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Twenty-first Session

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE EIGHT HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 10 February 1958, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. ARENALES CATALAN (Guatemala)

Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi [4b and 6b]
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Note: The Official Record of this meeting, i.e., the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.855 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

AGENDA ITEMS 4b and 6b

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF RUANDA-URUNDI:

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY FOR 1956 (T/1338, 1352; T/L.810)
- (b) REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS VISITING MISSION (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.

General debate (continued)

Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) (interpretation from French): During the course of this twenty-first session, the Trusteeship Council, in examining the situation in the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, has before it the report of the Administering Authority (T/1338), the report submitted by UNESCO (T/1352), the report submitted by the Visiting Mission (T/1346). To these reports we must add the preliminary statements made by the representative of Belgium and the special representative, as well as the notable declaration made by the representative of ILO. For the first time in the annals of our history, this specialized agency has painted a comprehensive and very interesting picture, for the benefit of the Council of labour conditions in the Trust Territories.

This wealth of material has assisted us greatly in the annual study which we are here undertaking. We were all certainly aware that the Visiting Mission, favoured in this by circumstances, submitted a report in which questions in the fields of politics economic affairs, etc. are dealt with from a very broad point of view. This was the general trend as evidenced in the documents which appear in the annexes, the Bahutu Manifesto and the statement of the views of the High Council of Ruanda. These two documents do seem to mark a turning point in the life of the Territory. Whatever may be the intrinsic merits which may be granted to these documents -- and they certainly do have such intrinsic merits -- these documents represent an eloquent expression of the fact that the population has become conscious of the many problems inherent in the society of Ruanda-Urundi, problems to which it is necessary to find just and reasonable solutions in a minimum period of time. There are people who see, people who think, people who are searching for new formulas to govern social and political life.

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

Wisdom demands that in concerted agreement those who administer and those who are administered should collaborate in this search so that the transition from a regime which is still rich in feudal vestiges should take place with a minimum of tension, obstacles and difficulties, as stated by the Visiting Mission.

For those who had an opportunity to travel through the Territory, the two States of Ruanda and Urundi do exist as separate entities, and this although the same somatic characteristics are to be found throughout the Territory, although the two languages are very close and although in truth there is no natural barrier establishing a frontier between the inhabitants of the two States.

There are two administrations in operation: one is Belgian and the other is indigenous. In so far as that duality may have in the past met certain practical needs, we feel that its usefulness may be more open to question in future if the cadres of the European administration are more open to indigenous elements, or if the indigenous services take a greater degree of importance from the point of view of the cadres of such services and the responsibilities assumed by them. There is here a two-fold budgetary and political impossibility, and that is why trust must be made sooner or later. The two States each have a High Council presided over by the Mwami and various services dealing with strictly indigenous affairs. But the Mwami are conscious of the limitation imposed upon their powers. What they ask is that there should be an integration of the Belgian and indigenous administrations or that their own services should develop together with a greater delegation of powers to these services.

I stressed the other day that there was a widespread thirst for knowledge throughout the Territory. In the course of certain conversations, those with whom we spoke did not hesitate to acknowledge that they lacked competence in many fields, but they did not speak in terms of resignation. Quite the contrary, they affirmed their will to take all opportunities open to them so that they might become proficient in various technical fields. They were convinced that they had to be trained to assume a greater degree of responsibility.

Forces which heretofore were only latent are now coming to the fore, and these forces must be enlisted in the better interests of the Territory; otherwise these forces will come into conflict and they will confront the Administration. I do not want to engage in lengthy considerations which some who are better acquainted with

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

the situation might feel are not suitably related with concrete data, but we do feel that we can say that the action of the Administering Authority will have to be more vigorous in promoting all intellectual values and in integrating them in the revised framework of political and social institutions.

Last year mention was made of the elections that took place in the Territory in 1956. The Visiting Mission quoted an opinion voiced by Mr. Van Bilsen with regard to the loopholes in legal texts which made it possible to introduce universal suffrage at the sub-chiefdom levels and which made it possible to increase the participation of the Bahutu in the electoral colleges. Mr. Van Bilsen has stressed the boldness and courage of Governor Harroy in this case. We have no hesitation in joining in the tribute to the farsighted wisdom of Mr. Harroy; however, we feel that he can go further, for we are still far from desired results.

The Decree of 14 July 1952 -- as recognized by the special representative -- does legally promote a pyramidal structure which does not make it possible to satisfy the aspirations of the broad masses. And the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi has said quite rightly that there is always, when there is such a situation, a source of unrest if not actual disturbance which complicates and jeopardizes the task of the leading classes. We hope that the direct election by universal suffrage will very shortly take place not only at the sub-chiefdom level but also with regard to all the Council. We would like to stress and second the opinion of the Visiting Mission relating to the desired transformation of indigenous councils into local councils, whose competence would go beyond the purview of the environment and the problems of the indigenous mass, strictly speaking.

As regards the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi, which is the outcome of the reorganization of the former Council of the Vice-Government-General, the question which we raised last year is still a valid one, since the Council is as yet vested with advisory powers. When will the Territory be endowed with its own legislative bodies? In this regard, I should like to take up a comment made by the special representative in connexion with paragraph 77 of the report of the Visiting Mission which singles out the views of various Europeans on the creation of the General Council. Whatever the reasons which lead these Europeans to express hostility towards the establishment of this council and to advocate an integration of representation of Ruanda-Urundi in the Council of Government of the Belgian Congo,

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

this information is not mistaken. Are these the same representative Europeans who, recognizing that "the creation of the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi consecrates the separation of the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi", are in favour of the permanent delegation of powers? I cannot say that this is so, but the idea of such a permanent situation seems to me a more felicitous one.

