

UNITED NATIONS TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL



Distr.
LIMITED

T/PET.3/L.120/Add.1
7 July 1961
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

PETITION FROM MR. CHRISTIAN MUSHATSI-KAREBA CONCERNING RUANDA-URUNDI

Note by the Secretariat: The following is the full text of the statement attached to the petition appearing in document T/PET.3/L.120; it is being circulated in accordance with the decision of the Trusteeship Council at its 1165th meeting.

PETITION SUBMITTED TO THE FIFTEENTH SESSION OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE
OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL BY MR. CHRISTIAN MUSHATSI-KAREBA, ON
BEHALF OF THE NATIONALIST PARTIES OF BURUNDI

Mr. President,
Members of the Council,

I am glad that I have a second opportunity to set before your Assembly the point of view of my people, the people of BURUNDI. When I say that I am speaking on their behalf, it is not a mere figure of speech. While it is true that I already made a statement before you in the name of my party, the Parti d'Unité et Progrès National du Burundi, otherwise known as UPRONA, this time I am addressing you in the name of an even larger group, the Cartel des Partis Nationalistes du Burundi. The latter comprises the following political organizations which have drawn up a joint programme:

- (a) Parti d'Unité et Progrès National du Burundi (UPRONA);
- (b) Parti Conservateur (PC);
- (c) Parti de la Démocratie Nationale du Burundi (PDNB);
- (d) Mouvement progressiste du Burundi aile Banciyeko (MPB);
- (e) Voix du Peuple Murundi (VPM);
- (f) Parti Tutsi-Hutu-Twa (PHTT);
- (g) Parti démocratique des jeunes travailleurs du Burundi (PDJTB).

These organizations are so numerous and so strong that I feel entitled to maintain without the slightest fear of contradiction that I am addressing you, Mr. President and members of the Council, in the name of practically the whole population of Burundi.

Today it is with great confidence that we again turn to the United Nations. That great international organization has shown in the case of Burundi that it intends to remain true to its noble task of bringing Peace, Progress and greater well-being to mankind. This is shown by the fact that, four months ago, after hearing the views of petitioners belonging to the various political parties and groups and receiving the reports of the Visiting Mission and the Trusteeship Council, it adopted positive resolutions relating to our country and to our neighbours in RWANDA.

Another reason for our confidence, which dates back to earlier days but is no less valid for all that, is the attitude taken up by the League of Nations immediately after the first World War. The Germans who had been in occupation of our Territory had been forced to withdraw, but covetous eyes were upon it and it was threatened with a second colonial conquest. The world Organization of those days succeeded in assuming control of our future and took the beneficent, wise and generous step of placing us under the trusteeship of one of its members.

Unfortunately for us, however, Belgium, to whom the Trusteeship was given, did not comply with the instructions issued by the League of Nations. And so we are once again before you, asking for our independence, since the Trusteeship System has been a failure in Burundi.

THE MURUNDI PEOPLE CALL FOR THEIR INDEPENDENCE

The Trusteeship Council already has a considerable knowledge of the problems of Burundi. We are grateful for the interest which it takes in our country, an interest which has been emphasized by the dispatch of three Visiting Missions to our Territory in recent years.

Among other things, the work carried out by those missions made it possible for the United Nations General Assembly to adopt an important resolution on the future of Ruanda-Urundi in December 1960.

The third Visiting Mission, in March 1960, was able to see for itself how acute our political problems are and how quickly our people has found itself. In its report, it stated "certain sections of the population of the Trust Territory which until recently did not even envisage self-government in the near future now demand immediate independence" (para. 59). Later in its report it said (para. 446) "Ruanda-Urundi is no longer an isolated island in an Africa in ferment, and with the Congo attaining its independence on 30 June 1960, it would be unrealistic to imagine that the Administering Authority still has many years in which to bring Ruanda-Urundi to the stage where it can decide its own future". On 31 March, when it was about to leave the Territory, the Mission issued a communiqué in which, acknowledging what was the obvious wish of the people, it expressed the hope that "in the near future Ruanda-Urundi will take its place among the free nations of Africa".

The pace of this development observed by the Mission a year ago has quickened since then. Today almost the whole Murundi people is calling for independence.

No one is deceived any longer by the slogan "Democracy before independence" put forward by the parties fabricated by the Administering Authority. Events in the Congo and the behaviour of the Belgian Administration in Burundi itself have shown that it would be an illusion to hope for any democratization as long as the country is under Belgian trusteeship.

