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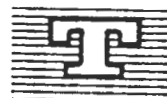
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Agenda item 4(c)

CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF RUANDA-URUNDI

Summary of the observations made by individual members  
of the Council during the general discussion, and  
of the comments of the special representative  
of the Administering Authority

52-7947

/I. GENERAL.  
T/L.302

## I. GENERAL

### Report of Visiting Mission

1. The representative of Thailand endorsed the observations and recommendations of the Visiting Mission, pointing out that its report included only such conclusions as it conscientiously believed to be supported by sound reason.
2. The representative of China congratulated the Visiting Mission for its excellent report. He was in general agreement with all of the Mission's observations and conclusions.
3. The representative of New Zealand believed that the Trusteeship Council would wish to take note with approval of the recommendations and observations contained in the Visiting Mission's report.
4. The representative of the United States of America stated that his delegation generally endorsed the conclusions and recommendations of the Visiting Mission.

### General Considerations

5. The representative of Thailand stated that in the economic and social fields the Administration had achieved most satisfactory progress and its achievements regarding the material welfare of the inhabitants deserved praise. He particularly stressed the generous contribution made towards the welfare of the Territory by the Belgian Government and people through grants from the Indigenous Welfare Fund.
6. The representative of France considered that there had been progress everywhere towards the attainment of the objectives set forth in Article 76 of the Charter especially in the economic field, that is to say, in the political, social and educational fields. He stated further that, on the basis of the examination of the annual report, he felt no anxiety with regard to the future of the Territory. Its problems had been correctly assessed and analyzed and adequate solutions applied. Furthermore he expressed his belief that the fundamental problem of the Territory, namely, that of over-population, had been satisfactorily explored and analyzed by the Administering Authority, which had, with method and realism and in a spirit of broadmindedness and generosity, sought to apply effective solutions.

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7. The representative of New Zealand stated that the Administration deserved the highest commendation for what it had done in the economic and social fields. The record of progress in the Territory was a very creditable one and he believed that the Administering Authority was approaching its tremendous task with vigour. He further observed that the density of the population, coupled with the very uneven fertility of the land, might create in times of drought the basic problem of an insufficiency of food. Probably it had been that problem which had led the Administering Authority to concentrate on improving the economic and social welfare of the people rather than on fostering, to the same extent at any rate, their political development.

8. The representative of the United States of America said that his delegation considered that very satisfactory progress had been made by the Administering Authority, particularly in the economic and social fields. Progress in the political field appeared to be somewhat less marked, although there were encouraging signs of development. In general, the Council had reason to conclude that the Administering Authority was conscientiously and energetically tackling the very difficult problems which it faced. His delegation felt that on the whole the report of the Visiting Mission confirmed this encouraging impression.

9. The representative of the United Kingdom expressed confidence that steady progress was being made towards the fulfilment of the aims of the International Trusteeship System. He stated also that the Administering Authority was successfully continuing its policy of the gradual adaptation of existing and deeply rooted institutions to a more modern organization of society.

10. The representative of the Dominican Republic said that the Administering Authority had not submitted many observations on the conclusions of the Visiting Mission; those which it had submitted seemed to emphasize the great difference which existed between the Administering Authority's conception of the administration of the Territory and that held by the Council and the General Assembly by virtue of a direct interpretation of Chapter XIII of the Charter. It could be said in a general way that the Belgian administration had achieved material, concrete progress in the Territory. There had been progress in the economic and agricultural fields and in the solution of the inherent problems of a country subject from time to time, in particular, to long periods of drought.

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There had also been progress in certain social activities, although not equally in all sections of that field, and in the field of primary education and in the admirable Astrida school group. Nevertheless there were important shortcomings which called for prompt and sincere action. A reform was needed of the laws which regulated the whole political system of the Territory, its status and the status of the inhabitants, and the laws which protected freedom of expression must be made to exist not only on paper but also in reality. The impression must not be given that a period of trusteeship lasting fifty or one hundred years was envisaged for Ruanda-Urundi. The disappearance of the ghost of a dead colonialism should strengthen two things in the Territory: in the first place, the progressive participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the government, in co-operation with the Europeans; and in the second place the exercise and the guarantee of the right of petition. Neither his Delegation nor the Visiting Mission was calling for drastic measures; but there were in the Territory many advanced elements who knew where they were going and who were aware of the point at which their ideals and opportunities were being restricted. His delegation wished to pay tribute to all the Belgian officials in the Territory who were interpreting in a healthy way the principles of the trusteeship system. It recognized the worth of the Administering Authority's work, and the great efforts which were being exerted in many fields, all of which it had never wished to minimize. It believed in the sincerity of the Administration, which was clearly demonstrated in the Ten-Year Plan and in such institutions as the Indigenous Welfare Fund. The problems were great, but they were in the hands of an Administering Authority of glorious tradition whose achievements for world civilization were well known.

11. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated that owing to the Administering Authority's policy, the indigenous inhabitants lived in very difficult conditions. Even from the incomplete information to be found in the report, as well as from the facts brought forward in petitions and in the report of the Visiting Mission, the conclusion could be drawn that the Belgian Government was not carrying out the provisions of the United Nations Charter and was not promoting the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the indigenous population.

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12. The special representative of the Administering Authority stated that the Administration was pursuing the same goals as the Council, and was in more direct touch with the difficulties which certain achievements presented. It would give full attention to the recommendations which the Council would make, and it would take account of them as far as possible. It would also be guided by the recommendations contained in the report of the Visiting Mission. The special representative observed that the general conclusion of the Visiting Mission and of several delegations was that real progress had been made, although in the political field it had been too slow. The Administration considered that a minimum of economic security must be ensured for the population. Political and social progress must no doubt accompany other progress, but experience had shown that economic progress conditioned progress in other fields. As stated in the Ten-Year Plan, the Territory, before reaching autonomy, must build its economic system on a solid and definite basis; the social structure must be adapted to democratic principles; and while the population was being educated, it must acquire sufficient political training.