The Visiting Mission has mentioned various recommendations which emanate from the General Council. One of the most important is the one relating to a timely consultation with the Council before adopting laws or royal decrees expressly whether or not they are applied to Ruanda-Urundi. Two instances are cited, in which, in the first case, the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi could exercise and continue to exercise his prerogative to suspend the implementation of the decree relating to family allowances, and in the other case, the decree relating to pension rights for indigenous workers, was implemented despite a wish of the General Council, without any consultation of the Council and the Governor. These two instances will demonstrate that the possibilities of action for the General Council are very circumscribed.

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

We repeat the view that was expressed last year that article 5 of the Trusteeship Agreement authorizes the administrative union with the Belgian Congo and does not constitute an obstacle of principle to the establishment of indigenous political bodies endowed with given powers.

In this regard, we feel that the Administering Authority should give all necessary attention to the possibility of ensuring broadier African representation in the General Council. There is nothing in the text of the Royal Decree of 26 March 1957 which precludes this. At the present time, of the forty-five members of the General Council, at least sixteen of them are Africans. Fortunately, the selection of members does not rest on the basis of race, but on the basis of the functions of these members. It would therefore be relatively easy to have a greater number of indigenous members. This would make it possible to meet the wish expressed by the Trusteeship Council "that this representation would be progressively broadened so that the powers of the Council might be extended in such a way as to render this a legislative body of the Territory in the near future."

It has been pointed out that of the thirty-two members appointed by the Government, twelve -- that is, the six representatives of business concerns and the six representatives of the middle classes -- came from these same European groups. The mixed category of six representatives of labour, private and public, again contains four Europeans. This can be interpreted as a way of ensuring majority representation for Europeans by adding to those whom we have just mentioned the Europeans who appear in the other categories.

As has been stated, since the representation does not depend upon the criterion of race, it should be possible at the present time without amending the Royal Decree to liberalize the degree of African representation and give greater opportunity to indigenous elements to become familiar with public affairs. This would be one of the means of reducing to a minimum the difficulties which might be encountered "by an abrupt transition from trusteeship to liberty."

Again this year we heard a reiteration of the position taken by the Administering Authority to the effect that it is not as yet convinced of the wisdom of forecasting the last stage or even the intermediate stages which might lead to the final attainment of the objectives of the Trusteeship System. We feel that this stand is taken on a basis of principle rather than on

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the demonstrated impossibility of setting such a target. The Haitian delegation has repeatedly reaffirmed its conviction "that a political programme drawn in broad outline and defined in point of time ... could in no way be considered a harmful or impracticable thing."

The very documents published in the Territory, the discussions to which they give rise, the comments which were elicited during the course of private conversations, even though some of these comments were quite understandably cautious -- all these provide signs of a very clear trend of indigenous thought. One might, as a matter of fact, if this were favoured by a free and representative press as it has been defined, be surprised at the vigour of this indigenous thought.

The special representative mentioned the budgetary deficit repeatedly. It does exist; that is true. But it is less an alarming index of the unsound economic situation in the Territory than the symbol of a difficult stage which must be surmounted if the economy of the Territory is to expand. The intra-structural investments call for financial resources which cannot be borne by Ruandi-Urundi, and the Council knows the amount of the generous assistance provided annually by the Administering Authority. The benefits from such a programme are to be harvested over a more or less long term period. The efforts to revive agriculture, those directed to internal consumption as well as to export, to make cattle raising productive rather than unproductive, to direct the surplus population from certain areas toward unpopulated land -- all these become significant when they find the water capable of operating a social revolution -- as we have seen in the region of Bogoyi, in particular -- the road to direct commodities towards the market, electricity and the factories to process raw materials.

I myself come from a country whose population density is even greater than that of Ruandi-Urundi. I have appreciated the discipline acquired by the Banyaruanda and the Barundi in the anti-erosion struggle. I have seen the peasants bent over the soil and transforming marshlands into luxuriant and verdant vegetable gardens. I derive from this a picture of a labourious people which does not fall into line with what has been said about their apathy and their indolence.

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

The Council is familiar with the data of the problem deriving from the excess population of men and cattle in proportion to water and land resources. The paysannats and the pilot sectors are the two means which have been used in combination with the destocking policy, to arrive at a partial solution of the difficulties which would be insurmountable if they were neglected. The success of the paysannats of the Ruzzizi makes it possible to expect that on the Mosso plain, where a few hundred families have just been settled, the project will meet with equal success.

Last year, we expressed our appreciation for the manner in which the Territory was participating in the exploitation of the sub-soil resources. It was regrettable to notice a decline in revenue in this field due to the decline in the prices of ores. The scope of mineral resources is not a very broad one, but the Administration recognizes that so far no exhaustive study of the potential of the Territory has been made. Although the special representative mentioned the "vicious circle" of expenditures in view of the chronic deficit, it does seem to us that a great effort might be made to carry out a geological survey of the Territory which would be as comprehensive as possible.