A COLONIAL STRUCTURE

We shall not dwell upon the type of domination exercised by the Administering Authority over Burundi. The Trusteeship Council is aware of the political structure that existed up to 1960.

We shall confine ourselves to quoting the following significant passage from a report presented to the Belgian Parliament in 1959 by the Minister for the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi.

"LEGISLATIVE POWER"

"(a) The Belgian Parliament exercises full legislative powers: its acts bear the title of laws. The King approves the laws and promulgates them.

"(b) The King exercises ordinary legislative powers by means of decrees. Except in emergency, these are laid before the Colonial Council, of which the Minister for the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi is chairman ex officio and which has fourteen members - eight appointed by the King and six elected by the Belgian Parliament.

"(c) In emergencies, the Governor-General signs ordinances, known as legislative ordinances, which have the force of decrees.

"EXECUTIVE POWER"

"Executive power is vested in the King ... By law, it is delegated to the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi who exercises it by means of ordinances."

In other words, as indeed the report in question notes, neither the indigenous population nor the non-indigenous population participates directly in the exercise of legislative power.

The Trusteeship Council is also aware that the Administering Authority decided in 1960 to change this structure and to provide the country with a National Assembly. The conditions in which the elections in question were to be organized aroused misgivings in the Trusteeship Council. After studying the Council's report, the United Nations General Assembly, in the resolution which we mentioned above, drew up a certain number of recommendations and decisions which were to ensure that the elections "which will furnish the basis for the Territory's independence, are held in proper conditions so that their results are completely free of doubt or dispute".

FAKED ELECTIONS

The Belgian Government and its representatives systematically ignored and flouted the provisions of the resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly.

The General Assembly considered that "the necessary conditions and atmosphere must be brought about to ensure that the elections take place in an atmosphere of peace and harmony".

To this end, it urged the Administering Authority "to implement immediately measures of full and unconditional amnesty and to abolish the emergency régime so as to enable political workers and leaders who are in exile or imprisoned in the Territory to resume normal, democratic political activity before the elections".

What is the position today? At the time of its visit, the Mission sent by the Trusteeship Council noted that an emergency military regime had been established in Rwanda, under which all power was in fact in the hands of the Resident-General. This military regime was extended to Burundi in July 1960. But, whereas in Rwanda the tragic events of November had provided a pretext for the establishment of this colonial dictatorship, in Burundi there had been no disturbances that could have provided the semblance of a justification for such a measure. We feel obliged to conclude that, in so doing, the Belgian Administration had no other purpose but to resist by force the demand for independence expressed by the inhabitants.

During that month of October 1960, just before the municipal elections, the Belgian Administration massacred, arrested, placed under supervised residence or expelled from the Territory most of the leaders of the movements favouring independence. Thus, it proceeded, unscrupulously and for no reason at all, to arrest His Royal Highness Prince Louis RWAGASSORE, the son of the Mwami and the leader of UPRONA, and Mr. Jean SIMBAVIMBERE, the Chairman of PDNB.

Is that how the Belgian Government intended to "ensure the necessary conditions and atmosphere" for the holding of the legislative elections?

In any case those are the conditions under which it held them, against the advice of the Trusteeship Council, on 29 January 1961, surreptitiously, and without the effective supervision advocated by the United Nations General Assembly. Far from proclaiming the general amnesty that the United Nations had called for, the Administration, on the contrary, extended its repression and its blackmail of the nationalists and increased its threats against them. In the circumstances, only the parties established and financed by it were able to express their views. Our organizations could not sanction such a fake: they urged a boycott of the elections and the great majority of the population, whatever results may have been proclaimed, followed that directive.

In all these manoeuvres we realized what was intended, which was to put our country back into the hands of some of the most degenerate lackeys; what is still intended is to reduce us to slavery and seize our wealth. The Burundi know that when the colonialists find themselves forced to grant independence, they push to the fore as many lackeys as they can, intending through them to remain masters

of the country's wealth. However, the history of peoples and the example of the Congo show us sufficiently well that all the funds poured out do not bring the expected results. The parties fighting for true independence always gain the final victory.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF BURUNDI WOULD GUARANTEE PEACE

The Belgian Government is now trying to use these elections to impede Burundi's progress towards independence. We solemnly denounce these corrupt procedures by Burundi political quislings, the creation and financing of political parties favourable to the colonial system, which bring about the division and rending of the country, at the risk of bloody disturbances. We denounce the colonialist Power's attempts to stir up tribal rivalries and antagonisms between the different sections of the population, and we welcome the failure of those attempts. In fact, these attempts at division have not succeeded in constituting any party in Burundi, even in direct allegiance to the colonial Power, on such a basis of racial or tribal discrimination.

