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Twenty-first Session

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE EIGHT HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Monday, 3 February 1958, at 2.30 p.m.

President:

Mr. ARENALES CATALAN

(Guatemala)

Conditions in Ruanda-Urundi [4b and 6b] (continued)

*attainment 8, 12, 72-81*  
*population 2/22*  
*statistics 2/22*

Note: The Official Record of this meeting, i.e., the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.850 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

## AGENDA ITEMS 4b and 6b

## CONDITIONS IN RUANDA-URUNDI:

- (a) EXAMINATION OF THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TRUST TERRITORY OF RUANDA-URUNDI FOR 1956 (T/1338, 1352; T/L.810
- (b) REPORTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS VISITING MISSION TO TRUST TERRITORIES IN EAST AFRICA (1957): REPORT ON RUANDA-URUNDI (T/1346) (continued)

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Leroy, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, took a place at the Council table.

Political advancement

*Africans in the Gen Council*  
Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France)(interpretation from French): In his introductory statement, the special representative stated that the participation of African members in the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi had been very significant. I wonder if he could give us any additional information on this subject.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative)(interpretation from French): On various occasions in the past the Trusteeship Council has expressed the fear that the African members in the Councils in the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi do not take part in the work of the Councils in as complete freedom and liberty as would be desired.

During the meetings of the General Council held in 1957-1958, the role played by Africans participating in the debate was of extraordinary importance; and when I say "extraordinary importance" I mean not only as to the number of statements made by African members, but also as to the high quality of these statements. Obviously, it is not possible to advance statistics in this regard; they would not have very much meaning in any event, but I think that I can give a rather striking example of the significance of such statements if I mention one of the meetings held in January 1958, at which time the special status to be given to urban centres was under debate.

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There are forty-four members in the General Council. Of these, eighteen are Africans. When the question of the special status of urban centres was under discussion, twelve of the African members abstained since they considered that this question had not been sufficiently thoroughly studied. Although virtually all of the remaining members of the Council agreed to discuss this question, out of deference to the African members and the number of inhabitants whom the represented, the Council decided unanimously not to take advantage of the majority decision, but rather to postpone consideration of these questions. This instance will demonstrate to what extent the participation of Africans in the recent Council meetings has proved to be important.

Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (interpretation from French): In paragraph 66 of the report of the Visiting Mission the statement is made that the High Council of Ruanda had considered the establishment of four central services. Could we have any details as to the services which are under consideration? Cen  
ser.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): I have very little to add to the information in paragraph 66 of the report of the Visiting Mission referring to the establishment of central services. The Mwami of Ruanda, using the powers conferred upon him under the Decree of 14 July 1952, issued a decree establishing four central services; one centralizing the budget; one dealing with general administration and justice, and one dealing with natural resources. So far, however, the actual establishment of these services has been hampered due to the fact that it proved difficult to find sufficiently competent men in the Territory to ensure that these developments could be established successfully. This framework, therefore, has been created officially, but so far, the services are not in operation.

Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (interpretation from French): This is my last question for the time being. One of the points which is stressed repeatedly in the report of the Visiting Mission is the dual nature of the European and indigenous administrations. Could the special representative tell me how he envisages the evolution of the relations between these two administrations, and how he thinks it might be possible to merge them? dis  
adv

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative)(interpretation from French): This is a question which has been put to me several times since I have had the honour of appearing before the Trusteeship Council. As I have repeatedly stated, it is possible to view this evolution from two different angles. One would be the transfer to the local administration of powers at present in the hands of the European administration. This procedure would have the drawback that two separate administrations would still exist, and that this would not serve to provide unified and centralized directives.

The second system, to which we are more inclined, would be to bring in an ever greater number of the indigenous officials into the cadres of the so-called European administration, so that gradually the outcome would be that only one single administration would exist.

If one bears in mind the purposes of the Trusteeship System, then there can be no doubt that the introduction of an ever growing number of African officials into the present administrative framework would prove more satisfactory than the other procedure, which consists of giving greater powers to local customary African organizations which may not at the present time have reached a sufficient stage of development, along what I might call democratic lines, to undertake such functions.

There can be no doubt that both aspects will have to be tackled together, and I cannot as yet visualize how the final merger could take place. These are only brief ideas on the subject.

U TIN MAUNG (Burma): Before I address my questions to the special representative, I should like to take this opportunity to extend to you, Mr. President, my delegation's hearty congratulations and warm wishes for the mission to which we all know you are especially dedicated. I should also like to congratulate warmly Mr. Claeys Bouuaert upon his election to the no less responsible post of Vice-President of the Council.

My delegation listened with interest to the opening statements made here today by the representative of Belgium and the special representative and noted that, among other things, they referred to the emergence in the Territory of two important

(U Tin Maung, Burma)

public documents entitled, respectively, "Manifesto of the Bahutu" and "Statement of views" presented by the High Council of the State of Ruanda. I should like to ask the special representative whether, since the publication and dissemination of information and ideas contained in those two documents, the Administering Authority has given serious consideration to the fact that the indigenous inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi are now ready to receive far-reaching reforms in the political field.

Mr. LEROY (Special representative)(interpretation from French): The question has been put to me whether the Administration has considered the fact that the inhabitants now feel that they are in a position to receive considerable reforms. Since the mandate was established, the Administering Authority has always considered such problems, and reforms are being introduced continually. I have not submitted a single report or spoken here once without informing you of the considerable reforms that have taken place. In the past, I have had the privilege of explaining what the reforms have been in the last ten years, and I believe that this is a sufficient answer to the question that has now been asked. The Administering Authority is considering this problem with all due attention.

U TIN MAUNG (Burma): In regard to the first document, the "Manifesto of the Bahutu", we are told that, as reported by the Visiting Mission, the Administration has given it a sympathetic reception and some publicity and that, at the July 1957 session of the General Council, three members expressed the hope that the Government would study the document thoroughly and state its views at the General Council's next session. I should like to ask the special representative whether the Government expressed its view on the matter at the extraordinary session of the General Council held in October 1957 to the entire satisfaction of the indigenous members of the Council.

Mr. LEROY (Special representative)(interpretation from the session of July 1957, the Government communicated this report and the Manifesto of the Bahutu to all the members of the General Council. The extraordinary session of October 1957 was devoted to a study of the loan of the International Bank. In the course of the session in January 1958, the Manifesto

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of the Bahutu was not discussed, because this question was not discussed as such. Yet, the problems contained in this Manifesto were at all times present in the minds of the representatives in January 1958 and were constantly referred to in the course of the discussions. I believe that it can be truly said that it was no longer necessary to discuss this Manifesto because of the evolution that had taken place meanwhile, and it was no longer necessary for the Government to make its position known with regard to this document, since the document had already been discussed and referred to in the course of the various discussions which had taken place in the General Council. Preliminary study had thus taken place which superseded the necessity of a special study of this document.

*Document of view*  
U-TIN MAUNG (Burma): With regard to the other equally important document, entitled "Statement of views", it seems to me that the sentiments expressed therein clearly reflect the aspirations of the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory. The document states that "self-government is the normal culmination of Trusteeship; that is an undeniable truth", and recognizes that the indigenous inhabitants should be trained for self-government now. I should like to invite the special representative to tell me whether, in view of the importance and urgency of this document, the Administering Authority is prepared to give serious consideration to measures recommended in the document, namely, (a) education, (b) broader participation in the Government of the State, (c) a better directed economic and social policy, and (d) the reduction of colour prejudices.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): I can answer this question in very general terms. The Administering Authority knows that self-government is the final goal of the Trusteeship System, and that is always borne in mind by the Administration. Whenever it is possible, the Administration yields new and enlarged responsibilities and rights to the indigenous population. I might remind you that in 1946, for the first time, four indigenous persons were appointed as officers of the judiciary police, and seven more appointments took place in 1957. At present, there are eleven officers of indigenous origin. If,

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so far, indigenous officers have not occupied more important positions, it is merely because we do not have sufficiently numerous cadres that could play their parts in the European branch of the Administration. Of course, in the field of local administration, the Mwami, the Chiefs, play a very important role and have extended responsibilities.

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Special Representative)

The Administration always strives towards this final objective, but the representative of Burma, who has visited Ruanda-Urundi, will know that it is extremely difficult to cope with the difficulties arising from the fact that two different peoples exist there, the Bahutu and the Batutsi. So, if extended powers are given to indigenous persons without due consideration to the development of the Bahutus, we run the risk of transferring all powers to the Batutsis, which will result in a situation which will in no way improve the position of the Bahutu. This is the double aspect of the problem which is being explained in the report of the Visiting Mission.

*Habyarimana*  
U TIN MAUNG (Burma): My next question relates to an independent opinion expressed by a member of the General Council on the political organization of Ruanda-Urundi. It may be recalled from paragraph 67 of the Visiting Mission's report that Mr. Joseph Habyarimana, a businessman from Astrida and a member of the General Council, in a memorandum recommended two things: (a) discontinuance of the dual European-indigenous administration of Ruanda-Urundi; (b) thorough reform of the existing structure of chiefs and sub-chiefs.

Although the Administering Authority may not entirely agree with this gentleman, does not the special representative deem it politic that the indigenous population -- which, as the Visiting Mission has observed in its report, is capable of expressing and discussing general ideas concerned with modern political organization -- should be encouraged to establish sound democratic institutions with a view to their ultimate political emancipation?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative)(interpretation from French):

Mr. Habyarimana was one of the most active members of the last session of the General Council of the Government. The wish he expressed that the dual administration system should be terminated is indeed the wish of the Administration itself, but, as I have already stated in reply to the questions of the representative of France, the dual development which is taking place in order to enable powers to be transferred to indigenous organs and to enable indigenous officers to be integrated in the present European administration, has to be accompanied by efforts to integrate the Batutsi and the Bahutu, to which I have already referred in answering the second question put to me by the representative of Burma. It has also to be accompanied by a general democratization of the

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appointment of officials, judges and other responsible functionaries. The Council is very well aware that every effort is being made to democratize these institutions and to reach the objective urged by Mr. Habyarimana. However, it is necessary to bear in mind the possibilities of the persons who are available, and it is impossible to produce such a change from one day to the other without considerable dislocation.