The indigenous inhabitants want the Territory to become industrialized. Electricity is being developed. Methane gas is being drawn from the depths of the Kivu and offers a very sound hope for the future. To what extent, however, will the indigenous inhabitants participate in this movement of expansion? This is one of the constant concerns of the Council with regard to Trust Territories. This is certainly a valid concern. One of the conditions for the participation of the indigenous inhabitant is that he should be technically ready to take his place in such a programme. We come back once again to the necessity of education to make it possible for the indigenous inhabitants to become part of the modern businesses and to use his capacities in fields other than where unskilled labour is required.

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

The Visiting Mission devoted one chapter of its report to the question of relations between the races in Ruanda-Urundi. The documents annexed give ample food for thought in this connexion. We have seen that if the inhabitants of Ruanda would agree to be called Banyarunda, and those of Urundi to be called Barundi, there would still exist the Hutu and Tutsi problem. It would be misleading to think that failing to talk of the problem would allow it to become resolved by itself. More than that, an effort is necessary, a conscious and well directed effort, to do away with the causes of dissatisfaction and to give equal opportunities to the various elements in the different social sectors so that the most capable and the best may emerge and may serve as leaders of the broader masses. It is well to recall the following comment of the Visiting Mission: "With time, and perhaps in the rather near future, there will develop a great community of opinion between this new generation of Batutsi and Bahutu than there will be between the old generation of the Tutsi and the young generation of the Tutsi."

The same efforts must be repeated in the relations between the indigenous inhabitants and the Europeans. I was much interested to see how these two elements lived together. There is a great degree of cordiality, despite the fact that in the indigenous inhabitants a certain degree of reticence is still noted, which is mentioned in the report of the Visiting Mission. We are convinced that the Administering Authority will meet our desire and that it will know how to avert the danger which could be represented by racial discrimination in the Territory. And here I repeat the words of the Visiting Mission: "... by systematically eliminating all vestiges of real or apparent racial discrimination, and developing to the utmost harmonious relations between the races of the Trust Territory on a basis of confidence, comprehension and collaboration", such a situation will be prevented.

There exists a certain number of social centres where the indigenous women have an opportunity to meet and to learn certain elements of hygiene and home economics, sewing, cooking, etc. In view of the fact that women are still lagging behind men in the field of education, one might wonder whether it would not be useful to take advantage of these social centres to teach the women

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

reading and writing. It might be that this would lessen the desire to chat, which apparently is one of the reasons for the success of these social centres. I suggest this because we have often heard the educated young men say that women could not take part in the activities of their clubs because they were not sufficiently educated.

I am happy to state that I was pleasantly impressed by the various secondary educational institutions where students of different races are treated on a footing of equality and where the relations are extremely friendly and comradely. In this regard I should like to recall the matter of the private school mentioned in paragraph 278 of the report of the Visiting Mission, and which was also mentioned by the special representative as a serious establishment offering every guarantee. In view of the effort on the part of the nuns of the Saint Bernardine Order to create an international school, I hope that the Administering Authority will accredit this school and give it the required and requested subsidy.

The report of UNESCO gives a technical and detailed analysis of the educational situation in Ruanda-Urundi. Twenty-two per cent of the budget of the Territory is devoted to education; 45 per cent of the children are enrolled in the schools; the programme of secondary education has reached the level of metropolitan education and graduates will soon begin to go out of the schools. There are opportunities for higher education at Elisabethville and the Lovanium University at Kinshasa, permitting the attendance of an ever-increasing number of students. Progress is steady. However, we should not rest content or become complacent because of this progress. Nevertheless, the population will become increasingly demanding and their needs will have to be satisfied.

The Haitian delegation willingly accepts the suggestion made by the Visiting Mission concerning the establishment of a special fund for education in Ruanda-Urundi. We hope that the Administering Authority will give close attention to this proposal and will find means for developing the official school necessary for a democratic equilibrium in this field.

I should like to say, in conclusion, that the Haitian delegation is happy to join in the expressions of gratification expressed by the Visiting Mission

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

regarding the efforts of the Administering Authority and the results obtained. In my own name, I should like to ask the special representative to transmit to the Belgian authorities and the indigenous authorities in the Territory my wishes for an ever more cordial and fruitful collaboration for the greater benefit of the populations of Ruanda and Urundi.

Mr. KOCLANOVICH (Italy) (interpretation from French): In its consideration of Ruanda-Urundi the Council has had certain documents before it, particularly the report of the Visiting Mission, which is a thorough study of the conditions in the Territory, and for this we are grateful to the Mission and its Chairman, Mr. Dorsinville of Haiti.

As my delegation pointed out last year, there can be no objective or complete appreciation of the situation in Ruanda-Urundi without taking into account the physical characteristics of the country as well as its political, economic and social conditions which are the result of its history. These are the circumstances under which the Administering Authority must carry out the task entrusted to it by the United Nations. The physical characteristics, the question of the shortage of land to feed an increasing population and to give pasture to the herds, the political, economic and social structure, indicate the predominance of herdsmen as a result of conquests in past centuries and is reflected in the composition of the indigenous political organs. There is a feudal structure which is basically incompatible with political democracy because of its aristocratic character, and with modern economy because of the immobilization of production. This could be called a horizontal class division; and to that we must add a vertical division, of Ruanda and Urundi, each of which displays a spirit of jealous particularism in spite of certain common elements. Faced with these natural and human obstacles, the Administering Authority must carry out its mandate. For this purpose it needs, on the one hand, boldness to overcome the immobilization of this structure and, on the other hand, caution. This, above all, is necessary, as we can see from the Visiting Mission's report, in granting power to the native elite. This elite is mostly Tutsi and, by too rapid an evolution, we should run the risk of seeing oppression and feudal domination of the majority.