#### Ten-Year Plan

13. The representative of China expressed the hope that the Administering Authority would do everything in its power to implement the plan as nearly within schedule as possible. He considered that the nature of the plan in the field of educational advancement was satisfactory in many respects. He hoped that the provisions of the plan, with regard to secondary and higher education, as well as other aspects of the vast field of learning would be put into effect as speedily as possible.

14. The representative of France stated that the plan gave particularly convincing proof that the Administering Authority had with method and realism and in a spirit of broadmindedness and generosity satisfactorily explored and analyzed the problems confronting it in the Territory.

15. The representative of New Zealand welcomed the appearance of the plan and recognized the importance that that long-term and comprehensive plan would have for the Territory. He felt that it would be appropriate for the Trusteeship Council to commend the Administering Authority for the foresight and preparation

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that lay behind the plan. In welcoming it, he expressed the hope that its implementation would proceed with energy and vigour, adding that he was looking forward to information in future annual reports on its operation.

16. The representative of the United Kingdom considered that the publication of the plan had been the most notable development in the period under review. It appeared that, by the measure of estimated expenditure, no less than 68 per cent of the effort would be devoted to economic development; 8 per cent to research, mainly in the economic field; and only 24 per cent to social services. This emphasis on the productive side was much heavier than was normal in the plans for the African territories for which the United Kingdom Government was responsible. Many of these plans, however, had recently had to be modified in the direction of greater concentration on activities likely to enhance the future revenues of government for the support of expanded social services. The pattern of the Belgian programme might, therefore, be the more realistic approach to the problem, although economic development was fully satisfying to people only when it was reflected in a rising standard of living and greater opportunities and facilities for health and education.

## II. POLITICAL ADVANCEMENT

### General

17. The representative of Thailand stated that, in his opinion, the time had now arrived when the Administration could afford to put more emphasis on development in the political field. Accordingly, he urged the Administration to take such development into consideration.
18. The representative of New Zealand expressed some concern about the slow progress being made in the political education of the people of the Territory. It might be that some sections of the indigenous inhabitants seemed almost devoid of the will for self-improvement, but that did not mean that the task must not be attempted. He recalled that at its ninth session the Trusteeship Council had noted that among the fundamental problems in the Territory were the development of an organized electorate and representative political institution at the local level, as well as the constitution of a representative central legislative body with real powers and responsibilities. The Administration had felt it necessary to give precedence to the economic and social fields and while there was a great deal still to be done in those fields, it was doubtful whether the development of the Territory towards self-government or independence could be kept in water-tight compartments in that way. Political responsibility was a life-giving force that ran through all aspects of national life. It might well be that the population of the Territory would not attain its maximum economic potential without at the same time being granted a progressive share in the management of political affairs. The representative, fully realizing the obligations of the Administering Authority to respect the customs and traditions of the indigenous population, felt that there was sufficient warrant in the Charter and in the Trusteeship Agreement for the Administering Authority to encourage the growth of more democratic political institutions in the Territory. He noted that at a school in Astrida there was some education in political matters and he urged that the scope of education of that character be extended.
19. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated that the indigenous population was excluded entirely from participation in the legislative, executive and judicial organs; he pointed out that the annual report

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itself stated that the local population, by reason of the stage of its evolution, did not take part directly in the exercise of legislative power and that there was neither popular representation nor an electoral body. All power was in the hands of the Vice-Governor-General, who was subordinate to the Governor of the Belgian Congo.

Administrative union with the Belgian Congo; status of the inhabitants

20. The representative of China observed that according to the Visiting Mission's report, apart from the Law of 21 August 1925, there was no organic law for the Territory. He was not satisfied with the contention of the representative of Belgium that the Law of 25 April 1949, approving the Trusteeship Agreement, was the organic law of Ruanda-Urundi. He felt that the latter law did no more than give formal approval to the Trusteeship Agreement, and that the status of the Territory could not rest on an out-moded law. There seemed to be here a lacuna which must be filled. That was especially clear in view of the lack of a definition of the status of the Territory's inhabitants, and in that connexion he was in full agreement with the Visiting Mission's views. That point alone proved the necessity of adopting a basic law for the Territory which would be more explicit than the one now in existence.

21. The representative of New Zealand drew attention to the Visiting Mission's comments on the desirability that the Administration should give its attention to the question of defining more precisely the status of the inhabitants of the Territory.

22. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics declared that the objective of the Belgian Government's policy in Ruanda-Urundi was to perpetuate the colonial regime in the Territory by means of the so-called administrative union between the Territory and the Colony of the Belgian Congo. The Territory's status was still regulated by a law of 21 August 1925 and a Royal decree of 11 January 1926. The annual report indicated that no changes at all had been made in these laws, which provided for the unification of Ruanda-Urundi with the Belgian Congo and the subordination of the Trust Territory to the Colony. The annual report quoted the following provision of the 1925 law: "The Territory of Ruanda-Urundi is united administratively with the Colony of the Belgian Congo, of which it is a Vice-Government General. It is subject

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to the laws of the Belgian Congo..." Even in the budgetary field the Trust Territory was dependent on the Congo; the report stated that the draft budget for the Trust Territory was drawn up by the Administration and then sent to the Governor-General of the Belgian Congo, who, sent it to the Minister for Colonies with his comments. When the budget had been finally voted by the Belgian Parliament, it was put into effect by the Governor-General of the Belgian Congo, who delegated the necessary authority in this connexion to the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi. Furthermore, the maintenance of public order was entrusted to a contingent of the force publique of the Belgian Congo, which consisted of citizens of the Belgian Congo under the command of Belgian officers, and on which expenditures had been increased by more than one million francs between 1950 and 1951. These facts showed that the Administering Authority was strengthening the colonial order and subordinating the Territory to the neighbouring colony, of which it was being made a province. In this connexion the 1951 Visiting Mission had stated that Ruanda-Urundi was assimilated for administrative purposes to a province of the Belgian Congo. The Council should recommend to the Administering Authority that it establish in the Trust Territory legislative and administrative organs not subordinate to any organs formed on the basis of a union between the Trust Territory and the Belgian Congo, and that for this purpose legislative and other measures be taken to ensure the participation of the indigenous population in legislative, executive and judicial organs of the Trust Territory.