U TIN MAUNG (Burma): I have a few further questions to ask, but in order not to take up the Council's time I shall confine myself for the moment to those which I have already put to the special representative. I reserve my right to revert to questions in the political field when I think that necessary, and I thank the special representative for his very kind co-operation and for the lucid answers he has already given me.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Soviet Union delegation would like to have some clarification of the various questions connected with the development of the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi. As is well known, the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council have repeatedly shown concern with regard to the establishment of target dates for the attainment of the purposes of the Trusteeship System. The Visiting Mission has also devoted due attention to this question, considering it as one of the most important measures in helping to achieve the purposes of trusteeship. The Administering Authority, in its turn, has repeatedly stated previously, and has repeated the statement at this session, that it is impossible to fulfil these recommendations. Would it be possible to hear from the special representative, first, whether any consultation in connexion with this question has taken place with the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory and, second, what are the obstacles to the establishment of tentative target dates for the development of this Territory, bearing in mind that the Visiting Mission has already stressed the fact that the Administering Authority is, perhaps, too cautious in its measures designed to develop this Territory?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative)(interpretation from French):

No consultation of the indigenous inhabitants has taken place if what is meant by "consultation" is a vote ~~or a plebiscite~~. However, during the past few years the question of self-government and independence has on countless occasions been discussed and ventilated in the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi, in the course of conversations and meetings between Europeans and Africans, and in any number of newspaper articles. The Africans themselves have always felt that at the present time this was an impossibility. I think it will be found that it is in one of the two texts of the Bahutu manifesto -- both of which come from the indigenous inhabitants -- that the following statement is made: "The indigenous inhabitants themselves declare that it is not possible at the present time to set a target date". I have already explained this repeatedly. Any date could only be arbitrary or fanciful. I do not mean to say that any date would be too soon in the future. What I mean is that it is not possible for the Administration to set such a date. It is possible that if, as has been said by Mr. Van Bilsen, we spoke of a target of thirty years events would prove us in the wrong, and that accession to independence would take place in the much nearer future. It may be that the difficulties which I mentioned earlier as deriving from the economic and social situation in the country may postpone the target date to an even later period. It is clearly impossible -- and not only impossible but dangerous -- to set such a target date. To do so would place us in a position where we would either have to fail in carrying out our promises or else grant independence at a time when the population was not in fact prepared to accede to independence.

(Mr. Leroy, Special Representative)

If the attainment of independence is going to bring about in the country the establishment of an even worse regime, then it is hardly worthwhile attaining independence. There have been cases in which a specific target date had been set for the attainment of independence, but I do not know of any such cases where this bore particularly happy results; at least I am not convinced that these results were so fortunate.

As to the obstacles which impede the setting of such plans, may I say that with regard to economic matters it is possible to blueprint such plans. It is possible to say that a road will be completed in eighteen to twenty months, or that a bridge will be built within a given period, within a given twenty-four hour target. It is not, however, possible to say specifically at which time a population will have reached such degree of evolution as to be able to administer itself, so that it will not fall from one type of dependency into another even worse type of dependence. I would not want the Council to construe my position as representing any attempt to defer or postpone attainment of independence. I made this quite clear in my first statement. What I do maintain is that it is not possible, conscientiously and in all good faith, to set a date which one can be sure to respect.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I wish to thank the special representative for his explanations, but I should like to offer a few remarks in this connexion. When the arguments were propounded for the deferment of establishing a target date, it appeared to me that fear was expressed that the population might be enabled to fulfil the measures necessary for self-government quicker than it was foreseen by the plans. But nobody will ever complain should the Administering Authority fulfil those plans at an earlier period than originally scheduled. It will be a considerable attainment.

Furthermore, the special representative spoke mainly about the target date for the attainment of self-government, which is the final purpose of the Trusteeship System. But I also wanted to find out what obstacles make it difficult to establish partial blueprints and transitional target dates. Why does the Administering Authority consider it impossible to fix a date for establishing

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general universal suffrage, ~~for Africanizing the Administration on all levels,~~ and so forth? Such specific transitional targets could be established.

I also want to pay tribute to the special representative for his correct assessment of dependency as such. However, he apparently believes that the form of dependency now existing in the Trust Territories is a negative phenomenon. In this connexion I should like to know what measures are being planned in order to bring the Territory out of this unsatisfactory condition as soon as possible?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): I should like to reply to one of the questions put by the representative of the Soviet Union. This is a question which I did not in fact deal with comprehensively, namely the whole question of setting provisional target dates. It is very difficult to set such dates because the objectives in view are very numerous indeed and have a great variety of aspects. I might say, however, that on several occasions the Administration has followed this course, whenever this proved possible. Thus the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi informed the Visiting Mission that it was planned to hold direct elections in the near future by universal suffrage for all men.

*Africanization*  
If I am asked at what time important posts will be given to Africans in the Administration of the Territory, I can only reply in the following way. The first Africans will be graduated in 1958 from secondary educational establishments in sufficient numbers and they will have access to the universities. Those who are at present in the secondary schools will for the most part go on to higher education. If we bear in mind that this higher education covers a span of four, five or six years, then we can feel that in that lapse of time we will have persons holding university diplomas, and the Administration will no doubt use the talents of these people. I trust that this is a partial reply to the question of the representative of the Soviet Union.

*word independence - independence*  
Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): My next question deals with a clarification with regard to information received by the Visiting Mission, as shown on page 22 of the Visiting Mission's report (T/1346). Reference is made to a document which states that it is prohibited in the Territory even to pronounce the very word "independence".

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Inasmuch as the Visiting Mission has not stated whether this allegation is true or not, I should like to invite the special representative to tell us whether this allegation is correct.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): This is really ludicrous. The word "independence" is mentioned a thousand times a day all over the Territory and I am sure that the Visiting Mission heard this word time and again.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I do understand that it is possible to reach a situation where such a word might not be pronounced at all, but it is conceivable that people pronounce this word secretly. However, is it officially permissible to pronounce such a word, and if it is merely a joke, I should like to know the foundation of such an allegation since apparently it attracted the notice of the Visiting Mission and is recorded in its report. This information is to be found in paragraph 42 of the report.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): First of all, I would like to make the point that the use of any word has never been prohibited in Ruanda-Urundi. Thank heavens we have not reached that stage. If we turn to the text of the Visiting Mission's report, we will find the following statement:

"Some indigenous inhabitants exaggerate in the other direction, and accuse the Europeans of taking advantage of this disharmony between Batutsi and Bahutu in order to retard the Territory's evolution. In a signed note handed to the Mission a Munyaruanda speaks of the policy of divide and rule which has been followed by the Europeans in the case of the Bahutu-Batutsi ever since the Batutsi were accused - wrongly, the author asserts - of having asked for independence 'a word that has become taboo in our country'." (T/1346, paragraph 42)

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Special Representative)

I do not know how this word was translated into Russian, but certainly we cannot interpret this to refer to any prohibition. The representative of the Soviet Union has said that this word could only be used secretly. I may reassure him on this matter: this word is spoken quite openly and freely anywhere and by anybody. The use of this word is not taboo. As a matter of fact, this word appears in the United Nations Charter and in the Trusteeship Agreement, which are available to everyone in Ruanda-Urundi and are part of the code and laws of the Territory.

LOBANOV

*ele chous*  
*(Batwa)* Mr. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I wish to thank the special representative for his explanation.

My next question relates to the elections which are planned for the Territory.

The report of the Visiting Mission states that the Batwa population represents less than 1 per cent of the total population of the Territory. Can the special representative tell us the exact number of this population?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French):

According to the most accurate information, the Batwa represent 1.32 per cent of the total population, which gives us a population figure of approximately 60,000.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): In connexion with this explanation I should like to ask the following question. As shown by the table attached to the report, the Batwa population had been .2 per cent of the electoral registers but was only .01 per cent during the last year. I should like to know the reason for this considerable decrease. Does this not result from a decrease in the population? Two years ago we read figures which indicated that the Batwa population numbered approximately 80,000. That was not official information, of course, and therefore may not have been entirely reliable.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French):

In the report of the Administering Authority for 1953 or 1954 -- I do not quite recall which one -- we explained how we estimated the population figures. Owing to lack of adequate staff, it was never possible for us to take an accurate census of the population. We have made population estimates by following sampling procedures. It is done by taking various representative areas in the Territory and by carrying out a precise census in them.

I stated that the Batwa population numbered approximately 60,000, which would be the result of our sampling surveys. They constitute 1.32 per cent of the 4.5 million people, according to the studies conducted by the National Institute for Scientific Research. It may be that some optimistic person or someone who studied other areas reached the figure of 80,000.

I do not think that there has been any decrease in the Batwa population. The population is not very large and it lives in perfect harmony with the Bahutu and the Batutsi. It enjoys the same medical services as other groups and there is no special reason for it to decline in number or to vanish.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I am grateful to the special representative for his clarification, but I am compelled to make a few more remarks. Is it not possible to conclude that a population census might be carried out by inviting the population to settle in various areas? We know that in other Trust Territories more accurate census methods are used. The fact that this has not been done in Ruanda-Urundi might indicate due attention has not been given to this part of the population. I should like some clarification on whether this method does not characterize the whole position of the Administering Authority towards this group? I should also like to ask for an explanation of the considerable decrease in the activity of these people in the elections. Their participation dropped to .01 per cent, which is a considerable decrease indeed.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): I do not understand the first part of the question. I have already stated that the Administration -- and let us not forget this fact -- which comprises only a few

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Special Representative)

hundred persons, and the territorial administration, which comprises only a handful of persons, were simply not in a position to carry out a person to person census of 4.5 million people. That is simply a practical impossibility. A few years ago we set up in the Territory the National Institute for Scientific Research, which used the most current demographic methods to conduct sampling surveys. We have another significant index, namely the number of taxpayers. Taxes in principle are paid by the heads of families. This gives us another basis for our figures which we found to be quite in line with the information collected by the Institute.

