



TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

Nineteenth Session

OFFICIAL RECORDS

Monday, 18 March 1957,
at 2 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Financing of the economic development plans of the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration: report of the Mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration (Trusteeship Council resolution 1255 (XVI)) (continued).....	5
Examination of the annual report of the Administering Authority on the administration of the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi for 1955.....	6
Opening statements	6
Questions concerning the Trust Territory and replies of the special representative.....	9

President: Mr. Rafik ASHA (Syria).

Present:

The representatives of the following States: Australia, Belgium, Burma, China, France, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Italy, New Zealand, Syria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The representatives of the following specialized agencies: International Labour Organisation; Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; World Health Organization.

Financing of the economic development plans of the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration: report of the Mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration (Trusteeship Council resolution 1255 (XVI)) (T/1296) (continued)

[Agenda item 7]

1. The PRESIDENT recalled that at the previous meeting the Indian representative had suggested that the Council should postpone to its twentieth session consideration of the report of the Mission sent to Somaliland under Italian administration by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. (T/1296), and that the United States representative had suggested the setting up of a special committee to study the report. The Council should now come to a decision on that question.

2. U PE KIN (Burma) supported the Indian representative's proposal.

3. The PRESIDENT said that in the absence of any objection the item would be postponed till the twentieth session.

It was so decided.

4. Mr. JAIPAL (India) said that despite the deferment of the item he would like to refer to certain important aspects of the Bank's report.

5. The report made it clear that the Territory had a number of natural handicaps, such as infertile soil, poor

rainfall, a rigorous climate and inadequate ground water. Nevertheless certain improvements were possible. Apart from the possible discovery of oil, the Bank's report indicated that there were good prospects for dry farming. The report made interesting suggestions regarding the development of a livestock industry. It also appeared that the improvement of existing water resources and irrigation facilities, together with agricultural extension work, the introduction of fertilizers and the control of plant diseases, might considerably change the picture of Somali agriculture. The cotton industry also showed good promise. It would be interesting to know what the Administering Authority proposed to do with regard to those various useful suggestions.

6. The report indicated that while the banana industry was uneconomic and had no future, there were possibilities of cutting down the cost of production by concentrating banana growing in areas near the port of Chisimaio. It would be interesting to know the Administering Authority's views about the future of that industry.

7. He drew attention to part IV of the Bank's report, from which it appeared that certain decisions would have to be taken by the Italian Government and not by the Somali Government. The Mission also stressed that the future position of the banana industry called for action by the Italian Government. At the same time the Indian delegation would be interested to have the views of the Somali Government on, for example, the civil expenditure and budgetary deficit, expenditure for economic development after 1960 and the extent and nature of the technical assistance that might be required after the attainment of independence.

8. According to paragraph 123 of the report on Somaliland (T/1143 and Corr.1) submitted by the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954, the Central Committee of the Somali Youth League had informed the Mission that they did not share the view that the United Nations should assume obligations to make good budgetary deficits after 1960. The SYL had been convinced that, on the basis of a modest, streamlined budget, expenditure could be covered by revenue in 1960. The interesting point was that the Somali Youth League was now the party in power.

9. The Bank's report suggested that financial aid would have to be in the form of grants and not loans and that the low potential rate of growth would make loans wholly inappropriate. That statement contrasted with the suggestion made by the Administrator, referred to in paragraph 297 of the Visiting Mission's report, that the International Bank might set up a credit institute to furnish loans for periods extending beyond 1960. He would like to know the Administering Authority's views on the statement in the Bank's report.

10. The Italian Government had asked for the Bank's expert opinion on the economic situation in the Territory with a view to utilizing that opinion to draw up a plan, which would be submitted to the Council, with regard to problems which required immediate examina-

tion and to problems relating to the economy of the Territory after 1960. The next step, therefore, was the presentation of such a plan, drawn up in consultation with the Somali Government, without which the Indian delegation would find it extremely difficult to consider the question in detail. The basis of the Council's discussion on the future of the Trust Territory must be the proposals to be made by the Administering Authority in the light of the Bank's report. It was not for the United Nations itself to draft such a plan. It was the responsibility of the Administering Authority to make proposals to the Trusteeship Council and indeed to determine what must be done and to take decisions where necessary.

11. With regard to the suggestion made by the United States representative, his delegation was not opposed in principle to the setting up of a working committee to examine the question in detail but it felt that the time for that would be after the Council had been informed of the proposals of the Administering Authority and the views of the Somali Government. Moreover, the question should be first examined by the Trusteeship Council itself and only thereafter referred to a working committee or sub-committee.

12. Mr. ZADOTTI (Italy) said that the points raised by the Indian representative would be taken into consideration by the Italian Government.

Examination of the annual report of the Administering Authority on the administration of the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi for 1955 (T/1282, T/1304)

[Agenda item 3 (a)]

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.

OPENING STATEMENTS

13. Mr. SMOLDEREN (Belgium) said that in the absence of Mr. Claeys Bouuaert, who had been unavoidably delayed, he would make a few introductory remarks.

14. The Council would hear from the special representative of the remarkable progress that had been made in the development of political institutions in Ruanda-Urundi in recent months and of other reforms which were being introduced.

15. One of the characteristics of Ruanda-Urundi was that it was made up of two African kingdoms, which in the eyes of the indigenous inhabitants were very real, perhaps more living than the administrative structure established by the Belgian Government.

16. The Charter recommended the promotion of the political advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories and the Belgian Government had always scrupulously followed that policy. After a long period of preparation the time had come to democratize the traditional authorities and their auxiliaries: a decree of 14 July 1952 had introduced the principle of elected or partially elected councils to assist the customary authorities in the exercise of their powers and had enjoined respect for the views of their councils on the Bami, the chiefs and the sub-chiefs.