23. The special representative of the Administering Authority stated that the representative of Belgium had already explained to the Council that the law of 1925 was in no way incompatible with the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement. The law was so flexible that it permitted a complete reform of the judicial and political structure of the Territory. A very liberal interpretation of the provisions of the law had become in fact the traditional interpretation. Nevertheless, the opinion of the Trusteeship Council in the matter would be seriously taken into account by the Administration. The special representative stated further that the administrative union with the Congo was favourable to Ruanda-Urundi. The Trust Territory was not subordinated to the Congo, and it was false to say that it was being subordinated to a colonial system, which

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no longer existed in the Congo itself. It was stated in the Ten-Year Plan that that plan must be distinct from that for the Congo, since the juridical status of the two territories was different, their budgets were separate and, above all, their problems were profoundly different. The special representative also stated that the military expenditure of 10.5 million francs represented only 5 cents for each inhabitant. The public force consisted of 8 Europeans and 649 Africans; by contrast, the medical services consisted of 189 Europeans and 1,110 Africans.

Legislative and executive powers

24. The representative of Thailand, referring to the changes in the composition of the Vice-Government-General's Council recommended by the Visiting Mission, observed that under the political reform about to be introduced there would be a parallel system of councils for the two pays without, however, a link between the two indigenous councils or an institution which would be vested with the legislative power at present exercised by the Administering Authority. He recalled that the Trusteeship Council had already recommended that more power should be given to the Vice-Government-General's Council on the assumption that it would eventually become the Legislative Assembly of the Territory. At the same time the Visiting Mission came to the conclusion that legislative powers could not be granted to that Council without first modifying its actual composition. In making a recommendation to that effect the Visiting Mission did not suggest a decrease in the number of the non-indigenous members of the Council, but merely an increase in African membership in order to provide the indigenous members with experience in the processes of Government.

25. The representative of China shared the views of the Visiting Mission that the Vice-Government-General's Council, with increased indigenous representation, might be usefully retained as an advisory organ and a training ground for indigenous persons in the processes of government.

26. The representative of New Zealand endorsed the recommendation of the Visiting Mission that the indigenous inhabitants should be given greater participation in the administration of the Territory. In his view, a larger African representation on the Council of Vice-Government-General did not

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necessarily imply the replacement of certain members of that Council by Africans. Surely the matter could be dealt with by the appointment of additional African members. It was true that, to a certain extent, the interests of the Africans were already represented on that Council, but that was a matter of indirect and not direct representation. He urged the Administering Authority to consider the creation of a central indigenous political organ for the Territory, which could be vested in time - and probably it would take a long time - with full legislative and executive authority. He agreed with the Visiting Mission that without substantial changes in the composition of the Vice-Government-General's Council that body could not satisfactorily exercise powers of legislation for the Territory.

27. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics pointed out that the Council of the Vice-Government-General had no real powers. Its anti-democratic character was shown by the fact that of its existing 22 members only three were Africans and none of these was elected by the indigenous population. The Visiting Mission had pointed out that the Council, as at present constituted, was not representative of the population as a whole and could not satisfactorily exercise powers of legislation for the Territory as a whole without substantial changes in its composition.

28. The special representative of the Administering Authority stated that there could be no doubt that the activities of the partially elective councils proposed under the current political reforms would have repercussions upon those of the Council of the Vice-Government-General and probably also upon its composition. The immediate plans of the Administration were to introduce more indigenous inhabitants into the Council of the Vice-Government-General and to bring the new councils into regular operation. After that, and taking into account the obligations under the Trusteeship Agreement, the Administration would adapt its policy to the requirements of the time.

#### Administration

29. The representative of France stated that he had been especially interested in the observations of the special representative concerning the basic conceptions of Belgian policy in the Territory, namely that "political progress must be

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achieved as the result of the progressive transference of powers from non-indigenous authorities to indigenous authorities, and not by the introduction of indigenous persons into the Belgian Administration, the final result of which would be merely to perpetuate the co-existence of the two administrations and divide the indigenous officials and, perhaps, set them in opposition". The Belgian Administration had drawn upon existing traditional institutions with wisdom and efficiency. Belgium was certainly fortunate in finding in Ruanda-Urundi a social and political structure which was both stable and, as a whole, valid, given the progressive spirit of which the higher ranks of the native hierarchy had shown proof. On the other hand, it was equally certain that the Belgian Administration, because of its wisdom, its tact, and its sense of opportuneness, thoroughly deserved that good fortune. The representative approved wholeheartedly the road which the Administering Authority had chosen to take. He believed that it was in the perfecting of existing institutions, and in their preparation for and adaptation to the responsibilities of power, that was to be found the secret of a harmonious evolution which would leave the population protected from confusion and upheavals. But while that road seemed to him to be the best from both the intellectual and the moral point of view, he was by no means unaware of the fact that it was also, perhaps, the most ambitious and the most difficult. Without weakening the authority of the traditional hierarchy it was necessary to rid it progressively of everything anachronistic and unadaptable which remained - that is to say, to rid it of the feudal and tribal characteristics. There was certainly a very delicate balance which had to be preserved - a balance which, at a given moment, would become almost impossible to maintain. The most difficult problem would certainly be that of intervening at just the right moment, neither too late nor too early, to carry out the transfer of powers that was intended. However, the attraction and prestige which still characterized the traditional functions must, henceforth, provide the means of drawing the better African elements, trained within the Belgian Administration proper, into those traditional functions, thus, by constant inter-penetration, preparing at one and the same time the men and the institutions for that great and historic turning point.

