(interpretation from French): The French delegation cannot support the amendment moved by the representative of the USSR. The hope which the Council would thus express is quite superfluous, since freedom of speech and assembly are fully guaranteed in the Cameroons under French administration.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the amendment moved by the representative of the USSR.

The amendment was rejected by 6 votes to 1, with 7 abstentions.

Mr. JAIPAL (India): I should like to explain why I abstained on this vote. I abstained because in our opinion it is unnecessary to express hopes in this matter. There is, on the other hand, a very clear obligation on the part of the Administering Authority to ensure these freedoms, and that obligation is in the Trusteeship Agreement.

Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium)(interpretation from French): I voted against this amendment because in this context a vote for the amendment might give the impression that the Council considers that freedom of speech and assembly are not ensured in the Cameroons.

Draft resolution I.A was adopted by 7 votes to 2, with 5 abstentions.

Draft resolution I.B was adopted by 7 votes to 5, with 2 abstentions.

Mr. BENDRYSHEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(interpretation from Russian): I voted against draft resolutions I.A and I.B since the amendment I proposed was not adopted, that amendment being to the effect that the Council should express the hope that the Administering Authority, in accordance with the Trusteeship Agreement, would ensure freedom of speech and assembly for political organizations and parties of the indigenous population. That amendment was submitted in view of the fact that these petitions, as well as others, indicate that meetings held by the indigenous population were broken up.

Draft resolution II.A was adopted by 7 votes to 4, with 3 abstentions.

Draft resolution II.B was adopted by 6 votes to 5, with 2 abstentions.

Draft resolution III.A was adopted by 5 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

Draft resolution III.B was adopted by 6 votes to none, with 8 abstentions.

The recommendation contained in paragraph 3, on page 4 of document T/L.624, was adopted by 7 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the draft resolutions contained in the 141st report of the Standing Committee on Petitions (T/L.625).

Draft resolution I A was adopted by 7 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

Draft resolution I B was adopted by 7 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 7 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

Draft resolution III A was adopted by 7 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

Draft resolution III B was adopted by 7 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

Mr. BENDRYSHEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I wish to propose an amendment to draft resolutions IV A and IV B. Under my amendment, the following paragraph would be inserted between paragraphs 4 and 5 of draft resolutions IV A and IV B, respectively:

"Expresses the hope that the Administering Authority will undertake the necessary urgent measures to improve medical and educational services for the indigenous inhabitants of the Babimbi Subdivision".

In support of that amendment, I would remind the Council that, in resolution 983 (XIII), the Trusteeship Council referred to the need for the Administering Authority to undertake the necessary measures to improve the medical and educational services for the indigenous population of the Babimbi Subdivision.

Mr. BARGUES (France) (interpretation from French): I do not think that the amendment proposed by the Soviet Union representative is necessary. In paragraph 2 of draft resolutions IV A and IV B, as drawn up by the Standing Committee on Petitions, reference is made to the resolution on the subject adopted by the Trusteeship Council at its thirteenth session; in that resolution, the Council noted various projects being undertaken by the Administering Authority in this respect.

Furthermore, the Council can take this matter up when, at the end of this session, it examines health conditions in the Cameroons in connexion with its consideration of the Administering Authority's and the Visiting Mission's reports.

(Mr. Bargues, France)

Finally, the amendment proposed by the Soviet Union representative amounts to a criticism of the steps taken by the Administering Authority in the medical and educational fields. The Administering Authority cannot accept such a criticism, made before the Trusteeship Council has studied the relevant information in the Administering Authority's report. I do not think that the judgement contained in the amendment can be made simply on the basis of allegations in petitions.

The proposed amendment to draft resolution IVA was rejected by 7 votes to 4, with 2 abstentions.

Mr. ASHA (Syria): I should like to explain my vote. I voted in favour of this amendment not because of any criticism of the Administering Authority -- we have recognized in the past and still recognize that a great deal is being done -- but because we saw no harm in putting a little emphasis on a recommendation of this nature.

Mr. CUTTS (Australia): In the light of what the representative of Syria has said, I should like to explain why I voted against this amendment. I voted against it because in this context it could not be construed as anything but a judgement by the Council on the action taken by the Administering Authority to develop educational and medical facilities in the Babimbi Subdivision, and the Council simply is not in possession of any material whatever on which to base such a judgement.

Draft resolution IVA was adopted by 8 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

The proposed amendment to draft resolution IV B was rejected by 7 votes to 5, with 2 abstentions.

Draft resolution IV B was adopted by 9 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

Draft resolution V A was adopted by 7 votes to 1, with 6 abstentions.

Draft resolution V B was adopted by 7 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

Draft resolution VI was adopted unanimously.

Draft resolution VII was adopted by 7 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

Draft resolution VIII was adopted by 8 votes to 1, with 4 abstentions.

Draft resolution IX was adopted by 7 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

The recommendation contained in paragraph 3 of the report was adopted by 7 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

The PRESIDENT: The Council will now adjourn until 10.30 tomorrow morning.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.