(Mr. Kociancich, Italy)

Taking account of these factors, I should like now to touch briefly on the situation in various aspects of the Territory's life.

In the political field, one might say that the evolution of Ruanda-Urundi is advancing on two parallel and inter-dependent lines: an internal line, in the sense of a growing participation of the Bahutu in the political life, the final objective being the elimination of all privileges enjoyed by the Batutsi minority; an external line, in the sense of an increasing grant of responsibility and power by the Administering Authority to the indigenous inhabitants, the final objective being self-government or independence of the Territory.

These two aspects are closely connected in the sense that certain measures, particularly the dissemination of education and the introduction of universal suffrage, exercise a favourable influence on both at the same time. This is the course pursued by the Administering Authority, with encouraging results.

(Mr. Kociancich, Italy)

These results are expressed by progress in the participation of the Bahutu in the electoral college and in the sub-chiefdom councils in 1956, as compared with the elections for 1955. But, even more than the statistical data, the fact that struck us was the awakening of political consciousness among the Bahutu, as is indicated clearly in their Manifesto. On their side, the Batutsi are also beginning to wonder what is the foundation of their prerogatives and rights, and we may anticipate, as the Visiting Mission says, that in the near future there will be a greater community of views among the new generation of Batutsi and Bahutu than among the older generation.

However, to settle the problem of Tutsi relations, a solution must be found to the land system. This is a most delicate question, which affects the privileges of the Tutsi group and which, if left to itself, could be solved only when the Bahutu gain a majority in the native councils. We therefore believe that it is for the Administering Authority to encourage such a development. By risking too hasty a solution of this problem, we would be going against the requirements of flexibility in the modern economy.

The cattle-raising system enters into the same order of ideas. Both the land system and the herd system have social as well as economic aspects, and we must be gratified at the abolition of the ubuhake, which has removed an old privilege and made the cattle-raising system more flexible.

This leads me to some considerations in the economic field. Here, demographic pressure is the basic problem of the Territory. We must congratulate the Administering Authority for its broad paysannat programme, which is designed to regroup the population and to adjust it to the land in a more harmonious way and to introduce new techniques of cultivation.

We remain convinced that this could not constitute a permanent solution of the problem, and that such a solution must be sought either in the industrialization of the country or in emigration to other African regions.

In this connexion, the figures as to emigrants in the annual report are very small as compared with the total population. It is for this reason that we listened with the greatest interest to the statement of the special representative that negotiations have been undertaken with the authorities of the Belgian Congo to open to immigration from Ruanda-Urundi the unpopulated regions. We hope that the results of those negotiations will be favourable.

(Mr. Kociancich, Italy)

As for the industrialization of the Territory, we should like to congratulate the Administering Authority on its work in equipping the Territory especially with roads and ports.

Another acute problem in the economic field is the question of surplus cattle. Here the abolition of the ubuhake custom, although it was very important from the social point of view, has not yielded the results which were expected in terms of reduction of cattle. The Administering Authority has told us that the pure and simple elimination of surplus cattle runs into very deep-rooted prejudices of the population. We have confidence in the wisdom of the Administering Authority, however, and we are sure that it will convince the natives of the wisdom of a policy of reducing cattle herds and also that it will establish a meat storage plant, as provided in the ten-year plan.

In the social field, the medical and social security policy followed by the Administering Authority has given excellent results, which have won the praise of the Council and the Visiting Mission in the past.

Likewise, interracial relations in the Territory appear to us in a very favourable light, since they indicate an increasing harmony and a spirit of mutual understanding among the various groups of the population.

I now reach the field of education -- that field which, in our view, is the key to the harmonious development of the Territory and its future welfare. The ever-increasing proportion of expense devoted to education in the regular budgets, which rose from 5.5 per cent in 1948 to 22 per cent this year, indicates the importance which the Administering Authority rightly attaches to this field.

The most acute problem is posed here by the fact that only about one-third of the population of school age enjoys primary education, and even this one-third falls off considerably in six years of studies. However, the number of students in primary schools continued to rise in 1956, which is certainly an encouraging development.

Another development which we find gratifying is the opening of five post-primary schools for girls and the extension of new vocational schools about which the special representative has told us.

(Mr. Kociancich, Italy)

Lastly, we learned with satisfaction that a new section of the official University of the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi has been inaugurated at Astrida.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to express its satisfaction with the progress of the Territory during the period under review and to congratulate the Administering Authority. As we said last year, the progress of Ruanda-Urundi may have appeared somewhat slow in the past, but now it has gotten into swing and is moving more and more rapidly. This happy result is due in large part, as the Visiting Mission says, to the patient efforts of the Administering Authority, which has "slowly and prudently, but progressively and with perseverance, prepared the country for profound changes". (T/1346, para. 11)

Allow me, finally, to thank the representative of Belgium and the special representative for the valuable information which they have given us.

Mr. TOMEH (Syria): As a late-comer to this august Council, Mr. President, I feel that I owe to you and the other representatives an expression of apology for not bringing to our deliberations the rich background which can only be the product of a long and cumulative experience. I cannot help recalling here the words of a French poet of the nineteenth century: "Nous sommes venus trop tard dans un monde trop vieux." However, while not sharing the moral fatigue so characteristic of the generation to which this poet belonged, I can only subscribe to the fact that I have come too late. As to the part of the world whose problems we are discussing, it is certainly a very young one -- a world that is showing all the manifestations of youth.