30. The representative of Thailand noted with satisfaction the assurances given by the Administering Authority that it intended to promote indigenous inhabitants to positions of responsibility when they qualified for them. The latter could secure such qualifications either through intensive training in Africa or by taking special courses abroad. He observed that the Administering Authority preferred to build up higher educational facilities in the Territory first on the ground that scholarships would entail a great deal of expenditure resulting in possible wastage. The representative, while recognizing the validity of the argument against scholarships, maintained, from the experience of his own country, that such expenditure and the possible risk of wastage were worth taking. He argued that if, in time, facilities for higher education were fully provided and that the most promising graduates would be sent abroad for further education with the prospect of eventually obtaining positions of responsibility on their return, those who had graduated from the existing secondary schools in the Territory and occupied subordinate posts in the Administrations would not only be unable to be promoted to higher posts but would suffer the mortification of seeing all the higher posts filled by much younger people. Such results would not be good for discipline and would be prejudicial to the smooth operation of the Administration. He therefore endorsed the recommendation of the Visiting Mission, for the institution of an intensive training programme and the grant of scholarships on an ad hoc basis. With regard to the opportunity of Africans to aspire to positions of responsibility, the representative stated that the special representative had disagreed with the conclusion of the Visiting Mission that Africans had greater chance of occupying important posts with the Central Administration than with the indigenous Administration. In the view of the representative of Thailand this difference of opinion was due to a matter of interpretation. The Visiting Mission, he observed, had referred to the majority of Africans. While the posts of chiefs and sub-chiefs might in theory be open to all in practice, as expressly pointed out in the annual report of the Administering Authority, they were confined to a certain exclusive class of persons.

31. The representative of New Zealand drew attention to the Visiting Mission's

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comments on the desirability of giving careful consideration to an increase in salary for indigenous government employees.

32. The representative of the Dominican Republic observed that the Trust Territory was developing a duality of administration--Belgian and indigenous--which seemed to make it impossible for the Territory to become an independent national and international entity. He regretted that in his opening statement to the Council the special representative had touched in so crude a fashion on the question of the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in government. The structure of society and the policy of the Administration tended to preserve indefinitely the age-old type of society prevailing in the two pays of the Territory. A broad administrative reform should be carried out in order that adequate representation be given to the indigenous inhabitants; and the Administration must be convinced that the opinion expressed by the special representative on this matter was not in conformity with the principles of the Charter nor with the objectives set forth in the Trusteeship Agreement.

33. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics cited from the annual report the fact that the European administration and the so-called indigenous authorities used indigenous personnel only in very subordinate functions, such as clerks, monitors, messengers, police and so on. The Visiting Mission, too, had pointed out that at the present time Africans assumed only the lowest functions, and that in the Territory the indigenous population had no possibility of acquiring the qualifications necessary for filling responsible posts. It had noted that facilities for secondary education in the Territory were very limited, while those for higher education were virtually non-existent.

34. The special representative of the Administering Authority said that the rather concise manner in which he had explained his Administration's attitude towards the access of indigenous inhabitants to the important posts might have given rise to certain anxiety. He recalled previous statements he had made to the Council, emphasizing that at the head of the Administration, besides the truly administrative officers such as the Vice-Governor-General, the two Residents and the 18 district administrators, there were specialized officials who acted as the Governor's advisers. Only advantage would result if the indigenous inhabitants had access to these specialized posts; but the actual

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administrative structure should disappear when power passed from the European Government to an indigenous government. The Vice-Governor-General had explained this point of view to the Visiting Mission by stating that there were two avenues of political development, the first by admitting into the Administration an increasing number of specially trained young indigenous inhabitants (veterinaries, doctors, engineers etc.), and the second by bringing about a more organic reform consisting of the transfer to the traditional institutions and authorities of increasingly wider powers, released to them progressively by the Administering Authority. The Governor had favoured using both of these avenues, but had regarded the second as the means of bringing about a more harmonious and far-reaching evolution. These points of view were still held by the Administration. The special representative stated further that it was false to say that the population was kept in the lower positions. The functions of the Mwami, the chiefs and sub-chiefs, were not mediocre employment but important functions, carrying heavy responsibilities and high remuneration. The shortcoming of the system lay not in an absence of important posts for the indigenous inhabitants but in the method of appointment, and the Administering Authority was making efforts to democratize the system. That was why it had introduced the reforms which the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had condemned without knowing the basic law and without having seen them in operation.

Indigenous political structure; political reform

5. The representative of China endorsed the suggestion of the Visiting Mission that in the plan for political development, in addition to the re-organization of the various Councils, some emphasis should be placed on the development of a central legislative body as a co-ordinating organ for all the indigenous authorities in matters of common concern. He regretted that, after so many years of Belgian administration, the two pays of Ruanda and Urundi were still so far apart. He noted, however, that owing to the connecting link provided by the Administering Authority, relations between them had shown marked improvement. He trusted that out of that gradual reconciliation there might some day be developed that cordial collaboration which could form the basis of a central legislative organ to deliberate upon all the problems common to all parts of the Territory. He hoped that the Administering Authority would give its careful consideration to that  
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aspect of the problem and would endeavour as soon as possible to bring about the reform envisaged by the Visiting Mission. A recommendation to that effect might be made by the Trusteeship Council.

Political reform

36. The representative of France noted with interest that the decree relating to the political organization of the Territory was almost ready and hoped that next year the Trusteeship Council would receive information concerning the first results of its application. Referring to the difficulty arising from the duality of the Territory, which was so distinctly divided in its constitutional individuality, he observed that that difficulty was by no means insurmountable. He added that the special representative had set it at its true level of importance.