Hence independence, far from stirring up non-existent divisions, would put an end to the disruptive colonialist intrigues and would make it possible to achieve on the basis of complete equality, that "atmosphere of peace and harmony" to which the United Nations General Assembly declared itself to be so rightly attached.

In asking the Trusteeship Council now to support our request for independence, we are certain not only that we express the opinion of the vast majority of the Burundi, but also that we are making a contribution to the maintenance of peace in Central Africa.

A FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF THE CHARTER

Having thus dealt with the problem of civil peace in Burundi, we cannot ignore the problem of international peace and, in particular, the grave concern to which the policy of the Administering Authority has given rise in our country.

The grave events of the Congo showed how that peace could be threatened by the events in our region. The various resolutions adopted by the United Nations Security Council are ample evidence of the part played by the Belgian Government in that tension: several times the Security Council called for the withdrawal of all Belgian forces from the Congo. To all those resolutions the Belgian Government has opposed the same force of apparent inertia - in reality the same active bad faith - as it did to the General Assembly resolution concerning Ruanda-Urundi.

What is worse, it has used Burundi as a base for aggression against the Congolese patriots. Burundi has been used, again contrary to the General Assembly resolution, as a base and a staging area for Belgian troops; arms depots have been set up there. This role was highlighted during the operation which ended in the lamentable failure of MOBUTU against the capital of Kivu. MOBUTU's para-commandoes were able to land, with the agreement of the Belgian authorities, at the airfield of Usumbura, capital of Ruanda-Urundi. What is more, they were taken in trucks to the frontier of KIVU to attack the regular forces of Mr. Antoine GIZENGA's Central Congolese Government.

This use of a United Nations Trust Territory for military aggression is obviously a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter. Such an act also threatens to draw Burundi into an armed conflict, involving the risk of its extension over the whole of Africa or even throughout the world.

THE LAW OF COLONIALISM

Despite our desire to be brief, we have dwelt at length on the political aspects of the problem. This is because, as the Visiting Mission noted in March 1960, "political problems are now of primary concern to the people of Ruanda-Urundi and have pushed other problems into the background".

It is also because the political nature of the question arises primarily from the maturing of its other aspects: economic, social, cultural, etc....

We shall not deal with these aspects in detail: the Trusteeship Council is well aware of them even though its Visiting Mission had scarcely time to deal with them. They are the same as in all the colonial countries. It was a solution of these questions which the United Nations General Assembly was seeking when it

adopted, on 25 September 1960, the "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples".

Let us recall one passage in that Declaration: "Colonialism is an obsolete and shameful phenomenon in modern life. The complete and final elimination of colonialism would be the prelude not only to social progress but also to swift technical strides in industry and agriculture."

Let it be well understood: It is not and never has been our intention to throw discredit on the Trusteeship Authority. The reason why we are entirely ignoring its technical achievements is first of all because we have not come here to praise technology, but to request political solutions on which the future of a whole people depends.

It is also because technical achievements - and on this point Belgium could not escape the logic of the colonial system - are employed primarily in the service of colonization. We will confine ourselves to four examples only:

Industry (embryonic) and the exploitation of mineral wealth are entirely in the hands of European companies with a heavy Belgian predominance.

Trade is also closed to Africans.

In 1959, the minimum legal daily wage scale is, in Belgian francs, for only one part of the Territory, the principal town (Usumbura), from 11.25 (for light work) to 13.75 (for heavy work), and for the rest of the country, from 7.65 to 9.35 francs plus a daily food allowance, in Belgian francs, of 5.55 (for light work) to 9.71 (for heavy work).

The number of students (post-secondary or higher education) is 119 (in 1958) for a total population (Ruanda-Urundi) of 4,689,065 inhabitants.

Primary education, the development of which is held up by lack of funds, is received, according to the official figures, by about half the population of school age, but in reality, according to the most reliable investigators, the figure is scarcely one-fifth.

Although Burundi is a Trust Territory, i.e., it is a United Nations responsibility, the population does not impute this colonialism to the United Nations.