In fact, among the greatest factors characterizing our era may be the national awakening and the struggle for liberation, both from feudalism and from colonialism, in the two great continents of Asia and Africa, and their striving toward a fuller and richer existence. By "national", I mean inner and intrinsic, neither imposed from the outside nor resulting from false and artificial premises.

Ruanda-Urundi is but a part of this comprehensive awakening of Africa and Asia. For the fundamental impression conveyed to me by a reading of the excellent report of the United Nations Visiting Mission is that of a people

(Mr. Tomeh, Syria)

in a state of ferment, awakening to its rights and responsibilities and striving for a better life and yearning toward a brighter future, no matter how dark a legacy of feudalism has been imposed upon that people, which is not of its own doing, and no matter how long its rights have been denied. It is a reality which I believe we must recognize.

(Mr. Tomeh, Syria)

The assertion made by the representative of the United Kingdom that the closest co-operation between the governing authorities and the population is necessary is certainly correct. But the impression conveyed by the reading of one Visiting Mission's report after another, including the present report, makes it clear that the political evolution of the territory has been so far a very slow process; that the participation of the indigenous population in the ten-year plan and the administration of the territory is very slow; that a lower priority has been assigned to political development; that the territory has reached a stage of evolution which entitles it to radical reforms, especially since an educated class is already emerging and growing in number. But lack of freedom makes public opinion dissatisfied with the feudal traditional system in which it is unable to express itself.

The report of the Visiting Mission makes it very clear also that the Administering Authority has reaffirmed its view that it is impossible to say when the objectives laid down in Article 76 of the Charter will be achieved, either wholly or partly. In view of this, I think it is our binding duty to insist that, as is suggested in the report, a programme which is specific in its time limits should be formulated in accordance with Article 76. As one step forward, my delegation wishes to endorse the suggestion made in paragraph 61 of the Visiting Mission's report and calling for the termination of the dual system of indigenous administration and European administration by transforming the indigenous councils into local councils whose competence would not be limited to indigenous matters only.

But political reforms would be fruitless if they were not supported by economic, social and educational reforms. Land reform and industrialization are of paramount importance. The social structure of the Territory leaves much to be desired. The principle governing the conclusion of labour agreements is that the parties are free to determine their rights and obligations by contract, within certain limitations, as is stated in paragraph 96 of document T/L.810. In the absence of a basic and comprehensive labour legislation and of trade unions, exploitation is bound to occur. Paragraph 228 of the Visiting Mission's report substantiates this fact. It states that "the labour position in Ruanda-Urundi is somewhat unusual; the vast majority of salaried

(Mr. Tomeh, Syria)

workers ... remain agriculturists first and foremost; ... more often than not, all they ask from their employer is an amount to supplement in part the agricultural resources which constitute the basic means of subsistence of their family unit".

On the other hand, racial discrimination -- either between whites and non-whites or between a privileged minority and a non-privileged majority of the indigenous population -- still exists. May I recall here, by way of illustration, the question that was raised during the meeting of Thursday, 6 February, by the representative of Guatemala about the Administration of Ruanda-Urundi's not allowing an attempt to organize a movement called the parti progressiste démocrate du Ruanda-Urundi -- a question to which no answer at all was given, this at a time when no obstruction is placed in the way of Europeans with regard to any kind of association. Moreover, and with due regard to the explanation given by the special representative, the fact remains that the difference of status between Europeans and Non-Europeans is still very large and, as we have seen, under Belgian Administration the grade of of assistant territorial agent cannot, up to the present time, be occupied by an African, a situation which no conceivable explanation can justify.

With regard to education we need only cite paragraph 267 of the Visiting Mission's report. It says that according to UNESCO estimates there are about 600,000 children between seven and twelve in Ruanda-Urundi. One-third of them are now receiving primary education. As to secondary education, it is almost entirely lacking.

I may perhaps quote here a statement which I read a few days ago by the Premier of Pakistan in which, speaking about his own country and the need of education, he said -- and I mention this statement as applying not only to Pakistan but even to my own country, to any under-developed country:

"Democracy without education is hypocrisy without limitation.

That is why we have chosen guided democracy".

(Mr. Tomeh, Syria)

In conclusion, I wish to note here that a tendency manifested itself to emphasize the achievements of the Administration. I am not against recognizing an achievement when it exists; in fact, my delegation fully endorses the report of the Visiting Mission wherein recognition is made of certain achievements of the Administration. But the report also contains a statement of views which may be considered in a way, and in the absence of fuller expressions, as a manifestation of the wish of the people directly concerned, from which I quote as follows:

"The indigenous peoples are much more likely to give their affections to those who offer them a decent market and prospects for the future than to those who remind them of their debts at every turn. Such creditors not only reduce the merit of their action but impair their own dignity as well." (T/1346, Annex II, page 11)

I am sure that it is this future which we have mostly at heart.

Mr. ATKINS (New Zealand): The report of the Visiting Mission on the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi has, I believe, given the Council good grounds to form a favourable judgement on the efforts of the Administering Authority during the period under review. That is not to say that in every field progress has been spectacular: my delegation, for its part, does not expect that at this stage of the development of the Territory the Council will each year witness dramatic advances. But the record of the Administering Authority in the past has led us to look for steady and deliberate progress year by year; and in this we have not been disappointed.