I cannot go further than this. Until new methods of investigation are developed, I must consider that these methods provide us with a sufficient basis for evaluation. Whenever it was possible to check on these figures, they corresponded very satisfactorily to reality.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I am very reluctant to return to what has already been said, but I did not receive any answer to my question when I asked what explains the considerable decrease of the participation of the Batwa in the elections, the data shown on page 33 of the Visiting Mission's report. Of course, if the special representative is in difficulties and cannot furnish a reply, I will proceed to my next question.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): I take it that this must be a question of uncertainties. I said that all these results represented orders of magnitude, and if we have 0.01 in 1956 and 0.2 for 1953. I cannot give a foolproof explanation of this phenomena. There can be no doubt that the Batwa are nowhere becoming extinct; nowhere is their number undergoing a decline. I can only attribute this to normal differences which take place in the actual counting.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Visiting Mission refers to a document emanating from the High Council of Ruanda which says that this Council has very restricted powers at the present time and that even sometimes its advisory character is quite illusory. I should like to draw the attention of the Council to the fact that this is the opinion of the High Council of Ruanda itself. I should like to know if any plans are being made by the Administering Authority to broaden the powers of the high councils of the Territory in the near future.

*High Council of Ruanda*

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): The high councils of the two Countries, which are rather young institutions, like all advisory bodies and like all new councils, tend to think that their powers are not sufficiently broad. If, however, you consider that these councils have within their scope all questions of local interest for each of the two countries, that is to say, the High Council of Ruanda considers all questions concerning Ruanda and the High Council of Urundi take up all questions regarding Urundi, we must admit that this constitutes a rather extensive field of competence and responsibility for the two councils.

On the other hand, we must not forget that whereas previously to 1953, the date of the entry into force of the decree of 14 July 1952, the Bani held virtually all power in customary and local affairs, at the present time such powers can be exercised only with the agreement of the High Council of the country.

There can be no question, therefore, that these councils, these advisory assemblies which have been recently established, already have extremely broad powers. I think it is sufficient to take a look -- and I think that the Visiting Mission did so -- at their agendas to be convinced that they have very great responsibilities and powers. The Administration has no specific plans on this score, but it does intend -- as it has always done up to the present time -- gradually to broaden these powers and to give increasing power to these bodies. Let us not forget, for instance, that everything relating to the carrying out of agricultural work on the part of the population is at present controlled by these councils.

Mr. CLAEYS BOUUAERT (Belgium) (interpretation from French): I should like to give the following clarifications to what has just been said by the special representative. The representative of the Soviet Union has said -- which is, moreover, true -- that in the manifesto to which he referred, the advisory character of the high councils of the countries was referred to. It must be noted that the nature of these councils is not only advisory. These high councils of the two countries are also deliberative bodies. They can deliberate on all local questions and matters regarding the customary area; for example, they can deliberate on all questions such as the private rights of Africans among themselves, on land tenure and on many other questions to which the Administration is adding to yearly. Questions are being added to these councils in the field of administration, particularly those questions which can be usefully treated at the local level by the local councils. This Council is not only advisory but also deliberative. It is advisory, it is true, in the sense that it can examine and submit recommendations to the Administering Authority on other subjects also, and for all subjects on which its own specific competence is not deliberative. There is no lack of these questions and this is done regularly.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(interpretation from Russian): In order not to tax the patience of the Council, I will ask one last question. The Visiting Mission states in its report that it has received information, probably from the Administering Authority, that some European circles were against the setting up of the General Council inasmuch as these groups always felt that a more closer union should be had between Ruanda-Urundi and the Belgian Congo. I should like to know what are these European circles to which reference is made and what their influence is on the affairs of the Territory at the present time. Gen. Cou

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative)(interpretation from French): On this subject I only have the report of the Visiting Mission, and I think that this question should be addressed to the Chairman of the Visiting Mission.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(interpretation from Russian): I presume that if the Chairman of the Visiting Mission wishes to make a statement, he will certainly do so.

I have no further questions. I wish to thank the special representative for his replies to my questions. I also wish to thank the representative of Belgium for the additional information which he was kind enough to give me.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative)(interpretation from French): In connexion with the last question put by the representative of the Soviet Union, I should like to remind you that in my initial statement I stated my feeling that possibly the Visiting Mission had been misinformed or that it had misunderstood some information given it because, having lived these many years in the Territory, I must say that I have never found any European circles that were hostile to the creation of the General Council. To the contrary, the increase in the number of members in the membership of the General Council from twenty-two to forty-five members led those who felt they had a political mission to discharge to show interest in the Council.

(Mr. Leroy, Special Representative)

The confusion may stem from the fact that certain European circles, and in particular the Eurafrican Settlers Union, have always insisted that decisions on legislative texts affecting Ruanda-Urundi should not be taken before giving the Councils of Ruanda-Urundi an opportunity to intervene to give their views. The same persons, who asked that a delegate of the General Council should be present in the Government Council at Leopoldville when the planned reforms were under discussion, also asked that the powers of the General Council should be extended. And at each session they asked how this wish expressed at previous sessions was being met.

For my part, I have never met any group or any individual hostile to the establishment of the General Council. This is true among Europeans and among Africans.

Mr. SEARS (United States of America): I am very happy to see one whom I consider such an old friend sitting here as President of this Council. It has been my privilege to attend other organizations over which you, Mr. President, have presided. I am therefore quite confident that this year things will run as smoothly and as expeditiously as they have in the past -- and I emphasize the word "expeditiously".

I am also very glad to see my friend, the representative of Belgium, sitting as Vice-President. He also is an old friend whom I have known for some years, first as an exceptionally able governor of Ruanda-Urundi and lately as the able representation of his country on this Council.

*representative of the General Council*  
I have a few questions to ask of my friend, the special representative, who was very kind to my wife and me recently when we visited Usumbura. My first question concerns the operations of the General Council. Are the debates open to the public and how widely are the highlights of the debates disseminated through the country?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative)(interpretation from French): The debates are public. There is a verbatim record of the meetings which is published in several hundred copies and distributed to the members of the Council and any other persons in the country interested in perusing it. At times, some newspapermen

(Mr. Leroy, Special Representative)

attend the meetings, take notes and give some publicity to them in press despatches. The Information Service attached to the indigenous services issues a press bulletin every day when the Council is meeting which summarizes the debates taking place during the day. As a matter of usual practice, the local newspapers print these press bulletins.

Mr. SEARS (United States of America): I thank the special representative. The answer is very clear and very encouraging.

It appears that last year the meetings of the Council were relatively frequent. Was this abnormal? Or is it planned to hold frequent but short sessions annually?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative)(interpretation from French): Until 1956, the Council of the Vice-Government-General held a one-week session each year. In 1957, it was decided that henceforth, ever since the establishment of the General Council for Ruanda-Urundi, two one-week sessions would be held each year. However, in 1957, for various reasons -- the convenience of the members of the Council, since various members had other activities which made it difficult for them to be present -- a request was made to have the session postponed to the first days of January. That is why the second session for 1957 was held in January of 1958. An extraordinary session which was not anticipated was held in October 1957 when the Council raised certain difficulties with regard to the loan requested of the International Bank.

The Administration intends to have the General Council meet twice a year as a matter of regular practice.

Mr. SEARS (United States of America): My next small group of questions (is of greater interest to me. What are the qualifications which a prospective voter must have in order to be enrolled on the voters' list?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative)(interpretation from French): I take it that this refers to elections which take place for the indigenous councils, and in particular for the Sub-Chiefdom Councils. I will see if I have this information.

(Mr. Leroy, Special Representative)

On the first occasion, when these elections were of a rather general nature, all adult men in the sub-chiefdoms were brought together and ballots were distributed to them. The voters' list was established on the basis of a population survey. The qualifications which have to be met by voters is not mentioned. I take it that these were only residential qualifications. In addition, the voters had to be adults and free from conviction for any offence.

Would the representative of the United States like to have the eligibility requirements as they affect candidates for the Council?

Mr. SEARS (United States of America): No. What I am trying to establish, and what I gather is the case -- and I would like to be corrected if I am wrong -- is that all adult male citizens in each sub-chiefdom area who are over twenty-one and who legally reside in that area are entitled to be registered on the voting list.

Mr. CLAEYS BOUUAERT (Belgium)(interpretation from French): It is rather difficult to specify that these are adult males over twenty-one since we do not know the exact age of the majority of the inhabitants in the sub-chiefdom areas. This still holds true today. That is why our present procedure keeps this question of age open. We have to judge on the basis of the external characteristics which usually apply to adult males. All adult males who have resided in the sub-chiefdom areas for a certain time and who have not been convicted of a given offence are entitled to vote.

Mr. SEARS (United States): That gives me what I want. It may be unnecessary, therefore, to ask this, but my next question was going to be: what percentage of eligible citizens are properly on the voters' roll? I assume from what the representative of Belgium said that, so far as possible, almost a hundred per cent are on the rolls. Is that a fair assumption?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): It might be going too far to say a hundred per cent, but certainly the percentage would be very close to that. During the 1956 elections a certain number of eligible voters did not vote, having been prevented from doing so by illness or other necessary absence, but despite this, we had a 75 per cent turn-out of adult voters. This would indicate that the percentage of voters in proportion to the total population would be very near to a hundred per cent.

Mr. SEARS (United States): I think that my next question has been answered partially also. It is this: is the voters' roll a truly Territory-wide roll in that no new registration of voters would be necessary if the voters were, for example, allowed to vote directly for the members of the highest Councils in the Territory?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): Yes, I think you could consider this to be so.

Mr. SEARS (United States): I noticed in the report that while the vote for the Electoral College and the Sub-Chiefdom Councils showed the Bahutu percentage to be better than 3 to 1 over the Batutsi, nevertheless the membership in the Councils showed a predominance of the Batutsi over the Bahutu. Is it not quite likely that when the next elections are held there will be a new element of confidence in the Bahutu voters which might reflect itself in a higher proportion of Bahutu over the Batutsi in the Council itself?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): The Administration expects and, indeed, hopes for this.

Mr. SEARS (United States): If the Sub-Chiefdom Councils come to have a majority Bahutu vote, why then might not one expect that almost immediately the Chiefdom Councils, although indirectly elected, would also have a Bahutu majority?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): I do not think that this is possible immediately. The Bahutu have been accustomed for centuries to be led by the Batutsi and to be directed by them. Certainly they cannot be expected over night deliberately to abandon this state of things. We are, as a matter of fact, encouraging the Bahutu on these lines. I think we can hope that the percentage of Bahutu in the Councils will increase considerably. However, we must also bear in mind the fact that, in the membership of the Councils we have persons who have certain rights to membership -- the Chiefs, the Sub-Chiefs for example, and most of these are Bahuti. This gives them a certain initial advantage in membership.