The welcome which it gave to the United Nations Visiting Mission (see the report of the Mission, Introduction, paragraph 5) shows the confidence it has in the international Organization. The latter therefore has this capital of confidence at its command with which to bring about rapidly the radical transformations demanded by the Murundi people. It must do this without delay, otherwise that population, exposed to pitiless repression, would be driven to despair and the most serious disturbances might follow.

The United Nations has the power to proclaim the independence of Burundi with or without the consent of the Trusteeship Power. We turn towards it with confidence.

We also know that the sudden transition to independence will create great problems for us, but if we put off that transition, we will simply be postponing those problems and making them even more difficult.

Therefore we are asking the United Nations to continue to assist us after independence.

The tragic vacuum left by a colonial administration which has done nothing to transfer the various responsibilities to the Murundi people makes it imperative that we should receive such assistance. We shall need political, administrative, health, educational and military personnel. We believe that, under the aegis of the United Nations, the genuinely independent African States will find it possible to reconcile the granting of assistance with respect for our full sovereignty. We are prepared to accept - and even to request - the setting up by the United Nations of a transitional junta composed of representatives of those States under the recognized authority of the Paramount Chief, the Mwami MWAMBUTSA.

The purposes and functions of that transitional junta might be:

- to achieve and guarantee the freedom, unity and independence of Burundi;
- to lay the foundations for the training of Burundi African cadres;
- to guarantee law and order and individual freedoms;
- to eliminate the systematic distrust among the Burundi fostered by the trusteeship regime;
- to prepare the people psychologically for the vote;
- to organize the elections to the National Assembly; and
- to assist the people in proclaiming their independence.

BURUNDI no longer needs colonizers but it does need fraternal assistance. By granting us that assistance, the United Nations, which has already done so much for our country, would earn the gratitude of our people. It may rest assured that we shall prove worthy of its aid in future by bending every effort to achieve human progress and peace among nations.

CONCLUSION

Mr. President, members of the Trusteeship Council,

We should like to conclude by telling you how anxious are the groups which make up the Cartel des Partis Nationalistes du Burundi that their views should prevail, for they are motivated only by love of country, of independence and of their freedoms.

This applies not only to the leaders, but to the whole population organized in these political parties. Rest assured that every one of us will do his best so that the future will bear no resemblance to the past and BURUNDI will be free. You may also rest assured that we shall manage to avoid the disunity which has done so much harm to other peoples. For our country's sake, we shall maintain and strengthen the unity of all political parties.

Nevertheless, our legitimate claims do not imply any criticism of other peoples. We say to all: come to us as friends and we shall be your friends.

Economically, socially and culturally BURUNDI is so backward that, once independence has been achieved, we shall need the friendly help of other countries in the form of both manpower and capital. In the first place, the Belgian people, whom we already know would be welcome if they gave us the necessary help in future in return for fair remuneration.

Once again, we wish to tell you how much our unhappy people is relying on you. You will surely see your way clear to fulfilling our most cherished hope, which is and shall always be the independence of BURUNDI. But do not delay. In this connexion, we would ask you to reread the report of the Visiting Mission which came here last year. On page 8, the report speaks of the serious crisis in Ruanda-Urundi. We are convinced that that over-all appraisal is a fair one, particularly as regards our country, BURUNDI.

Time is short. Our fate is in your hands. Too much Negro blood has been shed on African soil. Enough, enough bloodshed.

It would be the path of wisdom for you to declare yourselves in favour of our independence. But it would strengthen our national interests and the cause of peace if you did so very soon.

* * *

Introduction to the annexes

It is also my task to read to this Assembly the following texts:

A resolution by the Cartel des Partis Nationalistes du BURUNDI;

An outline of the programme drawn up by the Cartel;

An extract from the United Nations Charter relating to the International Trusteeship System.*

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE CARTEL DES PARTIS NATIONALISTES DU BURUNDI CONCERNING THE INDEPENDENCE OF BURUNDI

Weary of an intolerable state of affairs, and deprived of its basic rights as a result of interference by Belgian imperialism in its political life, the Murundi people, through the Cartel des Partis Nationalistes du BURUNDI (majority parties), demands:

1. The immediate and unconditional termination of the trusteeship regime so that the necessary organs for its accession to national independence may be planned and established.
2. The termination on 1 May of the trusteeship exercised by Belgium.
3. The evacuation from BURUNDI of all foreign military and para-military personnel.
4. Elections on 1 November 1961 for the constitution of a National Assembly which shall immediately establish a legal Government.
5. The proclamation of independence on 1 January 1962.