17. Until the end of 1956 the elected members of the councils had been chosen by a restricted electoral body, since the introduction of universal suffrage all at once had not seemed desirable. That first experiment had

been conclusive; after three years, despite certain shortcomings, elected councils had become generally accepted and the traditional authorities had themselves proposed that the franchise should be extended to all adult males. That proposal had been put into effect at the most recent elections for the sub-chiefdom councils. It was unnecessary to emphasize the significance of that reform.

18. Another reform shortly to be carried out would be the enlargement of the Council of the Vice-Government-General and the introduction of members elected by the High Councils of Ruanda and Urundi. That would be a further step in the integration of the traditional administration and the Central Government of the Territory.

19. Members of the Trusteeship Council had frequently expressed the opinion that the political progress of Ruanda-Urundi was too slow. The Belgian Government had always given those views serious consideration but was unable to share them. It was persuaded that political progress was inseparable from other aspects of development and that it was a fundamental mistake to believe that institutions could be transformed regardless of the intellectual, cultural and economic conceptions of which they were the expression. The political progress of Ruanda-Urundi had begun not in 1952 or in 1956 but thirty-five or more years earlier. Although institutions might have remained unchanged during those years, the society from which they sprang had not ceased to evolve. It had been possible to hold elections on the basis of universal suffrage in 1956 because illiteracy had been considerably reduced, because the development of justice had given rise to a feeling of security and personal freedom, because improved communications had promoted the free circulation of men and ideas, because agriculture was more prosperous and more diversified and the cultivators were more independent and because there were schools everywhere, although their numbers were still insufficient.

20. The annual report¹ gave evidence of persevering progress by the people of Ruanda-Urundi under the aegis and with the support of Belgium in all spheres, in accordance with the objectives of the International Trusteeship System.

21. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) said that although the ten years that had elapsed since the signing of the Trusteeship Agreement for Ruanda-Urundi was but a short period of time from a historical standpoint, it had been a period of notable development in the Territory.

22. Taking up first the question of political advancement, he recalled that at the end of the Second World War the Vice-Governor-General had had extremely broad administrative and judicial as well as some legislative powers, that there had been no Territory-wide assembly, and that the traditional councils of the customary chiefs, while often displaying great wisdom and ability, could hardly have been regarded as a democratic institution. The right to vote had been non-existent. When Belgium had first undertaken to administer Ruanda-Urundi it had realized that, while political reforms must eventually be introduced, the condition of the people, bound by a powerful, centuries-old social structure, living in isolated groups without schools or

¹ *Rapport soumis par le Gouvernement belge à l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies au sujet de l'administration du Ruanda-Urundi pendant l'année 1955* (Brussels, Imprimerie Fr. Van Muysewinkel, 1956). Transmitted to members of the Trusteeship Council by the Secretary-General under cover of document T/1282.

hospitals and at all times threatened by famine, made it imperative first of all to improve their material situation. In those circumstances it had been necessary at first to work on the basis of the existing structure, with a gradual evolution towards more satisfactory social relationships as time went by.

23. The first major political reform had been the establishment of the Council of the Vice-Government-General in March 1947, consisting at first of Europeans only but later including the Bami and other Africans. Under the new reform, which would probably go into effect within the next few weeks, the membership of the Council would be doubled and Europeans and Africans would be admitted solely on the basis of their qualifications, regardless of race. The new Council was expected to consist of forty-five members, of whom at least fifteen would be Africans. For the first time there would be a liaison between the Council and the local councils, for four indigenous representatives appointed by the High Councils were to serve on the Council.

24. A second step forward had been the reform in political organization introduced in July 1952, which had included the establishment of more than 1,300 indigenous councils, the transfer of administrative powers from Europeans to Africans, the extension of the powers of the Bami with the proviso that their decisions must be approved by the largely elective councils, the organization of an electoral system, and finally, in 1956, the first general election, which had been carefully prepared by the territorial services in conjunction with the indigenous authorities. Under the new decree it was left to the sub-chiefs to establish, in accordance with the preferences of the inhabitants, what might be called the electoral college, a list of notables who chose from among themselves the members of the sub-chiefdom councils. The latter in turn elected from among themselves, in each council, three members to serve on the chiefdom council along with the five to nine sub-chiefs elected by their peers. In the same way the chiefdom councils chose the members of the district councils, which in turn chose the members of the High Councils of the two states (*pays*). In 1953, the first electoral college list had been drawn up by the sub-chiefs, the territorial services merely ensuring that the list consisted of truly representative persons, such as heads of families, artisans, nurses and teachers, and was not limited to the traditional notables. In 1956 another step forward had been taken when the electorate had been extended to cover all adult males, who were given the opportunity to vote by secret ballot. Seventy-five per cent of the electorate had voted. Significant indications of the freedom with which the indigenous inhabitants had expressed their preferences were the wide distribution of votes among the candidates, the fact that in two localities European colonialists had been elected although they were not eligible to serve, and the considerable number of Bahutu elected to the sub-chiefdom councils. It was to be noted, however, that the number of Bahutu decreased progressively in the higher councils, indicating that the electorate still hesitated to choose new men to represent them and preferred to rely on those whom they regarded as more politically qualified.

25. Another major reform had been the judicial reorganization of 1948. Until that time there had been only one career magistrate in the Territory, whose jurisdiction had been limited to cases involving non-Africans, the indigenous inhabitants coming under the legal jurisdiction of the territorial officials and customary authorities. Under the 1948 reform the judiciary had been

made independent of the executive. There were now sixteen career magistrates in the Territory, assisted by forty-three judicial officials of whom twenty-four were Africans. The indigenous courts were supervised by the courts of the *parquet*. The jurisdiction of the lower courts, which were still presided over by territorial officials, had been considerably reduced. A study was being made with a view to unifying the judiciary at least in the field of criminal law, while the indigenous courts were likewise to be reformed.