Mr. SEARS (United States): I thank the special representative, and I have only this one observation to make, namely, that it appears to me that the time is fairly close when Bahuti control of the most numerous councils of the Territory will in fact give them the essential political power to do almost anything they wish in the Territory, provided they are willing to take the responsibility for it.

*william*  
Mr. JAIPAL (India): As the special representative knows, there is in this Territory a force of public order to maintain public peace, and that force is composed of nine Belgians and 645 Africans who are all from outside the Trust Territory. My delegation would like to know what difficulties there are in the way of raising a public force from within the Trust Territory. We should also like to know whether the Administering Authority has any plans in this connexion.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): In the course of the last years I have, I believe, answered this question. There is no great disadvantage to this state of things, namely, that a part of the public

(Mr. Leroy, Special Representative)

force has been recruited outside the Territory. We have to bear in mind that this force consists of only 650 soldiers. It is a force of approximately 500 Congolese men. The figure of 9 European officers for a population of 4.5 million is quite out of proportion. The reason why this force has been kept as it is -- a purely Congolese force -- is partly historical and partly practical. At the time when the Territory was conquered from the Germans in 1916, that public force had effected the conquest and has remained in the Territory ever since. The administration of the Territory which was undertaken under the Mandate immediately gave considerable powers to the local administration, so that this public force had to be used in the state in which it existed then. Another aspect was that under the laws prevailing at that time, the Mandate provided for a situation in which that public force could not be used for any purpose other than defence of the Territory -- the armed forces of the Belgian Congo were to be used for defence purposes for both the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi--and this would have been the cause of certain difficulties even if that force had consisted of the indigenous inhabitants. Besides, the indigenous inhabitants are not very competent in a military sense and it would be possible, therefore, to constitute this force only by calling for volunteers; and, up to two or three years ago, there were no volunteers interested in becoming part of such a force.

There is also an economic aspect to the question. The constitution of a force for Ruanda-Urundi would necessitate the establishing of training camps and using training personnel, which would involve considerable expense and would be a heavy burden for the present budget, which already shows a deficit. However, in the last two or three years certain inhabitants and Chiefs in Ruanda-Urundi have stated their opinion that indigenous inhabitants might be integrated slowly into such a force, from which they could derive certain benefits, such as training and experience, and at present the Administration is endeavouring to arrange to admit inhabitants of both Ruanda and Urundi to that force.

*Gen. Council*  
 Mr. JAIPAL (India): In paragraph 71 of the report of the Visiting Mission, under sub-paragraph (d), there is a breakdown of the thirty-two members of the General Council who are appointed by the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi. Sub-paragraph (d) (1) states that six of them represent the industrial and commercial companies, and sub-paragraph (d) (2) refers to six representatives of the independent middle classes. It seems to me that the second category is more or less the same as the first category, since the representatives are drawn, by and large, from the commercial community. It might have been simpler to combine the two categories and show twelve representatives from the industrial and commercial community. I should like to know the reasons for separating these two. Are these two classes so markedly divided in Ruanda-Urundi that they require separate representation? For example, if one goes further down the list, one finds that there are clearly defined categories for labour, for notables, for representatives of extra-rural communities. However, when we come to the commercial community, we find them represented under two different headings. Perhaps there is some very good reason for that, and I am trying to find out what that reason is.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): It is true, as stated by the representative of India, that those first two categories somewhat duplicate each other. However, we believe that it would not have been advisable to decide that there should be twelve representatives on the Council representing commercial and industrial companies. In that category, there would not be sufficient representation of the middle classes, of artisans, of small entrepreneurs, whereas the representation of large undertakings would be swollen beyond measure. That is why the representatives of industrial and commercial companies have been put into a separate category. They are, in fact, spokesmen for the large companies, whereas the representatives of the independent middle classes are all entirely independent people.

*Bahutu vs. Batutsi*  
 Mr. JAIPAL (India): My next question concerns the chapter of the report of the Visiting Mission in which the Mission discusses at great length the differences in society which seem to arise from the existence of two communities, the Batutsi and the Bahutu. Even the special representative and,

(Mr. Jaipal, India)

I think, the representative of Belgium dealt with this matter at some length in their opening statements. As far as I know, the relationship between these two communities was primarily an economic one. And now that the economic basis of their relationship, which, I think, was the cattle contract known as the ubuhake, has been abolished, I presume that in a few years there will be greater equality at least in the economic sector of society. I wonder whether the special representative could tell us what effect the abolition of the ubuhake has had in the political field.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): Here we deal with a very complex question. We find in this question elements of economic distinctions and social and political barriers which are, as it were, interwoven. It must not be believed that the Batutsi and the Bahutu are quite separate castes that never intercommunicate. There are many Bahutu who have become cattle owners and who are being generally recognized as Batutsi presently, whereas some Batutsi who have lost their cattle are presently considered as Bahutu. There is a certain interchange, then, between those two categories.

Nevertheless, it remains a fact that the advantageous position assumed by Batutsi in the past, due to their past qualities and to their command posts and to their political activity, which had developed throughout many centuries -- all these factors presently determine a situation which results also in economic distinctions. Such are the characteristics of the present situation, where political and social standing is determined by the economic past.

(Mr. Leroy, Special Representative)

We can expect that these differences will be attenuated in future, but we must note that social differences of this kind which originated so many centuries ago cannot be liquidated very rapidly. Although they do not show in legislative texts, they certainly do exist. What can be obtained now through the cancellation of the ubuhake contracts is the economic liberation of one class from the other. It is not yet real integration. There is an element of inferiority. We are fighting it, and trying to improve the situation.

Mr. JAIPAL (India): It seems to me, therefore, that, with the gradual disappearance of this economic domination of the Bahutu by the Batutsi, the present difficulties between them lie largely in the political field -- that is, in the field of political authority and its exercise. There is a very interesting table drawn up by the Visiting Mission in paragraph 54 of its report which illustrates, I think, the extent of the political influence wielded at the moment by the two communities. I would ask the special representative the following question. Will not the introduction of universal adult suffrage and direct elections for all the representative bodies in the Territory gradually bring about real equality among the various sections of the population? In other words, if the representatives are elected it does not really matter whether the persons elected are Batutsi or Bahutu, for in either case they will be the popular choice. I think the representative of the United States was also getting at this very point earlier.

Mr. CLAEYS BOUAERT (Belgium) (interpretation from French): I am intervening in the discussion in order to add certain explanations to what was being said by the special representative, who will later reply to the most recent question put to him by the representative of India. It is certain -- and this has been stressed by the Visiting Mission -- that in the future the distinctions between Batutsi and Bahutu will be eliminated. This evil bears within itself the seeds of its own cure. However, we must not harbour illusions. Any such tension can be attenuated only gradually. To believe that universal suffrage in itself is the solution of the problem does not correspond to the facts established by present experience. The situation of these two classes twenty years ago

(Mr. Claeys Bouuaert, Belgium)

was slightly different from what it is now. Perhaps, if these people had been invited to vote, had that been at all possible twenty years ago, the traditional chiefs would have been elected by 100 per cent suffrage, irrespective of whether they belonged to one class or the other.

What will bring progress in future is not merely the political reforms but economic transformation and evolution. The elimination of the ubuhake contracts is one of the necessary steps which has not yet been quite fulfilled. Once the ubuhake definitely belongs to the past something will still remain of it which will not be palpable, perhaps, but which will still influence the political attitude of groups of this population. It will be necessary to bear this in mind. It is not only the ubuhake contracts or their abolition which will influence the evolution.

It is important to consider all the measures that are being taken by the Administration. Mr. Habyarimana, one of the petitioners who had appeared here before the Council, is a Bahutu and a very intelligent person. He is an industrialist and has a small brick factory now. At present he is spokesman for the Batutsi, and exerts considerable influence on them. The activities of people such as this person, and the measures that are taken by the Administering Authority, as well as institutional developments, will gradually alleviate the acuteness of the problem of the Bahutu and the Batutsi and will solve it in a future which is not too remote I believe.

Mr. JAIPAL (India): I think the representative of Belgium has, to a large extent, answered the question I had put earlier to the special representative. I have been asking this series of questions because it seemed to me that both the Visiting Mission and the Administering Authority had given somewhat undue attention to this particular problem, and I was naturally anxious to go further into the matter. As I see it, the fears and the suspicions that exercise the minds of the Bahutu should disappear to a very large extent with the introduction of universal adult suffrage and the abolition of the ubuhake contracts. Of course, in the field of social relations, I agree with the representative of Belgium that fears and suspicions will continue to exist for some time, and they will be eradicated in the course of time by education and other healthy processes.

(Mr. Jaipal, India)

*High Council*

My next question relates to a point which was raised earlier by the representative of France. The Visiting Mission in its report has referred to the High Council of Rwanda's decision to establish an indigenous administrative machinery, and I think the Mission went on to say that possibly the State of Urundi might follow suit in this regard. Now this is a very interesting development, and I should like to know the Administering Authority's views on it. I believe the special representative said earlier that one difficulty which was facing these two States was shortage of competent personnel for manning the administrative machinery. I should like to know whether the Administering Authority itself would encourage this development by offering help -- for example, by providing training for the indigenous staff in the Belgian sector of the Administration.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French):

The Administration is certainly extremely interested in this development, and the establishment of the services decided upon by the Mwami of Ruanda was favoured and welcomed. It is difficult for us at the present time to provide, let us say, a post of "chief of justice" in the Territory. We might find such an official in the Belgian Administration if we were requested to provide such an official. But to train an indigenous inhabitant to assume such a role would pose certain long-range problems. At the present time we are to some extent hearing a solution, since several indigenous inhabitants in Ruanda are pursuing university studies in Belgium. I am thinking of the alternate President of the Court of Mwami, who is following courses at Louvain university. There can be no doubt that in a year or two this person, once having returned to Ruanda-Urundi, will be in a position to hold very important posts.