* Articles 75 to 85.

6. Supervision of the general activities of the country and elections during the interim period from 1 May to 31 December 1961 by a special commission composed of:

2 representatives of the Afro-Asian States;

1 representative of the socialist countries;

1 representative of the Western countries;

3 representatives of Burundi political organizations appointed by the Mwami.

7. During that period, a special contingent of 500 police shall preserve order. They must be provided only by genuinely independent African States and placed under the authority of the Special Commission.

8. In the administrative sphere, there shall be an immediate promotion of African cadres, wherever possible, under the supervision of the Special Commission. As regards posts requiring greater technical skills which the Barundi are not yet capable of filling, the Special Commission, having made an inventory of the needs, shall call upon technicians selected from among the countries members of the Special Commission in the proportion of thirteen from each country.

This is imperative because:

Belgium is preparing to instigate bloodshed and violence in our country in an attempt to root out Murundi nationalism;

The trusteeship regime has instituted a system in Burundi whereby one man is another man's property;

This regime is increasingly proving its inability to carry out the instructions of the United Nations, and the inadequacy and harmfulness of the means by which it is preparing national independence;

The only way to destroy the evils of colonialism is to liquidate colonialism itself;

The example of the Congo gives us a clear warning of the dangers in store for us;

The provisional Government recently set up by the Belgians in Burundi is nothing but colonialism in disguise, and its effect is to create disunity and dissension among the Barundis;

The continuance of trusteeship does not serve the true and higher interests of the Murundi people, or the cause of peace and friendship among peoples;

The blacks of Burundi need to recover their dignity and they consider the United Nations and the free nations to be responsible for the horrors of their destitution and their enslavement;

Justice and prudence call for the termination of the trusteeship regime. Revolution is rumbling in Urundi.

If the United Nations does not intervene promptly and vigorously, we shall soon have to choose between two extreme solutions:

- (a) either to let the Murundi people sink into banditry and slavery,
- (b) or to take upon ourselves the great but glorious responsibility of restraining the wrath of our oppressors by means which may be severe, but just, terrible, but necessary.

We are prepared, as are the people, to assume any responsibility whatsoever in order to save our country. Burundi will not be at war with anyone, within its territory or outside it. All who oppose the will of the people and pillage the country will be regarded as bandits and treated like bandits. The indigenous authorities will judge them under the law not as belligerents but as agitators and murderers. Burundi will not be another Congo and we can assure you that we shall fight all the machinations of the colonialist and imperialist system with the most inexorable determination and firmness so as to frustrate all the plots and manoeuvres designed to perpetuate the shameful system of bondage and foreign rule in our country.

OUTLINE OF THE PROGRAMME OF THE CARTEL DES PARTIS NATIONALISTES DU BURUNDI

Mr. President, members of the Trusteeship Council, fellow countrymen, ladies and gentlemen:

The time has come to tell you of one of the essential reasons for my approaches today to the Trusteeship Council. A long time ago the Cartel des Partis Nationalistes du Burundi, for which I have the honour to be the spokesman, drew up a political, economic and social programme to be put into effect immediately under the supreme and unfailing authority of our Chief of State, the Mwami MWAMBUTSA, for the moral and material benefit of the Murundi people. This work, which cost us many days of study and meditation and many sleepless nights devoted to discussion, is of vital importance for Burundi. It is a question of solutions which can be found only by free Burundi in a more just and humane Murundi society. Here are the main features of that programme.

Political matters

At the political level we propose to make Burundi a sovereign nation, one and indivisible.

We recognize the Mwami MWAMBUTSA as the only legitimate and legal supreme head of Burundi.

The system of government will be a constitutional monarchy with an executive appointed by a National Assembly elected by direct universal suffrage.

In addition to the complete democratization of our institutions we envisage for the future an economic and political union with Ruanda within a larger African grouping.

Universal suffrage will extend to both sexes, so that every citizen will be able to enjoy his rights and perform his duties freely in a democratic society born of independence.

All the essential freedoms of a citizen will be respected, in particular:

Freedom of expression, speech, writing, study, teaching and the practice of a religion;

Freedom of association for political, economic and other reasons and freedom to change the government by peaceful means;

The free choice of occupation and freedom to earn a personal income.