26. An interesting experiment in the politico-economic field was the invitation by the Vice-Governor-General to the two Residents to choose, in agreement with the Bami, a natural region where agricultural propaganda concerning the cultivation of foodstuffs was to be carried out exclusively by the indigenous inhabitants in 1957.

27. Economic advancement during the past decade had been equally encouraging. At the end of 1956 the Administration had reviewed the operations of the ten-year plan for economic and social development over the five years since it had been inaugurated and it had made several adjustments. Whereas total expenditure for the period 1952 to 1956 had been estimated at 1,926 million francs, the amount actually spent by 31 December 1956 had been about 1,455 million francs. That expenditure represented investments and corresponded as a whole to the extraordinary budgets for the years 1952-56. It should be remembered that Belgium made Ruanda-Urundi a yearly interest-free loan of 400 million francs with which to carry out the ten-year plan. The ordinary budget covering recurrent expenses in the Territory, which had been 136 million francs in 1946, would amount to 920 million francs in 1957.

28. A comparison of recurrent expenditure for medical and educational services for 1946 and 1957 was particularly significant. In 1946 expenditure for medical services had totalled 18 million francs or 13 per cent of the total budget, while in 1957 it would total more than 143 million francs, or 15 per cent of the total budget. Expenditure for education had amounted to 7,250,000 francs or 5.3 per cent of the total budget, in 1946, while in 1957 it would amount to 184,755,000 francs or 20 per cent of the total budget. Social services were expected to account for 39 per cent of the budget in 1957.

29. Exports, which had totalled 63,000 tons with a value of 335 million francs in 1946, had amounted to 110,000 tons with a value of 2,000 million francs in 1955. Traffic in the port of Usumbura had tripled in ten years, increasing from 58,023 tons in 1946 to 188,973 tons in 1956. In 1946 the retail trade had been almost exclusively in the hands of non-indigenous firms, which had controlled 892 shops. At the end of 1955, while the number of shops owned by non-indigenous inhabitants had risen to 1,912, the shops run by the indigenous inhabitants had totalled 1,982. While many of those enterprises were modest, they served as an important means of introducing Africans to commercial life. Another significant detail was the fact that, while in 1946 only twelve indigenous merchants had owned businesses sufficiently large to warrant their paying the personal tax instead of the *per capita* tax, 881 indigenous merchants and 1,400 employees had paid personal or income taxes in 1956. In September 1951 a branch of the Caisse d'épargne had been opened in Ruanda-Urundi and by the end of 1956 deposits had totalled nearly 97 million francs, of which 46 million constituted the savings of 47,086 indigenous inhabitants.

30. A decree of 24 March 1956 had extended to thirty years the life of indigenous co-operatives, which had been set at five years in a decree issued in 1949. The 1956 Decree also reduced considerably Administration control over those bodies, leaving to them almost all decisions except certain major decisions for which the approval of the Governor was required.

31. With regard to land tenure, the Trusteeship Council was well aware that it was the Belgian Administration's policy to allow very few non-indigenous persons to settle in the Territory, granting them admission only with the consent of the indigenous inhabitants and when it appeared to be in the interests of the latter. From 1946 to 1956 non-indigenous persons and associations had occupied 870 hectares of land, primarily for the establishment of Christian missions and centres of cultural and spiritual development. Furthermore, in 1956 the Administration had repurchased for the benefit of the population of the extra-tribal centres 300 hectares in the vicinity of Usumbura which had been let under long-term leases in 1934.

32. The Administration was vigorously pursuing a policy of soil conservation and agricultural propaganda. In the past five years the production of foodstuffs had risen from 5 million to 6 million tons, an increase of 20 per cent, while the increase in the population over the same period had been only about 10 per cent. Coffee production had amounted to 18,000 tons in 1956 as compared to 9,820 tons in 1946. Corresponding figures for cotton production were 5,185 and 4,156 tons.

33. As far as soil conservation was concerned, it was estimated that by the end of 1956 drainage projects had made it possible to convert almost 80,000 hectares of marshland into arable land, while a further 87,000 hectares had been made arable by irrigation and 423,000 hectares were protected by anti-erosion projects. The 8,213 indigenous inhabitants who had so far been settled on plots of reclaimed land, varying from two to four hectares in area, were enjoying freer forms of social life than had been possible under the rigid customary structure, and indications were that the experiment would prove a success. Distribution of cattle and the abolition of the *ubuhake* contracts were proceeding, particularly in Ruanda. By 31 December 1956 there had been 79,461 distributions, affecting 203,591 head of cattle. In the field of veterinary medicine, the number of yearly examinations by microscope had risen from one to six million, while such services as vaccinations, castrations, treatments and dippings had risen from 1,500,000 to 6 million. The principal epizootic diseases had either disappeared completely, as in the case of rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia, or were now present only in the enzootic or sporadic stages. Those improvements in public health were among the factors which had made it possible to resettle abandoned lands. A veterinary laboratory had been constructed at Astrida, at the cost of 20 million francs, ninety-one dipping tanks had been installed throughout the Territory and two pilot units had been established, one in Ruanda and the other in Urundi, for studying the possibilities for balanced utilization of natural resources. Five stations had been set up for selective cattle-breeding.

34. In an effort to reverse the process of deforestation, which reduced the agricultural potential of the country, the Administering Authority had imposed on the indigenous communities the obligation to plant trees at the rate of one hectare per year per 300 taxpayers. In 1931 the reafforested area had totalled 1,420 hectares, as compared to 28,000 hectares in 1946 and 55,943

hectares in 1956, to which should be added 2,137 hectares granted directly by the Administering Authority and 3,287 hectares planted by the colonists' missions or companies. The total area of reafforested land was now about 61,000 hectares.