There are several similar instances where we can anticipate certain changes along these lines. At the present time, however, I do not think it would be possible to find a sufficient number of competent persons to fill these posts. Thus far Urundi has not expressed any wish for such a development in its administration. But as soon as it does, the Administration will certainly encourage it, just as it has encouraged Ruanda.

Mr. JAIPAL (India): The present question concerns the relations between Ruanda and Urundi. I know that for historical reasons these two indigenous states have existed as separate entities, each under a different Mwami. On the other hand, they appear to have a great deal in common in a basic sense. For example, they have the same kind of social organization, customs, institutions, and the ethnic composition is the same, and even their languages are so closely related that assimilation was considered possible a few years ago.

It seems to me, therefore, that the fundamental obstacle to closer relations between these two states is the continuance of the feudal system of two Mwamis and the strong and opposing loyalties which they inspire. I would be very grateful if the special representative or the representative of Belgium would comment on this.

Mr. CLAEYS BOUUAERT (Belgium) (interpretation from French): This problem is far more complex than may at times be thought. Of course I am quite prepared to acknowledge, together with the representative of India, that the disappearance of age-old feudal institutions might bring these two historically separate states somewhat closer together. But this is not a matter of certain fact. We have intangible factors here and we cannot predict exactly what would take place. As an example we might wonder, for instance, why certain republics, such as Honduras and Nicaragua, remain separate while language, religion and any number of other considerations would seem to bring them very close together. Yet no one questions the right of these two nations to follow their distinct paths.

As regards the action of the Belgian Government in the Territory, that action is emphatically in favour of bringing the two states together. But it will be the public opinion in the Territory which will have the final say. The progressive evolution of feudal institutions towards a more democratic system might -- this is conceivable -- bring about a unification. But since it would enhance the political consciousness of the broad masses, it might also have the contrary effect. It would make the masses of these two traditionally separate states more conscious of the fact that they belong to separate entities. They have always been conscious of this, but they might, once having become voters in an organized community, be even more conscious of this fact.

*cow worship?*  
Mr. JAIPAL (India): On page 15 of the Visiting Mission's report, paragraph 26, there is a reference to the Mission having witnessed or attended the celebrations of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Mwami of Ruanda. In that paragraph there is a reference to cow worship. It seems that the Visiting Mission was present at certain ceremonies connected perhaps with cattle. I am wondering whether it is accurate to describe the economic and social importance of cattle as cow worship. Could the special representative or perhaps the Chairman of the Visiting Mission kindly clarify the position for me, because when I was in the Territory I did meet the director of IRSAC, Mr. Maquet,

(Mr. Jainal, India)

and I gathered from him that cow worship was not a part of the beliefs of the communities living in the Territory. What exactly took place at these celebrations?

Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) (Chairman of the Visiting Mission)  
(interpretation from French): I am very happy to reply to the question just raised by the representative of India. I think that we should not take the word "worship" in a very strict meaning of the term, but rather in a broad meaning of the term. We have all been informed of the importance of the cow to the inhabitants of the Territory. When we mention "cow worship" we do not mean that there is a cow religion or cult, but simply that the cow, as is known to the representative of India, is considered a symbol of social standing and that the cow is not exploited as an economic factor. I think that this is one of the problems which was stressed by the Administering Authority and called to the attention of the Visiting Missions of 1957 and 1954.

If we mention "cow worship", we are not referring to a religious creed or cult. What is a matter of fact, however, is that so far the cow has not been considered as an economic factor which should be exploited for economic ends. I feel convinced that this problem will be resolved by the Administration gradually as the indigenous inhabitant becomes aware of the economic value of the large number of heads of cattle, which situation poses problems in connexion with the human element and the land element.

I am not sure whether this will reply to the question the representative of India raised. As regards the celebrations of the Joyeuse Entrée of the Mwami, which we witnessed, we did see herds of cattle brought in by their herders, the royal herds entrusted to them, and we saw stunning heads of cattle which were considered cattle that could not be touched. We saw the indigenous inhabitants singing praises to the beauties of the cows. I would say that these cows were not sacred but that they were the subject of veneration.

I think this is the proper description of the attitude of the indigenous inhabitants. I think that this may give an explanation to the representative of India as to the true purport of paragraph 26.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French):

I would wholeheartedly second the points just made by the representative of Haiti. Perhaps some idea of the situation may be derived from the fact that the large cattle owners in Ruanda-Urundi are somewhat similar to the owners of a racing stable. They have the greatest admiration and consideration for the animals. They sing their praises, but they are not sacred, and ~~cattle is eaten without any hesitation at all.~~

Mr. JAIPAL (India): In the French text I think the word used is "Adoration", and that, if I may say so, is an example of Gallic romanticism which leads to difficulties in the colder English language.

I have no more questions. I should like to thank the representative of Belgium and the special representative for their very useful replies. We shall comment on them later in the course of our statement.

The meeting was suspended at 4.20 p.m., and resumed at 4.35 p.m.

Mr. KOCIANCICH (Italy) (interpretation from French): Since this is the first time that I am speaking, I wish to express to the President and Vice-President the best wishes of my delegation on their election.

My first question relates to the registration of indigenous inhabitants, referred to in paragraph 14 of the working paper prepared by the Secretariat, which states:

"Indigenous inhabitants may be enrolled on the registers of the civilized population and are then fully assimilated in legal matters to non-indigenous persons ..."

I should like to ask some questions in connexion with this statement: Does this full assimilation in legal matters mean that the assimilated indigenous inhabitants are submitted to the jurisdiction of non-indigenous officers? Moreover, what are the qualifications for the registration of the indigenous inhabitants? Finally, what are the advantages enjoyed by the registered inhabitants?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): Before replying in detail -- and it may be rather difficult to reply to these questions in detail -- I wish to say that this registration does not have much scope or significance in Ruanda-Urundi. So far I believe there are only two residents of Ruanda-Urundi who are included in the register and these two persons are Congolese. The figure is therefore insignificant.

This registration was set up in the Belgian Congo and then extended to Ruanda-Urundi so as to meet certain difficulties. In the extra-tribal centre of Leopoldville, in particular, there were certain Africans who were completely uprooted from their customary environment and completely alien by having lost touch with that environment. They had lived in a European manner and had pursued rather advanced studies. It was therefore felt that these people should no longer come before indigenous courts and be judged according to customs with which they had no remaining links.

(Mr. Leroy, Special Representative)

That is why it was felt that courts might give any persons requesting it a completely European status. This status confers certain rights upon them which are not enjoyed by the indigenous inhabitants, but this status also deprives them of the protection which is provided for indigenous inhabitants under law. Such registration is therefore granted pursuant to a request by the person concerned and after consideration by a court where magistrates, as well as European and indigenous advisers, sit. The difference with the civic merit card is this: this card is a distinction which is conferred upon indigenous inhabitants who express their wish to improve themselves and to evolve towards a more civilized status. That is the meaning of this civic merit card whereas the registration is the recognition in law of the fact that an indigenous inhabitant has become part of a European way of life. The registration is a rather rare occurrence because it presupposes that the person concerned should be completely removed, completely alienated from his customary environment entirely. This is never the case in Ruanda-Urundi whereas the civic merit card, which acknowledges civic virtues, has been distributed somewhat more widely. There are approximately 100 or 150 holders of such cards in Ruanda-Urundi at the present time.

Mr. ACCIANCIH (Italy) (interpretation from French): My next question is of a somewhat economic character and not of a political nature, but it does have some political aspects which justify my asking it. Perhaps the special representative could tell us what the opinion of the Administering Authority is with regard to the budgetary separation of Ruanda-Urundi and the Belgian Congo. I am asking him this question because, according to the opinion expressed by the Budgetary Commission of the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi, this budgetary separation of Ruanda-Urundi and the Belgian Congo causes difficulties to public finance in the Territory. I am referring to the working paper prepared by the Secretariat. It states that:

"Ruanda-Urundi's efforts to increase its national production could improve the budgetary situation only in so far as an increase in revenue and operation yielded a profit for Ruanda-Urundi and not for its neighbour."

(T/L-810, paragraph 8)

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French):

It is the basic law of Ruanda-Urundi dating back to 1925, a law which provides that the two Territories have a distinct personality and that therefore their budgets should be separate as well. It is quite clear at first sight that it would be to the interests of Ruanda-Urundi to be united from a budgetary point of view with the Belgian Congo. The Belgian Congo has certain mineral resources which Ruanda-Urundi does not possess, and it seems highly improbable that Ruanda-Urundi will ever own such resources. However it is evident that if the administration proposed to establish a joint budget for the two Territories, this would immediately be interpreted as constituting a tightening of the Administration Union framework, and I would assume that a number of members of the Council would not view such a development favourably.

As to the precise question put to me, this does touch upon an economic aspect of the question. This is the way the matter comes up. Since there is no boundary between the Territory of the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi it is on the basis of the destination of merchandise that duties are collected. If merchandise is meant for the Belgian Congo but goes to Ruanda-Urundi the duty is collected in Ruanda-Urundi. All this is spread out between the budgets at the end of the fiscal year. A member of the General Council called attention to this fact, saying that it was possible if the situation was fully clarified to have the budget of Ruanda-Urundi benefit from this somewhat. However, this is only a hypothesis. The Administration of Ruanda-Urundi would like to have these accounts clarified. There is nothing, as a matter of fact, obscure about these accounts but the opposite situation might also arise, namely, that Ruanda-Urundi would have more to turn over to the Belgian Congo than the Belgian Congo to Ruanda-Urundi. All this depends upon the final addressee of imported merchandise. As a matter of fact, it may be that after a long statistical investigation it may be decided that the game is not worth the candle. I am only speaking in hypothetical terms. It is not possible to decide that a final clarification of this budgetary aspect would actually prove of benefit to Ruanda-Urundi.

Mr. KOCIANCICH (Italy) (interpretation from French): My third and last question concerns customary law. I read with interest the declaration of the special representative who stated that the Administering Authority favours the

(Mr. Kociancich, Italy)

studies and publications in this field, but is hostile to any immobilization of regulations. I would like to know what studies were undertaken so far and what the results were.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): There is in existence a rather substantial number of studies on customary law either in the two Territories or in Ruanda and Urundi. I could not quote that from memory at the present time. For instance, there is a bulletin of indigenous jurisdiction in Ruanda-Urundi. I brought it to the Council at an earlier session to give some details on this point. At the present time, a very important study is being carried out both by Europeans and indigenous inhabitants in an attempt to separate customary law from the land tenure laws. All these studies are underway. That is why I stated in my declaration that it would be dangerous at the present time to freeze customary law and to codify it in a regular text.