Internal and external security

The country's internal and external security will be assured solely by the Barundi. It will be entrusted to the following forces: an army, an air force, a navy (for possible operational needs on Lake Tanganyika), a royal guard, a police force responsible for law and order and for road safety, and fire brigades. An academy will be established in order to provide a military, intellectual, civic and moral training for all the above forces, from the rank of ordinary soldier to that of senior officer.

It is planned to establish tourist, cultural, sports and other exchanges between the Barundi armed forces and those of all peoples who want such exchanges. In saying this, we hope that Belgium will be the first European country to promote fraternization between its armed forces and our own both in Belgium and in our own country.

Social life

We shall endeavour to promote social life by developing a civilization based on respect for the sanctity of the human person and on the establishment of equality of all citizens before the law, in rights and duties. A people which for many long years has been subjected to colonial domination needs to pull itself together if it is to evolve. We shall work to get rid of all the complexes and all the bitterness which the vices of colonialism have instilled in the Urundian people. Using proven methods we shall work to reform ourselves and to achieve national unity, since a nation or society divided into several camps which regard each other with veiled hostility cannot prosper.

- Education - Our educational programme will reach both children and adults. The education will be given in appropriate institutions adapted to the progressive evolution of the country. Since children who are sick or hungry, poorly housed or miserably dressed, are in no condition to learn, we shall take care of them all from four years of age in flourishing modern boarding schools.

Every village will have its own school. There must be no place in Urundi, however remote it may be from the towns, where the poor are unable to provide at least a primary education for their sons and daughters. Education at all levels will be secular, compulsory and free.

- Health - We shall build hospitals, maternity wards and dispensaries. We shall install doctors and nurses everywhere, even in the remotest places. We know that the preservation of health does not depend on health services or medical treatment alone, but much more on good food, on the satisfaction of other vital needs and on decent housing.

- Food - Science will be put to the service of a food policy which will enable the people to become familiar with, possess and use the essential foods necessary for satisfying the particular needs of each person. Improvement of both the quantity, and above all the quality, of foodstuffs must become a national purpose.

Beans, cassava, sweet potatoes and maize are today the basic food of the Murundi. With the potatoes which are grown in mountain regions, and with peas and wheat, there appears to be a sufficient quantity of food, but there are many serious gaps from the qualitative point of view, such as the lack of mineral salts, vitamins and particularly animal fats and proteins. This is confirmed by the high incidence of kwashiorkor among our children after weaning.

Nutrition can best be improved by:

- eliminating food taboos, such as those affecting the fish from Lake Tanganyika; the catch should be much greater and provide a steady supply.
- developing vegetable gardening and encouraging an increase in the consumption of home-grown produce.

A very high proportion of bananas and millet is used for the production, through fermentation, of local-type beers. These beers are admittedly frequently diluted with water and therefore contain little alcohol, and fermentation is not complete. Their nutritional and vitamin value is far from negligible. But badly controlled fermentation results in the production of stronger alcohols, which are more harmful than ethyl alcohol, and which may entail a danger of alcoholism.

In this connexion, there has recently been a rise in the consumption of more expensive European beers, which contain five degrees of alcohol and have no nutritive or vitamin value.

The inhabitants of the larger towns who drink them widely can no longer feed themselves properly for lack of money and such beer eats up most savings. The greater part of such savings will be devoted to social improvements.

- Housing and means of communication - We shall also concern ourselves with the question of housing and means of communication in relation to the human potential available. Decent housing will be made available free to the poorer people. Such housing must help to raise levels of living and improve the health and well-being of the people.

- Cadres - We know that we cannot put our programme into effect alone. We therefore plan to establish a council for the recruitment of foreign technicians. We shall ask Belgium to give us full support so as to maintain bonds of friendship and to establish economic co-operation with the Barundi that will be both fruitful and lasting.

After independence all foreigners now conducting private activities in our territory will be authorized to continue them. We hope to obtain from the King of the Belgians a large contingent of young technicians and specialists, of healthy and open minds, who through their example and their brotherly co-operation with the Barundi will help to develop the country and to overcome those prejudices which now separate blacks and whites in Burundi.

Economic affairs

Consumption

Consumption being the material end of nearly all human activities, we shall endeavour to develop an economic policy of full employment in order to increase consumption and attain progressively a higher standard of living. Our first concern is to create employment for the people. We have some reservations with regard to ultra-modern production methods. The undertakings and activities which will especially engage our attention will be those that can best be adapted to the general advancement of full employment and will make it possible to establish equal living conditions for all citizens. The aim of our work will also be to safeguard all the essential resources of material progress in the country, to reward individual effort and to leave the way open for change, invention, competition and initiative.