35. The amount of mail received or sent by the postal services in the Territory had increased fourfold from 1948 to 1956 and the telecommunications network was being rapidly developed. New buildings were rising everywhere, among which some of the most notable were the Prince Regent Hospital at Usumbura, the sanatoria at Kibumbu and Rwamagana, the laboratories at Usumbura and Astrida, rural hospitals, schools, administrative buildings and roads. The port at Usumbura had been enlarged and a new airport, which would accommodate four-engine DC-6 aircraft, was under construction.

36. In the social field, relations between Europeans and Africans had improved considerably. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was now taught in all secondary schools, which were open to children of all races. The Council of the Vice-Government-General, at its meeting of 21 April 1956, had unanimously declared itself against any racial discrimination within the Council.

37. With regard to freedom of movement, under an ordinance of the Vice-Government-General the indigenous inhabitants, who had hitherto been obliged to obtain a passport when intending to leave their chiefdom for more than thirty days, would henceforth be able to move freely no matter how long they were to be absent. A passport would still be required, however, for those intending to spend more than thirty days in non-tribal areas. The reason that measure had been retained was that in order to raise the standard of living of the indigenous inhabitants and to combat famine and erosion it had been found necessary to impose a certain amount of agricultural labour on communities and individual. That obligation, however, did not affect Africans living outside tribal areas and theoretically having full-time employment. It was therefore necessary to protect the inhabitants of the extra-tribal centres from the influx of relations wishing to escape their tribal obligations who would become dependent on them.

38. The curfew had been abolished in all communities throughout the Territory except Usumbura, where the indigenous authorities of the extra-tribal centre had insisted on retaining it because of the vast extent of the centre. The Usumbura Police School had given excellent results, a lighting system was being installed in the extra-tribal centre and it was expected that it would soon be possible to remove that last obstacle to freedom of movement at night. The indigenous inhabitants themselves, however, would probably be indifferent to the change, since they did not like to go out at night and considered persons who did to be evil-doers.

39. With regard to corporal punishment, prison guards retained the power to inflict a maximum of four lashes on certain categories of prisoners as a disciplinary measure. In 1956 efforts to eliminate corporal punishment entirely had been made in three prisons and the Administering Authority had concluded that it would be possible to do away with it entirely if isolation cells for stubborn prisoners were constructed in all prisons and special diets were imposed in exceptional cases.

40. As far as labour was concerned, salaries had tripled between 1949 and 1955, while the cost of living had increased by 50 per cent at the most during the same period. The standard of living had risen con-

siderably. On 6 June 1956 a decree had been promulgated instituting a system of pensions for all indigenous workers and allowances for former workers; it had gone into effect on 1 January 1957. Persons employing more than 250 workers in certain areas designated by the Administration were obliged to draw up rules regulating working conditions and the example was now being followed by a number of other firms. While the length of the working day was not fixed by law, a unanimously observed custom limited it to seven and a half or eight hours. Several decrees of January 1957 gave Administration personnel the right to join five existing labour organizations, two of which were purely professional while the other three had political affiliations.

41. Another innovation in the social field had been the establishment at the extra-tribal centre of Usumbura of three social workers, who supervised study circles, sport associations, youth movements, vocational training courses and other activities which fell outside the normal scope of education. In future their activities were expected to cover such varied subjects as the training of personnel for the indigenous courts, agricultural instruction and the maintenance of school gardens, the training of accountants, business training and so forth.

42. Medical advances in the past ten years had been particularly striking. By 1956 there had been thirty-three hospitals, 105 dispensaries and nineteen maternity clinics in the Territory, whereas the corresponding figures for 1946 had been twenty-one, forty-one and none. Medical consultations had risen from 6 million to nearly 10 million. There were fifty-nine baby clinics as compared with twenty-eight in 1946. Medical personnel consisted of 201 Europeans, of whom sixty-eight were doctors, and 776 Africans, whereas the corresponding figures in 1946 had been, eighty-one, twenty-five and 254. Only sixteen cases of sleeping sickness had been reported in 1956 as compared to 1,363 cases in 1946. Recurrent fever had almost disappeared and the anti-tuberculosis campaign, organized through the dispensaries of Rwamagana and Kibumbu, envisaged the vaccination of nearly 2 million people in 1957. The DDT anti-malaria campaign was continuing, especially in the low-lying areas. Sickneses resulting from polluted water supplies were being combated by the purification of springs and the provision of safe drinking water; 16,635 such springs had been purified since 1949, bringing drinking water to 3 million inhabitants.

43. In the educational field it was to be noted that education accounted for 20 per cent of the budget despite the fact that the great majority of the teaching staff, such as the missionaries, received very little pay for their services. In 1946, there has been 2,195 primary school classes attended by 103,000 pupils whereas in 1956 there had been 5,361 such classes, with 236,191 students. Ten years earlier there had been one secondary school and four teacher-training colleges in the Territory, as compared to five secondary schools, twenty-five teacher-training colleges, and ten domestic science schools for girls in 1956. By 31 December 1955 there had been twenty-one students following courses at the university. The secondary schools had improved to such an extent that they were now on a level with secondary schools in Belgium and their graduates could go on to universities without taking any transitional courses. All schools were interracial. There had been no vocational, handicraft or agricultural schools in the Territory before 1949, when the vocational school had been built at Usumbura. The school had three apprenticeship sections, providing training in masonry, mecha-

tics and carpentry, a preparatory vocational training section and two vocational sections. It had twelve classes and 300 pupils. There were also fourteen handicraft schools, with a total of some 600 pupils. Agricultural training was given at the vocational school at Karuzi and at the training farms at Mushenye and Nyamasheke.

44. Research in pure science was going ahead and studies in the improvement of agricultural yield were being made.

45. In conclusion, he declared that the work of the Administering Authority in Ruanda-Urundi had but one goal: to lead the people of the Territory into the family of civilized nations. Progress could not be realized on all fronts with the same speed. Institutions could easily be changed, but it took many years to adapt a people's outlook to new conditions and only through such adaptation could any enduring progress be achieved.

QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE TRUST TERRITORY AND REPLIES OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVES

Political advancement

46. Mr. THORP (New Zealand) said that the special representative had made a statement of great importance, which would require close scrutiny. He would, however, like to ask two preliminary questions at the present meeting.

47. Firstly, he wondered whether the special representative could add anything to what he had said at the seventeenth session (655th meeting) about the *mouvement politique progressiste*.

48. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) said that the movement in question had come to nothing. The people had not been interested; they had been entirely absorbed by the political progress set on foot by the Administration and in particular by preparations for the elections. In any event the movement had been ill-conceived, for it had attempted to combine the Banyarunda and the Barundi people and the two states had not yet reached a point at which they would be willing to combine to form a common party.

49. Mr. THORP (New Zealand) asked whether the fact that the system of remuneration of chiefs was no longer linked with the collection of taxes had had any perceptible effect on the amount of taxes raised.

50. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) replied that so far no difference had been observed.

51. Mr. MUFTI (Syria) thanked the special representative for his statement and reserved the right to comment on it later.

52. Referring to page 16 of the Belgian Government's report, he asked why it was difficult to explain in detail the juridical status of the various sections of the population, particularly in view of the statement on page 7 of the report that over the centuries the different groups had acquired a single political organization and that they had the same linguistic and religious structure.

53. He would also like to know who issued the civic merit cards, according to what criteria they were issued and whether the services rendered by indigenous inhabitants in leading the country towards independence were regarded as civic services.

54. Referring to page 21 of the report, he wondered whether it was not possible to maintain public order with forces drawn from the Territory itself, whether the costs of the Force publique at present operating were paid by the Trust Territory, and, if so, what

advantage there was in burdening the Territory's budget with expenditure for foreign forces.

55. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) said that the statement on page 7 of the Belgian Government's report referred to the indigenous inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi, whereas the reference on page 16 was to the entire population of the Territory, including Europeans, Asians and non-indigenous Africans living in extra-tribal centres. Moreover, the reasons for the differences in status were explained on page 16.

56. Too much importance should not be attached to the civic merit card, which was in the nature of an honorary distinction. He would, however, reply to the second question in more detail at the next meeting.

57. The presence in Ruanda-Urundi of Congolese forces was due in the first place to historical circumstances. Ruanda-Urundi had been occupied in 1916 by Congolese forces. It was that fact which had made possible the establishment there of the Mandates System and subsequently, the Trusteeship System. Moreover, the Territory's resources had always been extremely limited and it had seemed simpler to station a detachment of Congolese in Ruanda-Urundi rather than to establish expensive training camps for such units in the Territory itself. Until recently, moreover, the inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi had shown very little enthusiasm for military life. Some of them had now begun to take an interest in the matter and the Administration was studying ways by which inhabitants of the Territory could be integrated into the Force publique.

58. Another difficulty was that the Force was a central organization and while both the Banyaruanda and the Barundi were willing to accept the presence of Congolese, neither would respond favourably to the presence of inhabitants of the other state in their Territory.

59. Mr. MUFTI (Syria) asked what were the disciplinary powers with regard to magistrates, mentioned on page 24 of the report.

60. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) said that those powers were more or less theoretical, since they were exercised by the King and the Minister for the Colonies, both of whom were in Brussels, and the Governor-General, who was at Léopoldville. Consequently no official or member of the executive branch in the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi exercised any authority or power whatsoever over the magistrates. In practice those powers had never, to his knowledge, been used. They could be used to transfer magistrates who were members of the *parquet*, but the heads of civil courts, for example, were irremovable and could not be transferred without their consent.

61. Mr. MUFTI (Syria) considered that that statement by the special representative was very important and should be included in the future reports of the Administering Authority.

62. Referring to page 24 of the report, he asked whether there really was a policy designed to lead the Territory to self-government or independence, what were its general outlines, and whether it was not high time to establish a political programme which would ensure realization of the fundamental goal of independence or self-government.

63. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) said that ever since Belgium had assumed the task of guiding the Territory it had never ceased to work towards that goal. It had not always done so directly, perhaps, but all progress in the Territory was a step towards self-government. He could not say how or when self-govern-

ment would be achieved; progress was slow in some fields and rapid in others, definitive in some cases and precarious in others. A surprising amount of progress had been achieved in the Territory since 1917 but it was very difficult to specify how, in what direction and to what extent further development would take place: what was quite certain was that it would take place. Belgium intended—and had so demonstrated by its actions—to go on extending the responsibilities of the indigenous inhabitants, to make ever higher posts in the Administration available to them and to provide all the facilities for primary, secondary and higher education they could wish for. There was, however, a certain difficulty of adaptation between Ruanda and Urundi. The population was burdened with many economic problems and it was necessary to make the existing social structure, to which the indigenous inhabitants were strongly attached, more flexible. That was being done year by year but it was impossible to say when the work would be completed.

64. Mr. MUFTI (Syria) said that his delegation did not consider the special representative's statements satisfactory. The General Assembly's recommendations were clear and precise and they called for equally clear and precise replies.

65. Referring to page 27 of the Belgian Government's report, he asked who decided when a meeting of the Council of the Vice-Government-General was necessary, who was empowered to call a meeting, why the Council's records were not prepared in one of the local languages and whether it was not possible to provide for longer and more frequent meetings.

66. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) said that up to the present the Council had met only once a year, although further meetings could be held at the request of members. The Council was now being reorganized and the Governor had decided that the new Council would meet twice a year. Moreover, there was no reason why the number of meetings could not be increased if more were considered necessary.

67. The records were kept in French and Dutch because French was the language used in all the Council's meetings and Dutch was the second national language of Belgium. They were not kept in an indigenous language because all the indigenous councillors who took part in the debates and, in practice, all the indigenous inhabitants who were sufficiently educated to take an interest in the country's affairs, spoke French. None of them had ever asked that the discussions should be held and the records written in the two languages of the Territory. Moreover, the two High Councils of the states, which were made up exclusively of indigenous inhabitants, often held their discussions in French.

68. Mr. MUFTI (Syria), referring to page 34 of the report, asked what was the approximate percentage of indigenous inhabitants in the existing political organizations and what steps the Administering Authority had taken to encourage the development of groups which could be considered political organizations.

69. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) said that so far as he knew there were few indigenous inhabitants in the organizations mentioned on page 34. The Ligue des droits de l'homme et de la démocratie nouvelle had some indigenous members, but probably no more than a dozen, and there were at present no other organizations with indigenous members. Political life was only just beginning in Ruanda-Urundi: a good start had been made with the elections and the Decree of 14 July 1952 had brought about a considerable democratization

of indigenous society. The Administering Authority would continue its work in that direction. If indigenous political organizations were organized it would determine from their programmes whether or not they should be encouraged.

70. Mr. CLAEYS BOUUAERT (Belgium) said that the Belgian Government did not consider it part of its duty to encourage the establishment of political organizations. It did, however, feel that it was its duty to permit the free establishment and emergence of political movements. For understandable reasons, the few movements which at present existed in the Territory were copies of European movements, and it was natural that they should be largely European in origin and composition.

71. In the political field, African society had its own organizations, which were traditional and customary. It could be foreseen that in the not-too-distant future the democratization of African institutions and the fact that the whole adult male population now took part in the elections would stimulate within those political groups movements of opinion which would crystallize into parties.

72. Mr. MUFTI (Syria) said that his delegation, on the contrary, considered it the duty of the Administering Authority to encourage the creation of political organizations embodying a large number of indigenous inhabitants, which would thus have a representative character the existing organizations lacked.

73. He asked why the posts listed under the category of "auxiliary personnel" in the table on page 297 of the report had not yet been filled and why there was such a disparity between the salaries paid to European officials and those paid to indigenous officials.

74. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) said that high qualifications were required of the European staff of the Administration. At present there were very few indigenous inhabitants who could fulfil their functions. The first and special categories of auxiliary personnel had recently been created, but none of those posts had been filled up to 31 December 1955 simply because none of the candidates had fulfilled the conditions required for the posts. They would, however, be filled as quickly as capable candidates were found.

75. In future the higher posts would be open to Africans as soon as they had completed university courses and were able to assume the responsibilities of the post.

The meeting was suspended at 3.55 p.m. and resumed at 4.15 p.m.

76. Mr. KIANG (China) asked how many of the ninety-four Africans who had joined the Administration in 1955 had been admitted to higher positions and what was the nature of the posts to which they had been appointed.

77. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) said that the ninety-four Africans had not been appointed to posts of importance, because they lacked the necessary training and qualifications. It would be a mistake, however, to think that all the higher posts in the Administration were reserved for Europeans, for many posts in the indigenous Administration, which ran parallel to the Belgian Administration, carried greater responsibility than some of those in the Belgian Administration.

78. Mr. KIANG (China) asked for information on the political activities of the groups mentioned on page 34 of the Administering Authority's report.

79. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) said that the members of the Union eurafricaine du Ruanda-Urundi and the Association professionnelle des colons et sociétés du Ruanda-Urundi were private persons. The Ligue des droits de l'homme et de la démocratie nouvelle was a very small organization, whose aims were humanitarian rather than political; it was made up of few Europeans and a few Africans who wished to do educational work with regard to human and civic rights. Both associations of settlers engaged in some political activity, in that each of them had one or two representatives in the Council of the Vice-Government-General; their main activity was, however, professional rather than political.

80. Mr. BARGUES (France) asked how customs expenditure was divided between Ruanda-Urundi and the Belgian Congo and how the customs service in Ruanda-Urundi was organized.

81. He also wished to know whether the Office de dédouanement colonial, mentioned on page 317 of the Administering Authority's report, had special functions or was really a customs service, and whether the share of its expenses paid by Ruanda-Urundi was the Territory's only contribution to the customs services provided by the Belgian Congo.

82. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) said that there was no customs frontier between the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi. The two territories had a single customs service, with headquarters at Léopoldville, from which some officials were seconded to the Trust Territory. Ruanda-Urundi shared the expenses of the customs services only in proportion to the expense of maintaining those officials in the Territory. The Office de dédouanement colonial was a metropolitan body to which the Territory contributed only the sum mentioned in the budget.

83. Mr. BARGUES (France) asked whether the Decree of 14 July 1952 made provision for the case of a difference of opinion between the High Council of one of the states and the Mwami² and whether any differences of that sort had ever arisen.

84. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) said that the Decree did not expressly provide for that eventuality but since it provided that many decisions could not be taken by the Bami except in conformity with the advice of their Councils, the Council's refusal to give its consent would render the Mwami powerless. In practice there had been two or three cases in which the Mwami had disagreed with the Council but on each occasion the matter had been settled without conflict, the Mwami having acceded to the Council's opinion.

85. Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala) asked when the reorganization of the Council of the Vice-Government-General would take effect.

86. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) said that it should come into force during the next meeting of the Council of the Vice-Government-General, which would probably be held in May.

87. Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala) asked how the forty-five seats in the Council of the Vice-Government-General would be distributed.

88. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) said that since the decree had not yet been signed he could not give a definite answer; it was probable, however, that the Council would have nine *ex-officio* members, six members representing associations of capital interests,

² "Mwami" is the singular form of the word "Bami".

six members representing chambers of commerce and the middle classes, six members representing employees and workers, six notables chosen for their competency in African affairs, two members appointed by each of the High Councils, four members representing extra-tribal groups and four independent members.

89. In reply to a further question by Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala), Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) explained that the figure of fifteen African members was a minimum; there might well be more than that on the Council. He could not say definitely how the African members would be chosen. So far no provision had been made for their election, although that procedure might be adopted in certain cases, in the tribal and extra-tribal centres, for example. The members appointed by the High Councils of the states would probably be elected by the High Councils and it would be possible for the chambers of commerce to elect some representatives of the middle classes. It was difficult to see, however, how the other members representing the middle classes could be elected. It was more likely that they would be appointed by the Governor, perhaps in agreement with the chiefs.

90. Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala) asked whether the Administering Authority contemplated broadening the powers of the Council of the Vice-Government-General.

91. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) said that present plans did not provide for any extension of the Council's powers. It already had very wide competence on all matters concerning the Territory, although it was only an advisory body. Its scope would, however, be increased, for with twice as many members it would be more representative of the various interests in the Territory; moreover, it would in future meet twice, rather than once, a year. One of the two sessions would be devoted almost exclusively to consideration of the Territory's budget and that in itself would give it considerable importance in the Territory's life and development.

92. Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala) asked at what age a man was considered adult and therefore entitled to vote in the elections to the sub-chiefdom councils.

93. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) replied that no particular age had been fixed because many of the indigenous inhabitants did not know their age. A person's age could be ascertained only by reference to historical events or by his physical development. In practice, the determination of adulthood presented no serious problems.

94. Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala) wondered, in view of the fact that there was no register office, who decided whether a person was an adult and was therefore entitled to vote. He asked if, in the future, there would be a more stable way to determine the electorate.

95. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) replied that the organization of the first elections in a Territory like Ruanda-Urundi raised a number of problems to which practical and sometimes empirical solutions must be found. The 1956 elections had taken place at the sub-chiefdom level and, as the total population of each sub-chiefdom was relatively small, the people were well known to each other. Each of the chiefs and sub-chiefs had lists of taxpayers and knew who were children and who were adults. Consequently, the sub-chiefs and the territorial officers had had no real difficulty in determining who was entitled to vote.

96. Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala) wondered whether, in the light of the experience gained in the 1956 elections to the sub-chiefdom councils, the Administration would consider extending the system of direct suffrage to the elections to the chiefdom and district councils and to the High Councils of the states.

97. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) said that the existing system of elections in several stages would probably develop naturally into a system of more direct elections. The process of democratization had only just begun, however; at present it was planned to extend the principle of direct elections to elections for sub-chiefdom councils.

98. Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala) noted that the Territory had been represented at a number of regional conferences. It would be interesting to know whether any indigenous inhabitants had been included on the Ruanda-Urundi delegations and, if so, in what capacity.

99. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) did not remember whether any indigenous inhabitants had been included in the delegations.

100. Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala) understood from the annual report that in rural areas the personality of the sub-chief largely determined the effectiveness of the sub-chiefdom council. It would be interesting to know whether the indigenous political structure, which was being strengthened by the Administration, allowed young men with some degree of education to become members of the councils, and, generally speaking, to participate actively in the Territory's political life or whether they were kept out of political life.

101. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) emphasized that, while the sub-chiefdom, chiefdom and district councils and the High Councils of the states were tribal in that they concerned the tribal populations, they were not traditional, having been established by the Decree of 14 July 1952. Every effort had been made at the outset to ensure that they included not only the traditional notables but also new men such as worthy heads of families, teachers, artisans and skilled workers. The situation had been still further improved by the introduction of the electoral system in 1956. As a result, young men with a certain degree of education were not only included in the councils, they were virtually taking them over. There were several of the old traditional chiefs in the High Councils of the states but most of the members were young men who had completed their secondary studies and who were, in the main, capable and desirous of discussing the problems submitted to them. Obviously, however, the country could not rid itself overnight of the social structure which had prevailed for centuries and the people often called on the traditional authorities to represent them. That was a situation that would have to be changed gradually and by education.

102. Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala) asked whether the Administering Authority had undertaken the studies concerning common citizenship called for by the Trusteeship Council at its fifteenth session (A/2933, p. 78) and, if so, what conclusions had been reached.

103. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) explained that in saying that there was no recognized Ruanda-Urundi citizenship he meant only that no rules had yet been laid down for the acquisition or loss of a person's status as a Banyaruanda or Barundi. In practice every-

one in Ruanda-Urundi knew very well who were the Banyaruanda and the Barundi and no difficulties ever arose. The Banyaruandas and the Barundis, like the other inhabitants of the Territory, enjoyed most fundamental human rights. They had a civil status and all civil rights. The Administration wished to unify those rights progressively and to give all the inhabitants of the Territory a single status, but a gradual approach was necessary.

104. Mr. ROLZ BENNETT (Guatemala) asked whether that meant that the Administration had a definite plan for establishing a common citizenship. It would be interesting to know its main provisions and the stages in which it would be put into effect.

105. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) replied that there was as yet no specific, detailed plan. One of the difficulties confronting the Administration was the fact that the Territory comprised two separate States which were united only by a common Belgian Administration.

106. Mr. JAIPAL (India) said that he had been encouraged by the special representative's opening statement. The Administering Authority was apparently introducing a number of reforms, such as adult suffrage, and the people were responding to such reforms better than had been expected a few years previously. Furthermore, some of the main blots, such as racial discrimination, curfews, and restrictions on the movement of people, were in the process of being eliminated.