Mr. KIANG (China): May I, at the outset, extend my delegation's belated congratulations to our President and Vice-President upon their elections to their respective offices.

Mr. President, I hope you will forgive me if I revert to a question which has been much discussed this afternoon and the importance of which has been very much emphasized both in the report of the Visiting Mission and in the opening statement of the special representative, as well as in the questions put to the special representative this afternoon.

The question which I am about to ask arises from two striking passages in the Visiting Mission's report and the opening statement of the special representative in reference to the same question of the Bahutu and the Batutsi. The importance of the question has already been reflected in one of the questions raised by the representative of the United States in connexion with the Bahutu voters in the recent and in the future elections.

The question is important because the Governor of the Territory told the Visiting Mission during its visit that the relationships between the Batutsi and the Bahutu were the key problems in the country. In the opening statement of the special representative, he used a very interesting expression in reference to this question. The paragraph I have in mind is the second one on page 53 of T/PV.849. Here, the special representative said:

"Any division is destructive, and it is indispensable for the future of Ruanda and Urundi that the effort required of the population -- which, up to

the present, has been applied under the authority of the Belgian administration and the traditional Batutsi chiefs -- should be applied in an atmosphere of less constraint but close union."

I think that there must be a great deal of thinking behind the expression "close union". Will the special representative care to tell the Council at some length how this close union can be promoted with or without invoking the assistance of the Administering Authority?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): I am tempted to answer this question from the other end. So far, the union between the Bahutu and the Batutsi has been very close. They all consider themselves as Banyarunda in Ruanda and Barundi in Urundi, and they form a very united society. But this union is based on this vast system of dependence starting from the Mwami and ending with the last Matua and embraces all aspects and all forms of life. This union is threatened at present by the fact that the Bahutu, and very rightly so, claim their part in the administration of the Territory. However, it would be deplorable if the unity of the Munyaruanda, on the one hand, and the Murundi, on the other, were destroyed by internal strife between the Bahutu and the Batutsi.

This was the main purport of my original declaration. So far, this has not happened. The Bahutu, who have reached a certain stage of development and who have acquired a certain standing, are being integrated without undue difficulty into the Batutsi category and, as I have just said, the Batutsi whose economic stature has decreased have practically been assimilated into the Bahutu. Nevertheless, two years ago, for example -- that was the last time that the Council of the Vice-Governor-General sat -- a member of the Council requested that the Bahutu be represented as such in the Council. It was the very first time that an official acknowledgement was made of the existence of the Bahutu as such and the Batutsi as such. The Bami as well as the officials of the Administration and the majority of the members of the Council opposed such a distinction. They felt that it was harmful to acknowledge officially the existence of those categories which, actually, tended to merge. That was the reason for my previous intervention.

In my opinion, all the Banyarunda and all the Barundi, all the indigenous people of Ruanda-Urundi, need each other. It would indeed be deplorable if their union were to be broken and if conflict were to break out. Such a situation would only retard the progress of the population as a whole.

Mr. KIANG (China): I thank the special representative for the reply he has just given.

On the same question, we heard this afternoon a very encouraging remark from the representative of Belgium. He said that the solution of the problem is not remote. I think the special representative is fully aware of certain passages in the Visiting Mission's report on this question. I should like to invite his attention to the passages appearing at the top of page 24 of the English text of that report. I do not think it is necessary for me to read them to him.

Will the special representative tell us if the solution of that key problem lies more in education and in the modification of political institutions, as suggested by the Visiting Mission? When I say "education", I certainly have in mind the view of the recent Visiting Mission that the Bahutu youth will be able to take full advantage of every educational opportunity in the Territory and elsewhere so that the gap as now seen in intellectual development between the Bahutu elite and the young Batutsi elite will be greatly narrowed and finally disappear.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative)(interpretation from French): In a general way, I am convinced that the progress of education will do more for the unification of the Bahutu and the Batutsi than any decision or any legislative action of an institutional nature. I really cannot imagine at present what the nature of such action could be since, so far, legally speaking, there are no advantages that are not officially enjoyed by both of those two categories. Certain changes in the customs and the spirit of the population are necessary, and in the International College at Usumbura it is noted that students of both categories enjoy full equality, and consciously so. While progressive abolition of such institutions as Ubuhake create conditions of equality and do away with discrimination and will, therefore, in due course do away entirely with those distinctions, we can hope for even better results in the future. I have already told the representative of India that these classes which do exist in fact have no similarity to the social caste systems that never intercommunicate. We might describe this difference as similar to that between husbandmen and landowners.

*Europeans in the Councils*  
Mr. KIANG (China): That is the view, to a certain extent, of the Visiting Mission. My next question concerns the admission of non-indigenous persons to the elected Councils. We have learned that in the 1956 elections the inhabitants in some sub-chiefdoms spontaneously elected certain Europeans to sit with them in the Council, and the Governor had expressed the hope that the Decree of 14 July 1952 could be modified so as to permit the admission of non-indigenous persons to those elected councils if the voters so desired. This point of view seems to be endorsed in the Bahutu manifesto. We also understand that the Visiting Mission took the view that, as a transitional measure, it would be advisable to introduce elected non-indigenous persons as advisory members to the Sub-Chiefdom Councils, Chiefdom Councils, District Councils and the High Council of each state. Would the special representative care to comment on this suggestion from the Visiting Mission?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative)(interpretation from French): I was gratified to note the election of two Europeans to Sub-Chiefdom Councils, even though such elections had to be cancelled because the Administration felt that

(Mr. Leroy, Special Representative)

these Europeans were not qualified to sit on those councils. However, this did acknowledge the role played by these persons in the area where they resided. Like the Visiting Mission, I hope that Europeans may be elected to the Chiefdom Councils, as well as to the various other councils.

In this field I do not think that we should be guilty of the opposite type of racial discrimination. The absence of racial discrimination must benefit the non-indigenous, as well as the indigenous inhabitants. This is a concept which should be borne in mind. If Ruanda-Urundi, having achieved self-government and having a clear citizenship for Europeans and Asians, permits the Europeans and Asians to acquire such citizenship in Ruanda-Urundi, I do not see why such persons might not have an opportunity to contribute to the work of the councils.

Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala)(interpretation from Spanish): With your permission, Mr. President, before putting my first question to the special representative, I should like to say how pleased my delegation is to see Mr. Leroy seated once again at the Council table. We fully appreciate the wide knowledge of the Territory which Mr. Leroy possesses and the value of his contribution to the various problems discussed here.

At the 849th meeting of the Council last Friday, 31 January, the special representative referred in his statement to paragraph 9 of the report of the Visiting Mission, in which it is stated that "Ruanda Urundi has reached an important stage in its political development" and that, "Without anticipating spectacular and revolutionary changes overnight", "the traditional society in Ruanda Urundi is adapting itself to modern democratic ideas and thoughts; the evolution of conditions is such that the Trust Territory may be expected to assimilate an increasing number of reforms". My delegation would be grateful if the special representative, since he himself quoted from this paragraph of the report of the Visiting Mission, would be good enough to tell us whether he shares the view expressed in that paragraph by the Visiting Mission, and if he feels that, because of the stage in the political development of the Territory, the tempo of political and administrative changes, as well as economic, social and educational changes, will become more rapid than has been the case heretofore.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative)(interpretation from French):

I should like the Council to acquire an exact perception of the speed of such progress. I had the honour to appear before this Council for the first time in 1950. Ten years is a very short time indeed in the life of a nation; it is but a moment as far as history is concerned. Yet, in those ten years we have entirely revolutionized the institutions of Ruanda Urundi. I have already shown that not a single aspect of political, social or educational life has remained in its original state, but that it has undergone a true revolution, always in the spirit of the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement.

(Mr. Leroy, Special Representative)

Therefore, I cannot admit of any evaluation of this development which would tend to show that it was slow, and I think it would be very dangerous to increase the speed of evolution. We have had considerable reforms in the political field. We had deep-going reforms in 1945 and in 1952, and a text is now under study for a new reform of the political institutions of the indigenous population. In the field of the judiciary, a new decree is now being studied; in fact, it has already been approved. It is now being considered by the Colonial Council, and in a few months it will probably be promulgated and signed by His Majesty the King. In the economic field, we have had considerable progress resulting from the ten-year plan and the considerable investments of Belgian capital in the Territory. I can only refer here to what has been stated in this respect by the Visiting Mission. In the social field, the results are quite extraordinary; they surpass all our hopes. In the educational field, however, we face a considerable problem -- a problem of resources.

Therefore, when I am asked whether I share the views stated in the ninth paragraph of the report of the Visiting Mission, I can only answer that I fully share the ideas incorporated in that report and I fully share the view that the Territory will very quickly pass from the feudal state to a more advanced and democratic way of life. However, this should be done without undue haste. If we speed up this development too much, we will have brutal transitions which are dangerous. I should like to appeal to the Council to visualize what has been done in these ten years.

Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala) (interpretation from Spanish): In putting this question, what I had in mind was that the representatives of the Administering Authority and the Visiting Mission seemed to agree that changes have taken place in the Territory which make it inevitable that the development of the Territory in the future will be even more rapid. It seems to me that that is the result of the work of the Administering Authority, and certainly it results also from the new consciousness acquired by the population and its increased training in many fields.

I should now like to refer to a point which has already been raised in an earlier question. However, my delegation would like to approach it from a

(Mr. Rolz Bennett, Guatemala)

slightly different angle. I am referring to the question of setting target dates for the attainment of self-government or independence and the setting of provisional dates to apply to the various fields in which the Territory should develop. We heard with great interest the statement made by the special representative at our meeting on Friday, and we have also listened very closely to his explanations given today in reply to other questions bearing on the same point. We are well acquainted with the views of the Administering Authority on this subject, and the Council is all too aware of our position. I make this point so that I may beforehand make it clear that we do not propose to review the whole matter again during this question period, nor do we plan to seek explanations of points which have been dealt with at great length in the past by the Administering Authority. However, there is one point on which we should like to elicit the views of the Administering Authority, bearing in mind the new stage which seems to have been reached in the Territory's development.