The Visiting Mission has, in many respects, warmly endorsed the policies of the Administering Authority; and in those cases where the views of the Mission and of the Administration have not coincided, the differences have, I am glad to say, appeared to be differences of emphasis rather than of direction. I should like to express to the members of the Visiting Mission my delegation's appreciation of their work and our admiration for a report which seems to us to combine broadness of view with clarity of presentation.

(Mr. Atkins, New Zealand)

As one present for the first time at the examination of conditions in Ruanda-Urundi in this Council, I should also express appreciation to the Government of Belgium for the report it has presented. It has been an extremely informative and valuable document.

Twelve months ago, in discussion of this item, the New Zealand representative remarked that the progressive evolution of an under-developed country tended to be cyclical. There were, he said, certain times which seemed to be more fruitful than others, certain periods in which greater strides forward could be taken. In my delegation's view, Ruanda-Urundi is at present passing through just such a period. As the Visiting Mission has noted -- and the special representative fully endorsed this view in his opening statement -- Ruanda-Urundi has reached an "important stage in its political development" during which "the evolution of conditions is such that the Trust Territory may be expected to assimilate an increasing number of far-reaching reforms which will ensure its transition from a regime characterized by vestiges of feudalism to institutions that are more in keeping with democratic principles".

(Mr. Atkins, New Zealand)

My delegation believes that during the period under review, the Administering Authority has clearly demonstrated its readiness to take full advantage of the possibilities for political progress to which the Visiting Mission has drawn the Council's attention. We learned last year of the extension of universal adult male suffrage to elections for the colleges of notables at the sub-chiefdom level. The success which attended this experiment undoubtedly justified this initiative on the part of the Administering Authority; and it is indeed pleasing to my delegation -- and, I may add, a development which this Council will undoubtedly wish to encourage -- that the Administering Authority contemplates direct election of sub-chiefdom councillors at the elections to be held in 1959. My delegation hopes, as does the Administering Authority, that it will be possible progressively to extend the scope of direct elections by universal suffrage to the higher Councils of the Territory.

This progress is, of course, fundamental to the establishment of democratic institutions in Ruanda-Urundi, although, at present, it is of only limited application. Its real significance is, however, seen in conjunction with other reforms which have been successfully carried out in the political field. The elective principle has been extended to the higher councils and each of the Councils, from the sub-chiefdom councils to the General Council, have assumed wider powers and responsibilities. The successful operation of the General Council -- which, despite its very recent formation, is already exerting a profound influence upon the affairs of the Territory -- is, in our view, a most encouraging development.

One of the questions which has been referred to the General Council's consideration is a problem which has for some time engaged the attention of the Trusteeship Council. I refer to the problem of the separation of executive and judicial powers. Basic though limited changes have already been made along lines which, I believe, this Council might well endorse. Moreover, I think we should recognize here that the limits to progress are set not by the Administering Authority, but by the inhabitants of the Territory themselves. My delegation will follow with interest developments relating to the draft decree which the Administering Authority, in an effort to bring the separation of powers to a more advanced stage, has put before the General Council for consideration.

(Mr. Atkins, New Zealand)

My delegation naturally shares the misgivings of other delegations, not least those of the Belgian delegation, that it has not yet been found possible to record more substantial progress towards a solution of the problems of Batutsi-Bahutu relations. We realize, however, that the solution of such problems, whose roots lie deep in the past of Ruanda-Urundi's history, can be brought about only by the gradual evolution of the processes of democratization which are beginning to take firm hold in the Territory. The results of the 1956 sub-chiefdom elections mark, to some extent, the initiation of this process, a process which, we hope, will be accelerated as education becomes more and more accessible to the Bahutu majority.

During the questioning period, my delegation made clear its view that the Administering Authority had, in a most satisfactory way, maintained the pace of economic development in the Territory; and we have been pleased to note that, in many respects, the Visiting Mission has endorsed this impression. The Council, we believe, would be well justified in commending the Administering Authority for its impressive record in this field.

~~Coffee~~ production continues to increase, thanks both to the technical guidance of the Administration and the efforts of the indigenous inhabitants whose work is bringing to the Territory a substantial and steadily increasing source of income from abroad. It is, of course, true that greater diversification of the economy is desirable; and our impression is that the Administering Authority has this goal constantly in view. The establishment of a sugar industry in the Territory provides an example of progress in this field and my delegation hopes, as does the Administration, that the efforts being made to stimulate the production of tea will help to establish the economy of the Territory on a more secure foundation.

It is, of course, a source of disappointment to my delegation -- although, let me add, it is not in the circumstances surprising -- that as yet it has not been found possible to realize the objectives set for reducing the burden, in both human and economic terms, of the overpopulation of livestock in the Territory. The proportions of this problem have been made very clear to the Council in the Visiting Mission's report. And, while we should not be inclined

(Mr. Atkins, New Zealand)

to under-rate the difficulties the difficulties involved, my delegation looks forward to the time when this problem, with all its unfortunate effects upon the economy of the Territory -- effects of which, I am bound to say, no one is more aware than the Administering Authority -- can be reduced to the stage where the Territory's wealth in cattle becomes an asset rather than a liability.

Many speakers have noted the urgency of the problem of land shortage in Ruanda-Urundi and the resulting demographic pressures. We are glad to find that the policies pursued by the Administering Authority in encouraging voluntary emigration are helping, in some degree, to alleviate this situation. Our feeling is, however, that the schemes of land redistribution within the Territory -- although so far only on a limited and experimental scale -- show promise of making a substantial contribution to the solution of this problem.