37. The representative of New Zealand noted that the only real link between Ruanda and Urundi was the Belgian Administration, although a certain measure of co-operation already existed. While appreciating the historical reasons for that position, he believed that it would be not only of ultimate advantage to the indigenous inhabitants, but also of assistance to the Administration, if every effort were made to break down the barriers between the two areas, to foster closer collaboration and co-operation in matters of common concern at all levels and in all fields.

38. The representative of the United States of America said that his delegation was glad to see that the proposed reform of the indigenous political structure only awaited the royal assent before being put into effect. The delegation hoped that it would now be possible to proceed with the implementation of all aspects of the reform, and that it would provide the basis for developing a more broadly representative central legislative body with progressively increasing powers and a clearly defined relationship to lower or subordinate councils.

39. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated that the Administering Authority continued to encourage the tribal system, despite the fact that it was inconsistent with the progressive political development of the indigenous population towards self-government and independence. The Administering Authority contemplated no measures for the creation of self-governing organs with the participation of the indigenous population. Examination showed that the

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proposed new councils would be undemocratic in character and that their membership would comprise only the chiefs and the tribal nobility. It was obvious that their creation considerably strengthened the existing system of tribal hierarchy. The Trusteeship Council should recommend to the Administering Authority that it take measures to ensure the transfer from the tribal system to a system of self-government based on democratic principles.

Right of petition

40. The representative of Thailand observed with regret that the special representative had given an extreme interpretation to the Visiting Mission's recommendation concerning the right of petition. Members of the Visiting Mission had noted that most petitioners who had approached them were afraid of reprisals from the Administration; such fears could not be allayed by repeated assurances from the Visiting Mission that nothing would happen to them because of their petitions. The Visiting Mission was convinced that if the inhabitants were better informed about their right of petition and properly notified of the visit of the Mission, such an unhealthy attitude would disappear. The recommendation of the Visiting Mission was not intended to impose upon the Administering Authority an obligation to undertake a propaganda programme designed to promote the exercise of the right of petition; it only hoped that the existence of such a right should be made clear to the population.

41. The representative of China said that he had been perturbed by the statements of the special representative and the representative of Belgium on the right of petition. He recalled that the inhabitants' right of petition was one of the most important rights under the International Trusteeship System which was subject to no restriction except in the case of petitions directed against judgments of competent courts. He was therefore unable to find any basis for the limits which, according to the Administering Authority, should be set on the right of petition and as to where the right of petitioning the Administration or the Government of the Administering Authority should end and the right of petitioning the United Nations should begin. The foundation for making such a distinction concerning petitions was not to be found in the Charter, the Trusteeship Council's Rules of Procedure or the Trusteeship Agreement. It was evident that not all the inhabitants of the Territory were as yet totally familiar with their right of

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petition. He pointed out that in a four-page leaflet on the United Nations distributed to the schools there was no mention at all of the right of petition. He took note of the undertaking of the special representative that the leaflet would be revised and the gap filled.

42. The representative of New Zealand agreed with the Visiting Mission that the fear of reprisals by petitioners had no real foundation. He also agreed with the special representatives that all local action should be exhausted before the right of petition was resorted to. No doubt it was no part of the duty of the Trusteeship Council actively to encourage the forwarding of petitions, but it was the duty of the Council to see that the inhabitants did know the right of petition. It was a question of a nice balance being preserved between ensuring that the natives exhausted their normal rights in the community and, at the same time, seeing that they exercised with moderation their right of petitioning the Trusteeship Council. He felt that the unnecessary fears, if they existed, of the inhabitants should be dispelled by appropriate efforts on the part of the Administration to acquaint them with the right of petition.

43. The representative of the Dominican Republic, in emphasizing the need to strengthen the exercise and guarantee of the right of petition, stated that it was necessary to establish in the Territory a number of centres for information about the United Nations. In the past, dissemination of this information had been neglected, not by the higher circles of the government but by the subordinate local officials who perhaps did not have a full conception of the international obligations of the Administering Authority. The latter must ensure that information on the United Nations should not be hidden away on the pretext that the United Nations was intervening in the internal affairs of the Territory.

44. The special representative of the Administering Authority added that it was characteristic of the indigenous inhabitants to seek out the highest authority in the first instance; but it would embarrass the Council to be seized daily with requests that could be met by a simple appeal to the local authority. The representative of New Zealand, supported by other representatives, had shown a very true appreciation of the matter when he had spoken of the equilibrium to be sought in the exercise of the right of petition.

#### Judicial organization

45. The representative of New Zealand drew attention to the Visiting Mission's  
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comments on the special vigilance to be exercised by the Administration to ensure that the period of detention should be reduced to a minimum in the case of persons awaiting trial or the hearing of appeals against conviction.

### III. ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT

#### General

46. The representative of New Zealand believed that, in general, the economic development of the Territory, thanks to the measures taken by the Administering Authority, was progressing as satisfactorily as could be possibly expected.

47. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated that because of the policy of the Administering Authority the indigenous population was obliged to carry on a very primitive agricultural economy and could not take an active part in the economic life of the country. He drew attention to the Visiting Mission's statement that apart from cattle raising and the growing of subsistence crops and certain cash crops the indigenous inhabitant played only a minor role in the economy. The representative added that the predominant part in the economy was played by European companies and individuals. There were 84 European undertakings in the mining industry, for instance, and not a single enterprise owned by Africans. The annual report showed that of 97 organizations engaged in trade, agriculture and industry only one, a farm, belonged to the indigenous inhabitants. The Administering Authority was putting a brake on the development of the economy in the interests of the indigenous population, having in mind only the objective of taking out of the Territory as much raw material as possible. The Ruzizi Cotton Company had a monopoly for the processing and distribution of cotton, which was processed mainly for sending abroad. As had been admitted by the special representative during the ninth session, the Administering Authority did not plan to create a textile industry in the Territory, and so, being placed in the position of a raw material appendage of the Belgian Congo, the Territory was obliged to import cotton goods from the Belgian Congo instead of manufacturing them from its own cotton.