Ruanda-Urundi is on the brink of a more speedy transformation, so to speak. The political, economic and social plans, when drawn, will have to bear this situation in mind. Does the special representative consider that, in the light of these circumstances, the setting of provisional dates or intermediary dates -- certainly, flexible and not rigid dates -- would contribute to facilitating the work of the Administration? Would it not assist the Administration in making its efforts vis à vis the local population more comprehensive? Would it not enhance the interest of the inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi in development plans for their Territory if such temporary or provisional dates were established?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): I do not quite understand what is meant by a "flexible" date. A date is, by definition, something rigid. It is not possible to establish such dates. All the problems we are dealing with have many complex aspects -- all of them involving target dates. I can hardly add anything to this. We all know -- history teaches us -- that development is normally an accelerated movement. That is why we can foresee that progress will be accelerated in the future. This is a statement based on historical precedents, but it is not a promise. Development will occur when the Territory is ripe for it.

Mr. CLAEYS BOUUAERT (Belgium) (interpretation from French): I should like to complete, by a further explanation, what has just been said by the special representative. Very often, we hear the term "intermediate target date" used here. But what is an intermediate target date? It is a prefiguration of future institutions. It involves setting dates when it might become possible to put such institutions into operation. Thus, we are dealing here with institutions, and the Administering Authority is expected to set such dates. However, the Administering Authority has no intention of prefabricating any institutions for the Territory. It will introduce reforms in consultation with the qualified representatives of the indigenous population and will then set up such institutions as may be required in the future and as answer the needs of the country. But any planning, be it final or intermediate planning, would involve prefabrication of institutions which might not be approved by the people of Ruanda-Urundi and might not correspond with their desires. That is why we abstain from such a course.

Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala) (interpretation from Spanish): When my delegation speaks of flexible rather than rigid intermediate dates, what we have in mind is that these dates are not hard and fast, are not immutable; they should serve as points of reference, to be used for guiding certain programmes. These dates could be made known to the inhabitants, so that they would be acquainted with the end purpose of these activities.

(Mr. Rolz Bennett, Guatemala)

I remember in this connexion having heard a very interesting statement by the representative of Belgium in 1955, I believe in the Fourth Committee, in connexion with the nature and effect of intermediate target dates as they applied to the development of Trust Territories, in particular of Ruanda-Urundi. It seems to us to be of interest to have such intermediate dates, because they are the means of attracting and awakening the interest of the population. We quite agree that in all development plans for dependent Territories the opinion of the population must be extensively consulted if the measures contemplated are to elicit the support and win the confidence of the population.

*Salute to the President*  
I should now like to go on to two other points which are of great interest to us because of their importance. They concern the relations between the Bahutu and the Batutsi and the relations between Ruanda and Urundi. These appear to us to be very delicate problems. We hope and we are convinced that the progress of the Territory in every field will both reduce the importance of the problems and bring about a solution. My delegation would like to know whether the special representative considers that by eliminating the dual administration, and by establishing new territorial rather than regional administrative machinery, it might not be possible to contribute towards finding a solution for the problem of the relations between the Bahutu and the Batutsi and in this way to create a greater feeling of unity between the two areas into which the Territory is divided. I realize that there are various other ways in which the problem can be resolved, and the purpose of my question is to find out whether these particular measures might not to some extent contribute towards a solution.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): I personally feel quite certain that appropriate measures -- and the Administering Authority has already taken a number of such measures -- will eventually considerably facilitate the unification of the Batutsi and the Bahutu and their eventual merger, thus bring about the abolition of the horizontal segregation that exists between those groups, but I harbour fewer hopes with regard to a possible union between the Banyaruanda and the Barundi. Ever since Belgium assumed the administration of this Territory in 1916, Belgium has always endeavoured to set up institutions and promulgate laws which would be applicable to the whole of the population of the Territory without any discrimination between the two groups, yet the Banyaruanda and the Barundi have each developed an

(Mr. Leroy, Special Representative)

increased consciousness of their political identity and have actually evolved in the direction of further separation. The creation of High Councils was a sort of crystallization of national feeling in the two territories, and the best we can hope for is a federated future, as is referred to in the Visiting Mission's report. I do not believe that we can at present hope, even if we abolished all past institutions, to achieve a sufficiently complete merger of those two groups to produce one nation.

Mr. CLAEYS BOUUAERT (Belgium)(interpretation from French): I should like to add a few words further to clarify the position of the Belgian Government. The Belgian Administration has always endeavoured to bring about a rapprochement between those two groups and has always felt that if the problems of the peoples of Ruanda-Urundi are to be solved it is necessary for them to unite and to envisage jointly their common problems. We would also hope that once those two peoples were united they would then be able to envisage their problems on an even broader basis, namely with their future neighbours, but the inhabitants of the Territory must arrive at that result by themselves. I am persuaded that sooner or later they will do so, but I do not believe that any measures which could be taken to impose such unity upon them could bear any fruit; they would merely postpone a union which is inevitable in the future.

Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala)(interpretation from Spanish): The statement just made by the representative of Belgium is indeed encouraging. He feels, in fact, that the inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi will find a way to solve a problem which we consider to be a very important one, the problem of unification along one line or another. It may be recalled that in our own history in Central America -- and the representative of Belgium has referred to this at an earlier stage -- similar factors came into play. There we had a former Spanish colony which became an independent State and later, not only because of domestic strife but also because of external pressures quite alien to our national interests, there was a split in our federation. That is why I feel that the Administering Authority might, from now on, contribute very constructively to averting such possible consequences of disunion which we should of course all regret. Perhaps a more constructive and effective attitude on the part of the Administering Authority might already pave the way to an avoidance of such disunion

(Mr. Rolz Bennett, Guatemala)

and the eventual establishment of a unified Territory. When I say unified, I do not necessarily mean in a unitary way; there could be a federal basis for union as has been contemplated by the Visiting Mission.

The Bahutu Manifesto, which appears as an annex to the Visiting Mission's report, refers to political, administrative, economic, social and educational problems, although it is difficult if not impossible to separate them since they are intimately interconnected. We should however like to refer now to some of the political and administrative elements and turn to the other points at a later stage.

(Mr. Rolz Bennett, Guatemala)

Could the special representative tell us whether any study is under way or whether anybody has been asked to study the codification of customs in the Territory?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): In my statement I already referred to the attitude taken by the Administering Authority with regard to codification of customs. The Administration favours and encourages all studies in this field, but we do not believe that codification is desirable at present because the customs are little known even by indigenous judges. These customs are very flexible, very ill-defined. They have to be modified; they have to be directed. Any codification at present would freeze them and possibly consecrate rights that do not exist.

I have already referred to the indigenous law on land tenure which is of extreme complexity and which is presently being investigated by European and indigenous experts. These laws are very different from anything we know of in Europe, and if such laws had been codified now or in recent years, they would have consecrated unfair situations and would have created dubious rights. That is why we believe that codification of those customs is not indicated at present, while we encourage those studies. Such studies have been undertaken on ancient customary laws by various experts who have investigated various customary institutions, traditional institutions. Yet we do not favour codification at present.

Mr. CLAEYS BOUJAERT (Belgium) (interpretation from French): I should like to add the following to what has been said by the special representative. At present the institutions which are entitled to codify customs and have judicial capacity to do it are the Fami and their councils. They can codify those customs. They are entitled to it if they wish to do so and if they feel it desirable. But the Administering Authority does not believe this is a desirable course and that is why we do not encourage it. This does not mean that no measures at all should be taken in this field. A positive codification may not be desirable, but the two councils of the Territory have decided on the

(Mr. Claeys Bouwaert, Belgium)

decodification of the customs, because they have suppressed the Ubuha custom officially, while five years ago it was still an enforced custom. Both councils and both Bami have issued decrees which thus decodify this custom.

A similar process may be observed in other customary fields. Decodification is a process which, as the representative of the United Kingdom said a few days ago, is a process that is the inverse of the codification which has been referred to by the representative of Guatemala.

Mr. ROLE BENNETT (Guatemala) (interpretation from Spanish): My delegation feels that there are customs which have lasted very long and that therefore it may not be entirely a valid argument to claim that codification crystallizes certain ways of life, for some of these customs have lasted such a long time that they have become crystallized. Legislation which is periodically changed may be as flexible as customs, but if life remains stagnant, as often happens in tribal situations, then these customs may be even more crystallized and inflexible than codified customs.

Now that we are dealing with judiciary matters, I would like to say that I have listened to a very interesting statement by the special representative to the effect that a proposed decree dealing with a reorganization of the judiciary is before His Majesty the King. I was going to ask whether it was contemplated having this decree enter into force in the near future. I imagine that in its present stage it is possible to consider that this decree will shortly be in force in the Territory.

May I now refer to paragraph 110 of the report of the Visiting Mission. This paragraph refers to the fact that in the draft decree dealing with judiciary organization, a solution is recommended by which candidates for the posts of presidents, deputy presidents and judges of the chieftdom courts must be approved by the Resident. I would like to ask the special representative, as regards reserving such a right of approval to the Resident, whether this right may not cause tension between the Resident and those who make such nominations. Suppose the Resident refuses to approve this or that person who has been nominated. In order to avoid such tension, the situation will continue to be the same as in the past, namely, that the Resident and deputy presidents, and so on, will be the chiefs, as was the case in the past.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative)(interpretation from French): A similar system is being applied to the appointment of chiefs. It does not create any tensions. The fact that the Mwami has to consult the Resident, and the necessity of the Resident to obtain the approval of the Mwami and the Council, binds both parties and thus dubious persons are neither nominated nor ever appointed.

All this, on the contrary, creates an atmosphere of friendly consultation between the Resident and the Mwamis, and in practice it has not generated any difficulties such as those that are feared by the representative of Guatemala.

Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala) (interpretation from Spanish): In the document entitled "Statement of Views", which is referred to in the report of the Visiting Mission, we find one reference among other political references on which I should like to have some clarification. This document in point of fact asks that the Administering Authority should promote the establishment of a free and representative indigenous press. I understand from reading the annual report that the setting up of newspapers in the Territory must be approved by the Governor-General of the Territory and that such authorization depends upon certain questions. The report of the Administering Authority contains a list of newspapers in the Territory. This list, on page 169 of the annual report, shows that some of these publications appear in indigenous tongues. However, I do not find that any of these newspapers are published by any organization representative of local public opinion. Do any publications exist in the Territory which are edited by a person, a group or an association representative of indigenous groups of the population of Ruanda-Urundi?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): As I read the list of newspapers, I find, for example, the newspaper Burakeye, which is the organ of the Alliance des Missions Protestantes, and the newspapers Hobe, Hodi, Ibiyobora, Intumwa, Kesho, Kinyamateka, Kindugu, Kulerera Imana, Soma and Temps Nouveaux d'Afrique. These are all newspapers which express public opinion and which defend their political opinions. For example, Soma is an independent newspaper under the direction of Mr. M.A. Munyangaju.

Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala) (interpretation from Spanish): I put my question because we note from the list that most of these publications are published, for example, by the Groupe Scolaire Astrida, by the Vice-Gouvernement Général, by the Alliance des Missions Protestantes, and so forth. I wanted to know whether there was any group which was typically representative of what we might call local public opinion. I am grateful to the special representative for his explanation. Perhaps he can supply some additional information on this subject, as I am not really quite clear on it.

(Mr. Rolz Bennett, Guatemala)

Finally, I should like to return to the two vital problems which we have already mentioned, the relations between Ruanda and Urundi and between the two sectors of the population. We feel that the solution of these problems might be one of the factors which may make it possible in the future to assess the success resulting from the efforts of the Administering Authority. A fruitful solution of this problem will result in great credit to the Administering Authority. It will also be the responsibility of the Administering Authority if adequate steps are not taken to meet this problem by the end of the Trusteeship System.

I should now like to refer to the question of nationality and citizenship. There are several paragraphs in the report which are devoted to this question. These paragraphs stress in particular the fact that this matter has already been discussed in the General Council, that no concrete solution was reached in the discussions and that suggestions were made as to how a distinction could be drawn between the various residents making up the population. We may find all this in the report of the Visiting Mission, paragraph 98. Here we find reference to such terms as "national of the State", referring to Urundi; "national of the adjoining State", referring to Ruanda; "Belgian", "Congolese" and "alien". These terms, and particularly the first ones to which I referred, give the impression that there is a growing use of words which might intensify rather than reduce distinctions between groups of the population. That is why at earlier sessions of the Council my delegation suggested that some national term should be found to encompass both groups of the population, that perhaps some symbol could be used. This might also help to resolve the differences and the friction between these two groups.

To sum up, I should like to know whether these suggestions were taken into account, and if so, what was the outcome.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): This question has been brought to the attention of the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi and also to the attention of the High Councils of the two Territories as well as of all interested parties. So far no positive results have been achieved.

(Mr. Leroy,  
Special Representative)

The people of Ruanda insist upon being called Tanyaruanda and the people of Urundi insist on being called Barundi. They do not want any other terminology. In addition, we did not have any better terminology to offer them. Maybe that was due to a lack of imagination. So far we do not have any. The Belgian authorities have always tried to get round this difficulty by describing them as nationals of the one or the other state. They themselves never use any common name to define the inhabitants of both Territories.

*symbols*  
*flags*  
Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala) (interpretation from Spanish): Finally, I should like to ask whether any consideration was given to the possibility of adopting certain common symbols which would tend to unify the whole Territory. I refer not only to the name of the Territory but also to, let us say, the flag -- the type of symbols which have been used in independent States to give concrete expression to feelings of unity.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): No study has been undertaken in this field. The question of a flag has been studied, but one flag for each country. The question of a national anthem has been discussed, but one flag for Ruanda and one for Urundi. These sentimental elements play an important role in the matter. The Banyarunda and the Barundi feel that they are united but merely by the Belgian Administration. If you question them, you will see that they do not feel that they belong to the same people.

Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala) (interpretation from Spanish): I have no further questions for the time being. I thank the representative of Belgium and the special representative for the replies they gave to my questions.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Tomorrow we will complete our question period in the field of political advancement and begin our questions on economic advancement.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.

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Trusteeship Council  
21st Session  
3rd Meeting (PM)

Press Release TR/1336  
3 February 1958

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 1

The Trusteeship Council this afternoon continued examination of conditions in the trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi, administered by Belgium. Before it were Belgium's 1956 annual report on its administration of the territory and the report of the Council's 1957 visiting mission which studied conditions in the territory at first hand.

Pierre Leroy, Belgium's special representative for Ruanda-Urundi, took his seat at the Council table to reply to questions asked by Council members regarding conditions in the territory.

Referring to the report of the visiting mission, U TIN MAUNG (Burma) drew attention to a document, mentioned in the report, entitled "Statement of Views," prepared by the High Council of Ruanda. Pointing out that self-government was the final goal of the trusteeship system, the statement urged that steps be taken to prepare Ruanda for self-government, particularly through education, greater participation in government, a better-directed economic and social policy and reduction of color prejudice.

The Burmese representative asked whether the Belgian administration intended to give consideration to the points raised in the Statement of Views.

Mr. LEROY said that the administering authority was aware that self-government was the final objective of the trusteeship system and it always bore this purpose in mind. Where possible, he said, the administering authority had yielded increasing rights and responsibilities to the indigenous people in the political field. If so far the indigenous people did not occupy more important positions in the European administration, it was because there were not at present enough qualified indigenous people to undertake this responsibility.

In the native administration, however, the special representative added, the Mwambi (King) and the chiefs played an "important role." They had important responsibilities, he said.

I. I. LOBANOV (USSR) asked whether the administering authority planned to set a definite date for Ruanda-Urundi to achieve its self-government or independence.

(more)

Mr. LEROY replied that the indigenous people themselves did not consider it possible now to set a definite date for self-government. Personally, he considered that it would be "arbitrary and fanciful" to set any fixed date. The administering authority, he said, did not consider it possible to set a fixed date in advance.

To another question by the Soviet representative, Mr. LEROY said it was not true to say that the word "independence" was taboo in the territory. Independence, he said, was spoken of quite openly; it was mentioned in the United Nations Charter, which was readily available to the population.

Referring to the "manifesto" of the Bahutu people mentioned in the visiting mission's report, Mr. LOBANOV noted that the "manifesto" had considered the power of the High Councils to be restricted and to be purely consultative.

Commenting on this, Mr. LEROY stated that the High Councils (one of each exists in each of the two states of Ruanda and Urundi) were newly created bodies and, like all newly created bodies, they were inclined to feel that their powers were not extensive. However, considering that all questions of local interest were now within the competence of the High Councils, one must agree that their powers were rather extensive.

Before 1953, the special representative went on, the Bami (the two Kings of Ruanda and Urundi) exercised exclusive powers in local and customary matters. Since then, with the creation of the High Councils, they could only exercise such powers in consultation with the High Councils. Moreover, he added, it was the intention of the administering authority gradually to broaden the powers of the High Councils.

Mr. LEROY then replied to a number of questions asked by MASON SEARS (United States) and by RIKHI JAIPAL (India) concerning the meetings and composition of the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi, the territory's highest advisory body to the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi. (In 1957, the General Council of 45 members replaced the former 22-member Council of the Vice-Government-General.)

(END OF TAKE 1)

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Trusteeship Council  
21st Session  
3rd Meeting (PM)

Press Release TR/1336  
3 February 1958

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 2

Continuing the questioning of Mr. Leroy, the Belgian special representative for Ruanda-Urundi, CHIPING H.C. KIANG (China) referred to the relations between the Batutsi and the Bahuta populations of the territory.

The Governor of Ruanda-Urundi, the Chinese representative recalled, had told the visiting mission that the relations between the Batutsi and Bahuta represented a key problem confronting the territory. In what way, he asked, did the administration envisage promoting the close union of the two peoples with or without administration help?

Mr. LEROY replied that thus far the union between the Batutsi and the Bahuta had been a very close one. They all considered themselves people either of Ruanda or of Urundi and they formed a united society based on a system of dependence on the Mwambi and the chiefs.

However, he went on, this union was now threatened by the claims of the Bahuta -- "and very rightly so" -- for a part in the administration of the territory. Mr. LEROY said it would be "truly deplorable" if the unity of Ruanda or of Urundi were to be destroyed by any such internal strife. So far, he said, this had not happened and a process of assimilation was taking place. Any breakdown of the unity of the people, he added, would retard the progress of the people as a whole.

Replying to a question by Jose Rolz (Guatemala), the special representative said he could not share the view of earlier visiting missions that political progress in Ruanda-Urundi had been slow. Ten years in the life of a nation, he said, was a short span of time.

During this period, he said, "we have entirely revolutionized the institutions of Ruanda-Urundi, always in the spirit of the UN Charter and the trusteeship agreement."

Mr. LEROY said he would agree with the views of the 1957 visiting mission that present developments in the territory were such that the people could be expected to pass on quickly from a feudalistic society to a democratic way of life. This process, however, he emphasized, should not be pushed with undue haste.

(more)

As for union between the peoples of Ruanda and Urundi, Mr. LEROY said, he believed the best that could be hoped for in the future was some form of federation. Belgium, he said, had always tried to set up institutions and pass laws which would be applicable to the whole population without distinction. Yet, the peoples of the two states were showing an increasing consciousness of their individual political entities. The creation of separate councils for the states represented a crystallization of their national feelings.

Even if separate councils were to be abolished, Mr. LEROY said, he doubted whether such measures would result in the union of the peoples of the two states. The best that could be hoped for in the future was a federation of Ruanda and Urundi.

ALFRED CLAEYS BOUUAERT, Belgium's regular representative on the Council, added that Belgium had always tried to promote a rapprochement between the peoples of Ruanda and of Urundi. He believed that the future would inevitably lead to a close union of the two peoples. This process, however, was not a matter which could be imposed by any measures taken by the administration. The peoples themselves must desire it.

The Council will continue its examination of conditions in Ruanda-Urundi at 2:30 p.m. tomorrow, 4 February.

(END OF TAKE 2 AND OF PRESS RELEASE TR/1336)