Nevertheless, it is clear that such measures as these, valuable though they are in themselves, cannot provide a complete solution to the demographic problems of Ruanda-Urundi. The fact that the Territory is now freed from the threat of famine and that, indeed, it is the land which provides the chief exportable commodity, is, of course, to the credit of the Administering Authority and the industry of the inhabitants. But the population of the Territory is too great to be usefully absorbed in the cultivation of the land alone; and, as the Administering Authority is well aware, the future prosperity of Ruanda-Urundi will require a more broadly-based economy.

My delegation therefore regards the Administration's plans for industrial development as a realistic and necessary contribution to the Territory's economic future. We particularly welcome the progress that has so far been made in developing electric power resources, the transport system, harbour facilities and small industries. We look to the Administering Authority to continue and, if possible, to intensify its efforts in this direction. My delegation -- and, I am sure, the Council, as a whole -- has been pleased to learn that the Belgian Government contemplates a major increase in its annual subvention to Ruanda-Urundi in 1958.

In its account of educational progress in the Territory, the Administering Authority has clearly impressed upon us the formidable proportions of the task which it faces. In the light of the existing budgetary situation, my delegation

(Mr. Atkins, New Zealand)

fully appreciates and sympathizes with the Administration in its decision that, at the moment, it is not possible to increase the proportion of the budget devoted to education. We likewise share its hopes that by concentrating at present on economically productive projects, thereby strengthening the Territory's over-all budgetary position, it will in future be possible to increase the amount, though not the percentage, of educational expenditure.

Nevertheless, in the face of the situation which the reports of the Visiting Mission and of UNESCO have brought to our attention, we are confident that the Administering Authority will spare no effort in this field. For it is progress in education, we believe, that will, to a large extent, determine the progress of the Territory as a whole.

(Mr. Atkins, New Zealand)

My delegation has in the past shown a particular interest in lay or official schooling. This is not, of course, in any way to under-rate the work of the missions whose contribution to education in Ruanda-Urundi has won unqualified respect and admiration. But it has seemed to us that the time must come when the pressure on their teaching and other resources will make it desirable, indeed necessary, for the Administering Authority to increase greatly the scale of its own direct participation. Perhaps one field in which the Administration could expand its role is in the training of teachers: for here the need is obviously immediate and the satisfaction of the need of fundamental importance to future progress in education.

In conclusion, it will be clear from what I have said that the New Zealand delegation believes that, under the guidance of the Belgian Administration, the inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi will continue to move towards the goals established under the Trusteeship system. In our view, the record of progress so far achieved is evidence of the will both of the inhabitants and of the Administering Authority to work deliberately and progressively toward their accomplishment.

Finally, may I thank the representative of Belgium and particularly the special representative for their many informative and helpful interventions which have greatly assisted my delegation in its consideration of this question.

Mr. HOOD (Australia): It has been borne in upon me in the course of the examination which the Council has given to this Territory during the past week that, indeed, no single Trusteeship Territory is exactly comparable to another. The particular problems which confront the Administering Authority in Ruanda-Urundi are in a way unique.

In his replies to the quite exhaustive questions which were addressed to him, the special representative, I thought, demonstrated quite admirably the particular aspects and the particular difficulties with which the Administering Authority had to deal and is still dealing in this Territory of Ruanda-Urundi.

(Mr. Hood, Australia)

It is actually less than a year since the Council held a general discussion on this Territory. I suppose that there would indeed be very little which could usefully be added, certainly from the point of view of my delegation, to what we had the honour to express on the previous occasion less than a year ago, in general terms, were it not for the fact that in the meantime a mission of the Trusteeship Council visited the Territory and presented a report, which, in my view, is an extremely well-balanced and understanding document. The few general remarks that I have to make this morning will derive very largely from the report of the Visiting Mission.

First, I would reiterate what has been said by others who have spoken before me, and indeed was very clearly exposed by the representative of Belgium and the special representative last year and this year, namely that the overall development of this Territory depends primarily upon the economic and, to a lesser degree, the social development of the population.

It is not right -- and the Council as a whole has certainly not taken this attitude -- to expect rapid or dramatic stages of political development in advance of the essential consolidation of the economy of the Territory and, furthermore, the consolidation of the social and communal life of the population.

We have been particularly struck by certain passages in the report of the Visiting Mission which deal with what is after all the basic element in the life of this Territory, to describe it as a whole, namely the particularism which exists between Ruanda, on the one hand, and Urundi, on the other; between the people, the Barundi, and the people, the Banyaruanda. This is a fundamental fact which I think must on no account be overlooked. The report of the Visiting Mission describes certain consequences of this particularism which, at the present time, affect deeply the processes of political development in the Territory taken as a whole. This is one reason why I prefaced my remarks by the statement that no Trusteeship Territory is like any other Trusteeship Territory. In the special case of Ruanda-Urundi it must be recognized -- and it is certainly only fair to the Administering Authority to recognize -- that historically, ethnographically, topographically there is as yet no real unity in the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi. There is, of course, a unity from above,

(Mr. Hood, Australia)

as it were -- there is a common administration. But it would be misleading for the Council to expect, or to attempt to suggest to the Administering Authority, that a rate of political development based upon a unified Territory can be expected. This must take considerable time. The report of the Visiting Mission suggests perhaps a form of federalism as the eventual desirable political system for the Territory as a whole. It is certainly premature to express any view upon that; but it is equally premature to expect that the Administering Authority can produce within any short period a plan of political development based upon a unified Territory. That is the point I wish to make. There will, of course, be a growing trend towards common institutions, and the establishment of the General Council is a real and substantial step in this direction. This is all we can expect.

I have referred to the importance of economic developments as a prerequisite to political advancement in the Territory. Again in this case the report of the Visiting Mission is highly illuminating, supplemented as it has been by the replies of the special representative and the representative of Belgium to questions addressed to them in the course of the last few days.

(Mr. Hood, Australia)

It is perfectly clear, I think, that the Administering Authority has very clearly in view the kind of economic future which it considers desirable for the Territory; in the first place, certain fundamental reforms, which include the question of cattle and land tenure, are on foot. These will take time to accomplish. In addition, the Government of Belgium is providing a substantial annual subsidy although it is called a loan; but in fact it amounts to a subsidy to the Territory. In these conditions we can again expect no rapid or spectacular results. It must be a steady process; it must be a process based upon a growing diversification of the economy of the Territory and, to as great an extent as possible, the development of the secondary industries in the Territory. There are clear physical limitations upon the latter.

It does not appear from the report and from the information supplied to the Council hitherto that either Ruanda or Urundi possess any substantial resources which would permit of the kind of industrial development which has occurred in the Belgian Congo. This may prove to be wrong in the event, but under the present evidence we have, I think, to consider that the Territory as a whole, Ruanda-Urundi, is poor in natural resources. There is scope for some diversity in the production of primary products. I think the special representative mentioned the possibility of tea-growing in addition to coffee-growing, which is a staple production of the Territory. That kind of development is well within the realm of feasibility.

But in conjunction with that, there is the extraordinary feature of the communal life of the people of Ruanda-Urundi of which the Council is now well aware. Progress is being made in the direction of encouraging village settlement rather than individual habitation. This would seem to my delegation to be a highly important measure and one greatly to be encouraged. After all, and I think all other Trusteeship Territories' social development, and eventually political development, is based upon communal life, in the main life in villages if not in townships. But here in these two Territories, Ruanda and Urundi, an entirely different way of life has been a matter of history. It cannot be changed overnight, but it would seem important that a primary measure of social development should be the encouragement of village settlement.

Of course we have been told a considerable amount as regards the paysannats, and I should like to endorse the commendations which have been expressed by the speakers who have preceded me for this particular line of policy on the part of the Administering Authority.

(Mr. Hood, Australia)

I have very little to add to these quite general remarks, because it is clear from the report of the Administering Authority, supplemented by other documents and information before the Council, that the Administering Authority is pursuing a thorough and sincere policy of development in this Territory.

The special representative has been extremely frank in his replies to questions addressed to him and has not disguised the fact that the rate of progress is bound to be in a sense slow. It would be quite wrong for the Council to expect that the Administering Authority should at this stage determine dates or indeed precise stages for political development. It has on hand a ten-year plan for economic development. This, I think, is all that the Council could ask for from the Administering Authority. The success of the ten-year plan depends on factors which are not entirely within the control of the Administering Authority, such as prices of products on the world market. It depends also on the provision of capital for investment in the Territory. I note in the report of the Visiting Mission that the statement is attributed to the Governor that there is no reason whatsoever why investment should not be profitable in the Territory, and I would think that this expression of confidence on the part of the Administering Authority will of itself be an encouragement to capital investment in Ruanda-Urundi.

I have little to say about other matters which are the subject of the Visiting Mission's report except that, as my delegation observed in the previous discussion last year, the process of educational development is perhaps a matter for a little concern and I am sure that the Administering Authority is very well aware of this. It has been explained to us that here again it is a question of the provision of funds, of money. None the less as education, particularly primary education, is a basis of all development whether economic or political, in the long run it would certainly be, I think, the view of all of us that the utmost encouragement should be given to the efforts of the Administering Authority to enlarge the opportunities for primary education in the first place.

(Mr. Hood, Australia)

To sum up, I feel that the Council can well endorse the opinions which have been expressed by other speakers that the Administering Authority is pursuing in a very thorough and satisfactory fashion its task in the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi. We should not expect at this point any further developments which would be inconsistent with the steady and consistent line pursued by the Administering Authority hitherto. We might perhaps contemplate a gradual enlargement of the authority and functions of the General Council. We might perhaps look forward to an enlargement of the consultative status of the various bodies representing the indigenous inhabitants. We might perhaps look forward, as has been hinted in the information supplied to the Council, to some kind of delegation of the General Council which would be available for specific and direct consultation with the Administration. This would be a step which would require careful thought and of course we have noted in the report of the Visiting Mission that the Council is indeed about to take up this particular point.

We would hope also that the difficult relationships which have existed in connexion with land tenure, cattle and questions of that kind, will in due course be resolved by the steady and patient efforts of the Administration. All this must take place with the co-operation of the indigenous people. Without that it would be indeed difficult to make even a rough determination of the time in which these two Territories could be considered as, first of all, a unified people, and secondly as a people capable of self-government.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform the Council that because of circumstances beyond our control it will not be possible for us to call on all the speakers who are on the list for this morning's meeting. In order that we will not be too greatly delayed in following our agenda, I would suggest that our meeting this afternoon begin at 2 p.m. rather than 2.30 p.m. We will proceed in this way, and complete our general debate this afternoon and then we will go on to the other items in our agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.05 p.m.