48. The special representative of the Administering Authority pointed out that the indigenous inhabitants at present were tending to go into commerce rather than into industry, apart from agriculture and stock-raising. As to the suggestion that the Administration was restricting their economic activity, the Ten-year Plan stated that the harmonious development of the Territory made it essential that they be integrated into the complex economy called for in

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the development of production. It was possible that this integration would have to be slow, and the Administration had a fundamental role to play in it.

#### Agriculture

49. The representative of China was gratified to see that the Administration was taking steps to carry out a re-grouping programme so that isolated populations might be organized into villages and community life might be developed. He was certain that further information on the gradual implementation of that scheme would be most welcome to all members of the Trusteeship Council.

50. The representative of New Zealand endorsed the recommendation of the Visiting Mission that the Administration should endeavour to break down the isolation in which the indigenous population lived. He stated that it might be found desirable to train selected indigenous inhabitants in community development and leadership along the lines undertaken in the Man-of-War Bay School in the British Cameroons.

#### Stock Breeding

51. The representative of Thailand stressed the importance of the problem of cattle, the solution of which was of the utmost importance from the social, economic and political point of view. For the first time the Administration had suggested a plan for its solution and he urged it to put the plan into effect without delay.

52. The representative of New Zealand endorsed the view of the Visiting Mission that the Administration should proceed as rapidly as possible to the solution of the cattle problem. He appreciated that a rapid solution of that problem was largely a matter of creating a new mentality in the indigenous population. He hoped that the Administering Authority could encourage that change in mentality.

#### Land tenure and European settlement

53. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated that it appeared from the reports of the Administering Authority and of the Visiting Mission that the Administering Authority continued to carry out a policy of alienation of land from the indigenous population. By virtue of a decree of 5 February 1932, the Administering Authority had the right to alienate land from the indigenous population, allegedly in the common interests of the

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Territory. In 1951 the Administration had alienated 292 hectares and 12 ares of land from the indigenous population, and thus owned a total of 129 square kilometres. Non-indigenous inhabitants possessed 218 square kilometres of land. The report of the Visiting Mission, furthermore, stated that the Ten-year Plan of the Administration provided for new alienations of land to be made under various pretexts. The Trusteeship Council should recommend to the Administering Authority that it return to the indigenous population the lands alienated from it in any way and that it should not in future allow the alienation of land belonging to the indigenous population.

54. The special representative of the Administering Authority replied that to speak about restoring or returning alienated lands to the indigenous inhabitants was to assume that these lands had been unlawfully appropriated. There were no such lands in Ruanda-Urundi. The Soviet representative had cited lands belonging to the State, i.e. to the indigenous inhabitants who benefited from them to the same extent as the other inhabitants: lands for roads, airports, harbours, administrative buildings, forest reserves. As for lands granted to non-indigenous private persons, these were acquired in a regular manner, with the agreement of the interested parties, upon payment, and under the control of the judiciary. It would be as illogical to return such lands as it would to restore to the Belgian people lands or buildings which Africans acquired in Brussels.

#### Communications and transport

55. The representative of China noted the observations of the Visiting Mission to the effect that the Administering Authority might not have given sufficient attention to the question of indigenous transport. He hoped that the Administration would make further efforts not only to procure more mechanized equipment for road-building, but also in connexion with its widespread application, and, in general, that the whole problem of transport would receive increased attention from the Administering Authority.

#### Public Finance

56. The representative of China was pleased to learn that those who were subject to income tax were not required to pay the poll tax. He stated that if the Administration could see its way clear to widen the levy of the income tax,

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that would eventually eliminate the head-tax, which was generally considered to be undesirable.

57. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics pointed out that the Administering Authority continued to enforce the payment of a poll tax. There was no progressive taxation which might take into consideration the capacity of the indigenous population to pay. Taxation was exacted from every indigenous inhabitant, even if he had no income whatever. At the same time, the chiefs and the sub-chiefs were exempt from this taxation, while receiving incomes from the Administration of from 7,000 to 225,000 francs a year. The Trusteeship Council should recommend that the Administering Authority take steps to replace the head-tax by a progressive income tax system, or, at least, by a system of income tax taking due account of the property status and taxable capacity of the population.

58. The special representative of the Administering Authority explained that the exemption of the chiefs, formerly provided for because they had onerous duties and because one of the main purposes of the head-tax was to bring about a gradual transition from subsistence economy to a modern money economy, the inhabitants having to procure a limited amount of money either through the sale of produce or through lucrative employment. This was no longer significant since, having annual incomes above 9,000 francs, they were subject to other taxes. On the other hand, all of them owned cattle for which they were taxed. As for others, exemptions were made in the case of those who proved themselves unable, because of illness, to work for six months. He emphasized that the head-tax did not apply to inhabitants subject to other personal taxes, that the rate of tax was fixed by region according to the resources of the region, and that it was augmented, in the case of owners of cattle, by a proportional tax.

## IV. SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT

Discrimination

59. The representative of China was not satisfied with the regulations concerning freedom of movement. He endorsed the views expressed by the Visiting Mission to the effect that "the desired results could be achieved by other measures which would be equally effective and would not give the impression of racial discrimination or place too arbitrary a restriction on personal liberty". He further noted that the Administration had not fully implemented the recommendation of the Trusteeship Council to the effect that the Administration should review all legislation involving discrimination. He particularly referred to the discriminatory feature in the immigration law of 1948 under which any person unable satisfactorily to read or write a European language was regarded as undesirable and might not be admitted to the Territory. He was not satisfied with the explanations given on the subject by the special representative since the test of literacy should not be confined to any one language or group of languages.

60. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated that the Administration was pursuing an anti-democratic policy which permitted racial discrimination and crude violation of the rights and interests of the indigenous population. This policy was reflected in legislation in force in the Territory, as had been pointed out in the report of the Visiting Mission of 1948. Reserved quarters had been established in the towns for Europeans, on the basis of a decree of 11 September 1945; according to this decree the urban areas were divided into quarters for Europeans, Asians and Africans. Local legislation also provided for two different penal systems, one for Europeans and the other for Africans. According to the second Visiting Mission, that of 1951, other legislative provisions existed which permitted crude discrimination with respect to the indigenous population. According to Ordinance 347/AMO of 4 October 1943, no indigenous inhabitant might leave his chiefdom for a continuous period of more than thirty days without a "transfer passport" from the chief or his deputy. The Visiting Mission had stated further that as regards movement in urban areas, an ordinance



issued in 1937 and amended in 1942 and 1947 provided that in urban areas, European centres, or parts of such urban areas or European centres, indigenous inhabitants were not allowed to move about between 10 p.m. and 4.30 a.m. unless they had a permit issued by the European authorities or the European employers. And even if an indigenous inhabitant received the permit this ordinance provided under article 2 that he ought to carry a light. Petitions received from indigenous inhabitants contained numerous complaints about a policy of racial discrimination carried out by the Administering Authority. For example, according to the petition T/PET.3/53, flagrant racial discrimination was exercised in the courts; it stated that if, in a trial, the party happened to be an African and the judge a European, the latter would state that the African could not speak the truth, and would insult him in every possible way. The indigenous population was not allowed to enter hotels and restaurants available for white people, according to petitions T/PET.3/38, T/PET.3/52, and others. The Trusteeship Council should recommend to the Administering Authority that it put an end to the anti-democratic policy pursued with regard to the local indigenous population, the policy marked by racial discrimination and gross violation of rights and interests of the indigenous population of Ruanda-Urundi.

61. The special representative of the Administering Authority replied that it was false to say that the courts automatically gave their decisions in favour of non-indigenous inhabitants. If a petitioner had so stated, the European settlers' association (Union des Colons) had complained in the contrary direction. He hoped the Council would forgive him for using statistics in the way in which the Soviet representative had done, but he pointed out that in 1951, out of 7,293 non-indigenous inhabitants, 27 or 2.07 per thousand, had been imprisoned; and out of 3,904,779 indigenous inhabitants 10,908, or 3.7 per thousand had been imprisoned. The special representative stated further that it was false to assert that indigenous inhabitants could not enter hotels. He himself had been at table several times with indigenous inhabitants in hotels at Usumbura, Astrida, Kigali and Kitoga. Admittedly these instances were rare, but even one case was enough to prove that such discrimination was not racial but a matter of education.

### Labour and Manpower

62. The representative of China believed that the Administering Authority should do its utmost to promote and attract skilled labour.

63. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated that the wages paid in the Territory could not ensure to the worker or his family a state even of semi-starvation. According to the Visiting Mission's report, the wage of an unskilled worker was five to eight francs a day. This sum was insufficient even for the purchase of a box of matches which cost from 7 to 7.50 francs. Petitions received by the Council informed it of even lower wages. For example, according to petition T/PMT.3/44, dated 27 June 1951, the ordinary African worker employed by the government received only 94 francs per month. In view of the impossible living conditions, more than 35,000 indigenous inhabitants had been forced, in 1950, to seek a living in Tanganyika, the Belgian Congo, and elsewhere. They were obviously very much exploited; in the Belgian Congo a worker in a European enterprise received only from 3½ to 5 francs a day, according to the Visiting Mission's report.

64. The special representative of the Administering Authority replied that he had already recognized that wages were inadequate. The Administration was following a positive policy for the improvement of indigenous wages. He pointed out that a five-franc box of matches was in fact a packet containing ten boxes; furthermore, the indigenous inhabitants made little use of matches, and for five francs could buy, if he did not wish to cut it himself, quite a large amount of firewood.

### Co-operative System

65. The representative of China expressed satisfaction with the increase in the number of co-operatives and the establishment of new trading centres and commended the Administering Authority for those steps which helped to enhance the part of the indigenous inhabitants in the development of the Territory's economy. He hoped that no efforts would be spared to accelerate those measures.

### Public Health

66. The representative of New Zealand endorsed the Visiting Mission's hope that the need for training African applicants as doctors would be given

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special consideration in future programmes of the Administering Authority.

67. The representative of the United States of America said that his delegation had been glad to note that the Administering Authority continued to provide for the expansion of social services through increased provisions in the regular budget, the Indigenous Welfare Fund and in the Ten-Year Plan, and particularly for the considerable augmentation proposed in the numbers of both European and indigenous medical personnel. The delegation hoped that the Administering Authority would give further consideration to the need for training fully qualified African doctors and consider the possibility of assisting, perhaps on an experimental basis, one or two outstanding African medical assistants to pursue higher medical studies.

68. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated that the Administering Authority was not showing any concern for the needs of the indigenous population in the fields of health and education. There was not a single physician in the Territory who happened to be of indigenous extraction. The Visiting Mission had pointed out that at present there was no indigenous inhabitant in training as a physician, and that the present level of education in the Territory did not allow the training of indigenous physicians. Expenditures for health in 1950 were negligible, equivalent to some 28 United States cents per capita. Evidence of an unsatisfactory state of public health was shown by the data on diseases contained in the annual report for 1951. There were 39,795 cases of epidemic sicknesses and 672,327 cases of endemic sicknesses, of which 1,735 cases had been fatal. The Council should recommend to the Administering Authority that it increase the budgetary appropriations for health needs, in order to establish adequate medical and health services for the indigenous population.

69. The special representative of the Administering Authority pointed out that if 712,122 cases of epidemic and endemic diseases had been discovered, it was due to the fact that the medical service had undertaken 7,900,000 examinations. When the anti-tuberculosis mission had completed its work, the number of discovered cases of tuberculosis would perhaps have doubled, and the Soviet representative would not fail to draw from that fact a

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criticism against the Medical service. The fact that 1,735 cases of disease, or 2.43 per thousand discovered, had been fatal, did not seem excessive for a country supposedly so neglected. In the matter of public health expenditure, he pointed out that while 41.5 million francs had been spent up to 31 December 1951, the total for the whole budget year ending on 31 October 1952 was some 65 million francs; and the Soviet representative had overlooked an additional 8 million francs expended by the indigenous authorities, 12.5 million francs by the Indigenous Welfare Fund, 8 million francs by private organizations, and 17 million francs for the construction of hospitals and dispensaries. Thus the Soviet representative had based his calculation on some 41 million instead of more than 110 million francs.

#### Status of women and social welfare

70. The representative of New Zealand noted with satisfaction that the Administering Authority had enacted legislation which prohibited polygamy.

#### Penitentiary reform and corporal punishment

71. The representative of China expressed his keen disappointment that the Administration had not yet been able to abolish corporal punishment in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly, although the number of lashes had been reduced by half. The reform of the penitentiary system was an urgent matter and he hoped that the Administering Authority would expedite the arrangement for the prison reform so that there would be no further delay in the complete abolition of corporal punishment.

72. The representative of New Zealand was gratified to learn of the steps taken for the progressive abolition of corporal punishment and hoped that the Administration would speedily find it possible to abolish it.

73. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated that a system of corporal punishment such as existed in the Middle Ages was still followed in the Territory. For instance, according to the 1948 Visiting Mission, whipping was generally practised by the chiefs and their assistants, and even by some European officials, particularly with respect to agricultural workers and to compulsory labour in the building of roads.

The Administering Authority had not yet put into force the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council with respect to the immediate abolition of corporal punishment.

74. The special representative of the Administering Authority stated that the situation as regards corporal punishment had already been explained. It was completely false to state that such punishment was still applied by the chiefs, their assistants and certain Europeans. Any who did so would be held criminally liable.

## V. EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENT

### General remarks on educational facilities for the indigenous population

75. The representative of Thailand took note of the statement made by the special representative that the Administration would see to the establishment of secular schools when the necessity arose. He agreed that the religious schools in the Territory were not exclusively Catholic but added that there were not schools of every denomination in every important centre. He stated that it was possible that people of certain religious denominations could not send their children to the school of their religious preference because none existed in that locality and they were refused admittance to schools of other religious denominations even if they wished to send them there.

76. The representative of New Zealand believed that the education of the population was one of the fundamental obligations of the Administering Authority. While fully appreciating the valuable work carried out by the missions in the field of education, he would welcome a more direct intervention on the part of the Administration in the education of the people, whether by way of further supervision and assistance to the missions or, perhaps preferably, through the establishment, along with the mission schools, of secular schools. He, therefore, endorsed the Visiting Mission's opinion that the chapel and reading schools, representing an existing foundation on which to build an enlarged primary school system, should receive special attention from the educational authorities. That would entail an obligation on the part of the Administration to proceed earnestly and urgently with the training of teachers.

77. The representative of China, whilst taking note of the significant progress achieved in the field of educational advancement in 1951, expressed concern at the general inadequacy of primary education in the Territory. He pointed out that not only was the number of children in the schools far less than the total of those of school age, but of those who were in school 75 per cent were attending the chapel and reading schools. Moreover, the Administration had no control over those schools, which were not primary schools in the true sense. In view of those conditions, he hoped that the Administering Authority would accept the Visiting Mission's suggestion that some arrangements should be

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entered into with the missions with a view to providing some kind of government supervision over the chapel and reading schools and to improving their equipment and standards.

78. The representative of the United States of America shared the hope of the Visiting Mission that the Administration would, in its educational plans, give somewhat greater emphasis to provisions for the general education of women.

79. The representative of the Dominican Republic commended the Administration for the progress realized in the field of primary education and for the attention given to indigenous languages. The intensive philological work which had been done in order to determine the value and ~~wealth~~ of the Banyarwanda, Kinyarwanda and Swahili languages had been most interesting. The Administration should also be commended for the protection accorded to the work of the missionaries, without distinction as to religious belief, although his delegation shared the view of the Visiting Mission that the schools as well as the missions should be controlled by the Department of Education.

80. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated that the overwhelming majority of the indigenous population was still illiterate. The schools were almost all in the hands of religious missions. The report of the Visiting Mission indicated that out of all children of school age - who, by approximate estimates, numbered 800,000 - only one half attended any school and more than three quarters of these attended mission chapel or simple reading schools where the education was very elementary. It was known that this form of schooling was characterized by the absence of any real education; the majority of children who completed it could hardly write their own names. These religious schools received no subsidy from the Government. They were fully within the jurisdiction of the religious mission concerned and were not even inspected by the Department of Education. From the commentary submitted in 1951 by UNESCO (T/903) to the Council, it could be seen that the Administering Authority deliberately hampered the development of secondary education and was deliberately not establishing higher educational schools in the Trust Territory. UNESCO had stated that the desire of the Administration not to upset the social order by placing on the market many persons who had completed schools and for whom it would be impossible to find work, limited access to secondary schools of

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persons who had the necessary moral and intellectual qualifications. In 1951, as in previous years, only one student from the Trust Territory had received higher education abroad. Expenditures for education in 1951 constituted the equivalent of only 16 United States cents per capita. The Council should recommend to the Administering Authority that it set up a system of lay primary, secondary and higher education and that, to this end, it increase substantially the budgetary appropriations for educational and other cultural needs.

81. The special representative of the Administering Authority reminded the Council that at its ninth session his Government's delegation had refused to accept the statement quoted from the UNESCO commentary. In the matter of educational expenditure, the Soviet representative had forgotten to take account of extraordinary expenditure on school construction and expenditure by the Indigenous Welfare Fund, to the amount of 19 million francs.

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