107. With regard to the reconstitution of the Council of the Vice-Government-General, he would like to know whether the two Bami were included in the fifteen Africans referred to by the special representative, from where the fifteen Africans would be drawn and whether the four members elected by the two High Councils of the states would serve as the representatives of those Councils.

108. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) pointed out that as only seven of the nine *ex-officio* members must be Europeans there might well be an African majority on the Council. The Bami would obviously be included among the African membership. They had been at the head of social progress in the Territory and had been among the first to call for political advancement and the establishment of the High Councils. They were happy to have the Councils to help them with their responsibilities. They had moreover been the first to call for the separation of executive and judicial authority and were among the strongest protagonists of the democratic system which the Administration proposed to introduce. It would be entirely wrong to consider the Bami as people wedded to their privileges; on the contrary they were both doing their utmost to ensure that their country advanced towards a democratic form of government.

109. It was difficult to say whence the additional African members of the Council would be drawn. Four would probably be appointed by and from the High Councils of the states. The others would be chosen by the Governor in agreement with the African authorities, unless some form of election were introduced for the representatives of the tribal and extra-tribal populations. It must be borne in mind that there was a relative shortage of men capable of serving usefully on a body such as the Council of the Vice-Government-General, and the choice would be limited to a very small number of people who were both capable of serving as Council members and available.

110. The link between the High Councils of the states and the Council of the Vice-Government-General, repeatedly advocated by the Trusteeship Council, would be established by the presence in the Council of the Vice-Government-General of four members elected directly by the High Councils of the states from among their own members.

111. Mr. JAIPAL (India) hoped that it would be possible in due course to increase the representation of the two High Councils in the Council of the Vice-Government-General.

112. It would be interesting to know whether the advice of the Council of the Vice-Government-General was ordinarily accepted by the Governor and what procedure was followed in cases of disagreement.

113. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) replied that the opinion of the Council of the Vice-Government-General was taken into the fullest account by the Governor. In practice virtually all the Council's recommendations were followed, although it might not always be possible to give effect to them immediately. The Council's agenda always included an item on the action taken on previous opinions and recommendations and the authorities had to explain the reasons for their action or lack of action. In the rare cases in which the Governor could not accept the Council's recommendations, he appeared before the Council to justify his attitude.

114. Mr. JAIPAL (India) asked whether there was any serious opposition to extending the suffrage to women and, if so, whether it was religious in nature.

115. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) emphasized that the Administration would have no objection whatever to extending the suffrage to women but that there would certainly be strong opposition on the part of the people, based on custom and tradition rather than on religion. In Ruanda-Urundi custom gave women a high position as wives, mothers and family advisers but did not entitle them to participate in public affairs outside the home. Should the people's attitude change in the future there would be no obstacle to the extension of the vote to women, for there was no religious or superstitious impediment.

116. Mr. CLAEYS BOUUAERT (Belgium) added that universal adult male suffrage had been introduced at the request of the Africans themselves within the framework of the existing legislation. That legislation would make it possible to extend the suffrage to women as soon as the Africans wished it, but such a step could not be imposed on them without their consent.

117. Mr. JAIPAL (India) wished to make it clear that he had not intended to suggest that the suffrage should be extended to women immediately.

118. He would like to know whether elections in the extra-tribal centres, in Usumbura for instance, were conducted on the basis of adult suffrage.

119. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) replied in the affirmative, adding that the elections in those centres were direct; they were not held through the intermediary of an electoral college.

120. In reply to a question by Mr. JAIPAL (India) concerning the transfer of powers from the European Administration to the indigenous Administration, Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) regretted that he had not with him the text of the 1952 Decree. He would reply in full at the following meeting. For the time being he would give the Council the following examples.

121. Firstly, the division of the states into chiefdoms and sub-chiefdoms would henceforth be carried out by the Bami in agreement with their Councils rather than by the European authorities. Secondly, the Bami and their Councils, as also the chiefs and their councils, would in future distribute the agricultural work required of the people, the Belgian Administration merely preparing a very general programme of work. Thirdly, some responsibility with regard to the administration of the chiefdom funds had been transferred. Lastly, an experiment was being undertaken in leaving the whole question of agricultural propaganda and the production of food crops to two indigenous chiefs, one in Ruanda and the other in Urundi. The chiefs in question had been carefully selected in order, as far as possible, to ensure the success of the experiment.

122. Mr. JAIPAL (India) said that the transfer of power was an important development and he would welcome the additional information which the special representative had offered to furnish.

123. He noted that the chiefs were no longer paid in proportion to the taxes they collected but now received fixed salaries. It would be interesting to know what was the position in respect of the salaries payable to the Bami.

124. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) replied that the salaries of the Bami were based on the number of taxpayers in their state but were not directly taken from the taxes. He would supply additional details at a later meeting.

125. Mr. JAIPAL (India) asked how the four

persons in the High Councils of the states who were chosen for their knowledge of the country's problems were selected.

126. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) replied that they were indigenous inhabitants co-opted by the Councils.

127. Mr. JAIPAL (India) presumed that they had more knowledge of the country's problems as a whole than the other members of the Councils; he would have thought that the majority of the representatives, who came from the various chiefdoms and sub-chiefdoms, would be quite familiar with the country's problems.

128. He would like to know whether the four members of the High Councils who held the card of civic merit were inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi or natives of the Belgian Congo.

129. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) replied that they were all inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi.

130. Mr. JAIPAL (India) noted that a manifesto issued by the Conscience africaine in July 1956 had provoked a good deal of interest and discussion both in Europe and elsewhere. He wondered whether it had had any effect in Ruanda-Urundi.

131. Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) replied that the manifesto had originated in the Belgian Congo. The inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi had read it with interest and discussed it. Generally speaking, their reaction had been favourable but it was very difficult to state exactly what effect an article had in the Territory.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.