Agriculture

In our planning project for the rural areas we shall endeavour to devote to agriculture as much capital, talent and research facilities as are generally devoted to industry.

Land reform will also be undertaken with the establishment of co-operatives and methods for more rational use of the land.

Industry

From the export crop stage to a modest degree of industrialization and thence to a planned economy

Industrialization will be encouraged as far as is consistent with the potentialities and interests of the citizens, as will also be the case with fisheries, forestry, etc.

Upon accession to independence, the country will not embark upon large-scale industrialization in view of the restricted nature of the market. Its 2,300,000 inhabitants, with an income of perhaps some 400 Belgian francs per head per year, represented largely by what they produce and consume themselves, are still more or less at the stage of a simple subsistence economy. Nevertheless we shall begin industrialization as soon as possible in a modest form and at a fairly high cost, if only to reduce certain imports which might increase too rapidly as our society develops.

We envisage as rapid a development as possible of export crops to increase the volume of our resources. Purchases will be concentrated on and directed towards priority needs and will be limited or prohibited if they are in the nature of luxuries or could be easily or readily produced in the country.

Craftsmen

Our efforts will largely be centred on craftsmen, who are a powerful factor in bringing about full employment and intellectual and moral development.

Adjustment of employment

Employment as we know depends on expenditure, that is to say on the money spent on the acquisition of local products. We shall encourage as much as possible

spending from the personal incomes of private citizens and as a result of State activities (defence, police, education, health, public works, etc.). Consumption, and consequently spending, can only be extended through an increase in the national income and in the purchasing power of the citizens.

In order to combat almost universal unemployment and to create stability of employment our programme envisages:

The creation of sectors of activity adapted to the national and general development of labour;

the encouragement of private investment by direct subsidies, low-interest loans and taxation relief;

the replacement of private ownership by a certain number of public monopolies in undertakings which are in a position to supply goods and services to citizens;

investment in public undertakings and in certain nationalized sectors of industry or handicrafts;

control over the use of land and over the siting of industry and handicrafts, and quality;

adequate and rational remuneration of labour;

maintenance at all times of a full and adequate scale of spending;

the development of International Trade;

adherence to the most advantageous system of international compensation and exchange. For that purpose we are prepared to take or accept any necessary measures for balancing accounts with the rest of the world;

the adoption of continuity and reasonable stability in national and international economic policy.

I have only given you here the broad lines of a programme drawn up by the Cartel des Partis Nationalistes du EURUNDI.

We have worked out a whole series of schemes or rather methods likely to facilitate the implementation of the features of our programme. The following is an example:

We build a low-priced modern house for a young couple accustomed to living in a dilapidated dwelling and complete poverty. Before taking them to their new home we give them training in a specialized centre where, for two or three months, they will learn to use a radio and electrical or mechanical cooking appliances, to distinguish between the respective uses of a sitting-room, a dining-room and a

bedroom and, in a word, to live in a new way. Then we hand over to them the keys of their dwelling where for a certain length of time they will be followed up and assisted by experienced social workers.

We help them to establish neighbourly contacts with other couples who have already adapted themselves. We give them the opportunity to see, to hear and to think . . .

I leave you to imagine the full scope of what we want to achieve and undoubtedly shall achieve. You may be sure that when this couple have entered upon their new role and new way of life, they will realize the advantages of taking care of and embellishing their home, of sending their children to school, of educating themselves, of possessing a chair, a duster, a coffee-mill, polish, and perhaps - why not? - a piano or an automobile! They will understand the need to work in order to acquire those things, which will have become indispensable to them. In other words they will realize the need to manufacture their furniture themselves in order to be able to sell or buy that furniture.

Is that not, gentlemen, a powerful method of promoting employment and private spending? Given a little care, will it not also provide an opportunity for developing the moral and material welfare of the people of Urundi?

It is of all those things that we are being deprived by the trusteeship régime which, not content with having enslaved us for forty years, is still keeping our minds in the most humiliating stagnation. The BARUNDI have instructed me to say here that they will not wait for centuries, not even for four months, to be released from this oppression, for which the death knell is sounding in the very heart of this Assembly.

(Signed) Christian MUSHATSI-KAREPA
Delegate of the Nationalist Parties of Burundi
to the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations
