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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE EIGHT HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Friday, 7 February 1958, at 2.30 p.m.

Mr. ARENALES CATALAN

(Guatemala)

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

Note: The Official Record of this meeting, i.e., the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.854 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

CONDITIONS IN RUANDA-URUNDI:

- (a) EXAMINATION OF THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TRUST TERRITORY OF RUANDA-URUNDI FOR 1956 (T/1338, 1552; T/L.810)
- (b) REPORTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS VISITING MISSION TO TRUST TERRITORIES IN EAST AFRICA (1957): REPORT ON RUANDA-URUNDI (T/1346)(continued)

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

Social and Educational advancement (continued)

*been* Mr. YIN (China): In view of the many questions that were asked during the course of yesterday's meeting, I find myself with very few questions left. My first question pertains to labour. We are given to understand by the Visiting Mission that the introduction into Ruanda-Urundi of the Congo legislation on family allowances has once again been postponed because, in the opinion of the Administering Authority, such legislation would impose a far too heavy burden upon the employers and is not suited to the needs of the Territory. However, we have noted from the Visiting Mission's report that certain members of the General Council expressed the view that there is nothing to prevent the immediate granting of those allowances to workers in extra-customary centres, indigenous cities and workers' housing centres. Would the special representative care to comment on the views held by these members of the General Council, whether it has been deemed that there is a sound basis for the adoption of these views, and whether indeed a gradual introduction of the allowances might be possible in the near future?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative)(interpretation from French): The Administration in Ruanda-Urundi regards it as a desirable objective that family allowances should be mandatory for all workers. In many places in the Territory, especially in mining enterprises, there are actually such things as family allowances in the form of the issuing of food rations to dependents of workers.

(Mr. Leroy, Special Representative)

However, it has not proved possible to extend this system to the remainder of the Territory, the system which has been instituted in the Belgian Congo. As members know, industrial enterprises are not in large number. Mining enterprises have incurred deficits during their current operations and have had to dismiss some workers. The people of Ruanda-Urundi are highly fertile and their families are large. In view of these and related factors it has not been possible to extend generally a measure which, nevertheless, the Administration feels should be adopted as soon as the situation will allow it to be done.

Mr. YIN (China): My next question relates to inter-racial relationships in the Territory. The special representative in his opening statement said that contact between the indigenous and non-indigenous populations must be further increased and that methods must be worked out to this end so that these different societies may come closer together. Could the special representative tell the Council just what are the methods that the Administration has in mind, and whether it has any definite programme?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): In my preliminary statement I did not, if my recollection is correct, speak of ways and means, but the main idea is the same. What we have in mind is that all of us, Europeans and indigenous inhabitants alike, should search for ways and means of coming closer together. One important step has been the opening of inter-racial educational institutions. The Visiting Mission has noted the progress made in relationships between pupils of different races in secondary institutions, especially in the Collège du Saint-Esprit at Usumbura.

I may say that there are no longer any differences between pupils, whites and Africans, no more so than there would be in any other school between a pupil with black hair and another pupil with blond hair.

(Mr. Leroy, Special Representative)

This situation is in fact registering continuing progress, especially in the field of social advancement and social and human relations. It was a very rare occurrence in the past for Europeans and Africans to share their meals at the same table. Today it happens every day. Europeans and Africans will take a drink together in a bar, let us say. They will go to the movies together. As I have told the Council, it is a matter of environment, atmosphere rather than statistics, but the Visiting Mission in its report has given faithful expression to it and, as I have told the Council, this situation is improving progressively and these improved conditions are spreading more and more.

*school wastage*  
Mr. YIN (China): My next question deals with education. On the question of school wastage, aside from the fact that the Administration is financially not in a position to provide free compulsory education to all school-age children, would not the special representative think it necessary to take measures to reduce wastage not caused by the students' being unable to afford continued attendance at school, but through their loss of interest in education either because the curriculum is not suited to their needs or other causes of a similar nature?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): The Administration is fully alive to this problem of school wastage and attrition, and the Administration makes continual representations to the chiefs and sub-chiefs to have them influence heads of families to ensure that children in whose vicinity there is a school establishment should attend school. But the only really effective remedy for the problem would be to impose compulsory education enforced by sanctions. But, as I have said in the past and in the course of the present session, this is something which we cannot yet contemplate because with primary instruction covering about 45 per cent of the school-age population, we are already spending 22 per cent of our annual income on education. This is, I submit, a major obstacle to introducing compulsory schooling. Not only is the obstacle financial in character; there is also a professional problem in the sense that we do not yet have the thousands of school teachers who would be required if all the children are to receive schooling.



(Mr. Leroy, Special Representative)

The education movement is not one which lends itself to acceleration readily because a course of study must necessarily comprise a number of years; it cannot be diminished. A teacher or assistant teacher can only have a limited number of pupils. He simply cannot take care of twice of three times that number.

Mr. YIN (China): In view of the fact that less than one-third of the teachers now in the Territory are certified teachers, that is to say, qualified teachers, I wonder if the special representative could explain why the percentage of teachers receiving training in the sections normales is so low as compared with those who receive training in other normal institutes.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): This is something of a question of vocation. We cannot force the indigenous inhabitants to follow certain courses of study, and it appears that there are rather few of them who feel the calling of the teaching profession. But this problem is of course tied in with the general development of education. As I said a few moments ago, it is not enough to have resources. Years of development are required for the building up of a teaching corps. We have these écoles de moniteurs, schools for non-certified teachers. I made the point, I think, in answer to a question of the representative of the United Kingdom, as to what were the qualifications required of moniteurs. They have to have five or six years of primary school and four years of the école de moniteurs. The normal schools themselves train the instructors for the écoles de moniteurs.

Mr. YIN (China): I now come to my last question. I wonder if the Administration has separate data regarding the enrollment of Hutu children in school as compared with that of the Tutsi. And if it does, would the special representative be prepared to say that the proportion of Hutu children receiving education has shown any favourable increase now that the conditions of living of the Hutu have been said to have improved?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): I am unable to supply statistics as to the proportion of Tutsi and Hutu school coverage

(Mr. Leroy, Special Representative)

precisely because the Administration does not recognize this distinction in the population. But if we look at the facts, it appears that the Hutu people were rather slow in accepting the notion of schooling, but they are making up lost ground at a rapid pace, and I believe that the proportion of Hutu pupils is growing as the years go by.

Mr. JAIPAL (India): First of all, my delegation wishes to congratulate the representative of the ILO for the very comprehensive and informative statement which he made the other day. I think I am right in saying that this is the first report of its kind, and we hope that we rightly interpret this to be a sign of bigger and better things to come. Rel  
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I should like to put one or two questions which arise out of his statement. The representative of the ILO, in outlining the proposals for the future, said that one of those proposals would be to 12

"set up, to replace the Expert Committee for social policy in non-metropolitan territories, another committee of a tri-partite nature -- that is, made up of representatives of Governments, employers and workers...".

(T/PV.849, page 83-85)

I gather that the idea behind this proposal is to bring this procedure into conformity with the regular ILO practice in regard to such committees. I should like to know whether any particular benefits will be secured by replacing what is ostensibly an expert committee by a committee of representatives. Would there be any advantage from the point of view of work and of inquiring into labour conditions?

Mr. METALL (International Labour Organisation) (interpretation from French): Perhaps it is somewhat premature for me to reply to the question put by the representative of India because the proposal to replace the present Expert Committee with the tri-partite committee he mentioned is still before the Bureau of the ILO. No final decision has yet been taken. However, as the representative of India has mentioned, I take it that this modification will be in greater conformity with the tri-partite nature of our organization where we always attempt to bring together Government, employers and workers. Of course we hope to be able to replace the present Expert Committee with a tri-partite committee which will be equally expert. By adding representatives of employers and workers we hope to be able to obtain the advantage of their knowledge of the social situation and the benefit of their participation and thus make the committee more terre à terre.

*Relaxing ship with ILO*

Mr. JAIPAL (India): I am grateful to the representative of the ILO for this clarification. I have one more question to put to him. The other day he said:

"The conclusions of the Expert Committee and of the tri-partite Conference committee, approved by the Conference itself, are set down in public records..." (Ibid., page 81)

I wonder whether, for the future, the ILO representative here could place before us a short summary of such conclusions as may have relevance to conditions in Trust Territories. I ask this question because it is obviously somewhat difficult for us who have to read several documents to read a few more somewhat specialized documents on labour and social policy. If this is going to impose a heavy burden on the ILO, I will not press it. At any rate, I would appreciate some clarification.

Mr. METALL (International Labour Organisation) (interpretation from French): The request made by the representative of India will be immediately transmitted to our headquarters. At the present moment, it is impossible for me to reply. I of course realize the difficulties experienced by the representative of India and other Council members in having to read so much documentation. On the other hand, such a report would indeed increase the work of the ILO as it would be a second or third report. I do not think that would be exactly in conformity with the desire voiced by the representative of India. However, there is another aspect. But I do not want to prejudge what the reply from headquarters will be, namely, the conclusions are the conclusions of an Expert Committee or of a tri-partite Conference committee and it might be that it would be difficult for the permanent secretariat of the organization to interpret these decisions. If it were simply a question of collecting or extracting something from the reports, which, of course, are available right now, that would be a different matter.

*Labour inspection*

Mr. JAIPAL (India): My next question is addressed to the special representative and it concerns labour inspection. The representative of the ILO in the course of his statement the other day referred to one of the conclusions of the Expert Committee, which had drawn attention to the question of labour

(Mr. Jaipal, India)

inspection in its report on its fifth session. This is what he said:

"The corps of labour inspectors should possess sufficient staff to carry out the necessary inspections at frequent intervals. The inspectors should, moreover, be properly trained, possess the necessary powers...". (Ibid., page 88-90)

Can the special representative tell us whether any special training is provided for the labour inspectors in Ruanda-Urundi? I know, of course, that labour inspection machinery has existed in the Territory since 1953. I am anxious to know what facilities there are for providing these inspectors with suitable training.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): The labour inspectors are chosen from the Department of Native Affairs and Work. This is one of the most active departments in the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi. Its members are familiar with all matters concerning labour conditions. On page 459 of the report of the Administering Authority, the representative of India will find statistics about the number of inspections which took place in 1956.

The number of inspectors at the present moment in the Territory is sufficient and makes it possible for workers in companies to be inspected several times each year. This labour inspection has had excellent results. When I am at Usumbura, I receive regularly, almost every day, the reports of these labour inspectors. I can state that their work is very effective with regard to respect of the labour code in the Territory.

Mr. JAIPAL (India): I come now to the salary policy in regard to labour in particular relation to the stabilization of labour. This again is a point with which the ILO representative dealt the other day. If I may quote him once again, he said:

"...it must be recognized that minimum remuneration...should be adequate to provide for stable family life without its being necessary to have recourse to resources outside the employment such as those which come from remote rural farms." (Ibid.)

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(Mr. Jaipal. India)

We know that there is this kind of labour in Ruanda-Urundi -- that is, labour which relies on whatever resources are available to it from its ancestral farms in addition to its salary from plantations or mining concerns. I should like to know whether the special representative could give us a rough idea of the proportion of labour that relies on the additional income from rural farms. Would that information be readily available?



Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): This information is rather difficult to acquire and I could not immediately quote figures in this respect. However, I could say that usually, the workers in the factories and companies at Usumbura, for example, do not avail themselves of this source of supplementary income, namely, farm work, but, on the other hand, quite often a wife or other members of a worker's family undertake some small business activity in order to increase the family income. That is one of the reasons why the incomes are higher at Usumbura than in the interior of the country. If one takes into account the fact that the population of the extra-customary centre at Usumbura is about 50,000, including women and children, then one can get some idea of the number of workers in this situation. In the inland posts and, in certain cases, in mining companies and, generally, in agricultural enterprises -- which, I repeat, are not very numerous -- these workers usually have a supplementary income from farm work or production of crops on their own account. This made it possible, for example, last year when a few hundred workers were laid off in the mining companies, for them to continue to subsist without suffering too great a hardship.

Mr. JAIPAL (India): My next question concerns the restriction on movements of indigenous people within the Territory. I believe that the Representative of Guatemala posed a few questions yesterday on this very subject. The working paper prepared by the Secretariat (T/L.810) says in paragraph 87: "The obligation to obtain a transfer passport continues to exist only in the case of an indigenous inhabitant who intends to spend more than thirty days in a non-tribal area." I find it difficult to understand the need for such a restriction, especially in areas where there is enormous pressure on land and, consequently, there would be a natural desire on the part of some people to move out of the congested rural areas into urban areas in search of employment. I should like to know whether this restriction in any way operates against the movement of people in search of employment from the crowded rural areas, and I should also like to know whether this restriction has the approval of the indigenous authorities.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative)(interpretation from French): First of all, I shall reply to the second part of the question. This restriction, of course, is carried out with the consent of the indigenous authorities since, as the Council will recall, one of the first objectives of this regulation concerning a transfer passport was to work against the trend towards abandoning the fields in the countryside. We wished thus to avoid a famine. Another aspect of the question was that the extra-customary centres in the larger towns -- especially the extra-customary centre of Usumbura -- exercise a great drawing power on the population. Since there is a certain degree of difficulty in finding land in the interior, these inhabitants are led to seek an income elsewhere and it is a great temptation for someone who has a brother, an uncle or some other relative working in industry in Usumbura, to go there and move in on his relative. A considerable number of Africans come to Usumbura, move in with their relatives and never leave, and it makes it very difficult for the brother or the uncle to manage. Therefore, the Administration wished to do something about this situation and we have kept in force this requirement of a transfer passport so that persons who are out of work will not move into these extra-customary centres.

*gusung* Mr. JAIPAL (India): As you know, Mr. President, my delegation has taken a consistent interest in the improvement of rural housing and every year we have asked the special representative some questions on the subject.

My own experience of Ruanda-Urundi suggests that the majority of houses in the rural areas are poorly ventilated; they do not have windows and, consequently, they are almost always heavily laden with smoke. We also know that the incidence of tuberculosis in Ruanda-Urundi is quite high, and at this point I should like to congratulate the Administering Authority for the massive BCG campaign which it has undertaken recently. I observe that there is a King's fund which is being set up for improvement of African housing conditions. It has a capital fund of 200 million francs which yields an annual income of 8 million francs. I should like to know specifically what proportion of this fund is spent on improving rural housing conditions in Ruanda-Urundi.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative)(interpretation from French): I can say at the present time that the King's fund has been blocked for a certain period of time while we conduct a research study for the purpose of benefiting rural housing as well as urban housing -- rural housing perhaps more than urban housing.

The representative of India has pointed out that the huts through the country usually lack windows and are poorly ventilated and smoke-filled. The Administration, in this field as well, must take into account the customs of the people. We have to bear in mind the existence of certain prejudices, as well as their ideas of comfort which are different from ours.

(Mr. Leroy, Special Representative)

The weather is cold on the high plateaus of Ruanda-Urundi, and there are not very many forests. Thus, the inhabitants seek warmth from every possible source, without building big fires that would burn up too much wood.

However, a trend toward rural housing is developing, and I would ask permission to read out a few lines from a note which was handed to me by the Chief of Indigenous Services before I left Ruanda-Urundi. He says:

"There has been a considerable evolution in housing during the last five years. The traditional hut of straw is now being replaced by an adobe-brick hut, and now we are even getting brick housing. This adobe hut itself is being improved greatly. The thatched roof is being replaced by a tile roof, and so forth. This transformation of housing has brought about profound changes in the population's idea of what good housing is. Their houses are built along the road now, rather than way back in the yard, and the annexes are laid out differently. The house is no longer constructed in isolation, without any plan; we are now beginning to get plans before the building is constructed. This has brought about new social developments. The notion of a village is beginning to dawn on them."

I regret that I am not in a position to give figures and statistics with regard to this development of housing in the Territory. Of course, there are still a very great number of ordinary old huts, but this movement is making progress and will continue to make progress.

Mr. JAIPAL (India): I have no further questions. I should like to thank the special representative for his very informative and comprehensive replies, in which I detect a strong note of encouragement.

Mr. KOCIANCICH (Italy) (interpretation from French): My first question applies to emigration. I heard with interest the answer given to the representative of India about internal passports -- passports de mutation -- but I should like to ask another question in this connexion. From the statements of the representative of Belgium and the special representative, it would appear that the number of emigrants to Uganda and Kivu is greater than is indicated in the annual report. The figures in the annual report cover only emigration of

(Mr. Kociancich, Italy)

which the Government keeps track. In addition to the migratory movement encouraged and verified by the Government, there is another migratory movement which seems to escape the purview of the Administering Authority.

I ask this question because I know that any indigenous inhabitant of the Territory who wishes to quit his chieftom for more than thirty days must inform his chief, and in some cases he may even have to get a passport de mutation or a permit. I find it difficult to see what this kind of emigration is which is beyond or outside the control of the Administering Authority.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): The passport de mutation is a document required for movements of more than thirty days inside Territories administered by Belgium, which, in practice, means within Ruanda-Urundi itself and the Belgian Congo. This passport de mutation, this internal passport, is not required of an African who would go, say, to Uganda -- and there has been at all times a large movement of populations between these two Territories. Moreover, the internal passport cannot be denied by the Administration in a number of cases which are listed in the text of the law. If an indigenous inhabitant goes to his Administrator or Territorial Agent to ask for an internal passport in order to go to school or to accept a job in an enterprise, or for any number of similar reasons, the passport cannot be denied to him. These internal passports are simply visas stamped by the official in the identity booklet. No statistics or accounts are kept or can be kept of this sort of thing.

As for population movements into Uganda, these people are frequently old emigrants whose settlement occurred prior to the introduction of passports and on whom we have little information. At times such as the famine period of 1943, people who fled from Ruanda-Urundi to get some food paid no heed to the passport de mutation. The Administration, for its part, had other things to think about besides asking for passports.

That is what accounts for this situation, which at first glance may appear to be paradoxical.

Mr. KOCIANCICH (Italy) (interpretation from French): My next question applies to the regrouping of populations within the Territory. If I understood correctly, the ten-year plan provided for a gradual regrouping of the people by moving them, encouraging them to move, toward less densely populated areas in the Territory. This, of course, was only a temporary solution of the demographic problem in Ruanda-Urundi. But I should like to learn from the special representative to what extent this regrouping movement, this redistribution, has in fact occurred so far.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): There are two kinds of regrouping or redistribution movements. There is the movement on a local basis, which is designed to foster the establishment of villages and other communities so as to develop societal life in the indigenous population. There are no villages in Ruanda-Urundi. Indigenous inhabitants live in an enclosure which takes in their own family, the huts for their animals, and sometimes the tombs of their ancestors or perhaps a commemorative monument for their ancestors, and their main agricultural structures. But there are no villages. We are trying to foster the development of villages.



(Mr. Leroy, Special Representative)

In each chiefdom we have sought to foster the establishment of an administrative centre comprising a dispensary, a school and a community centre, and we hope that these first public buildings will be supplemented by some craftsmen's workshops so as to provide the nucleus for a first local regrouping. We are pushing this as best we can, and are making satisfactory progress. However, it should be realized that this is a long term problem and that villages and small towns will not be constructed all over the place in a matter of months or even years.

There is also the other aspect of the problem in connexion with which an attempt is made to encourage settlement in sparsely settled areas in the Territory or on land made fertile by irrigation or drainage, as the case may be. The most substantial movement has taken place among the peasants north of Usumbura. More than 9,000 families have been settled in that area. Another similar movement involving somewhat less extensive numbers has taken place in the Mosso area in the southeast of the Territory. This movement is continuing, and teams of rural engineers are carrying out hydrological projects designed to make large areas available for settlement in order to foster the population movement which we have been discussing.

Mr. KOCIANCICH (Italy)(interpretation from French): The Visiting Mission's report mentions some compulsory agricultural work carried out by the population under customary law. Could the special representative discuss the nature of this compulsory work?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative)(interpretation from French): Details of this work are given in paragraph 60 on page 131 of the annual report. There are a number of valid considerations which account for this compulsory labour. The legislative background of the question is explained in the report. The work in question is as follows. Every able-bodied adult, head of a family, must maintain 35 acres of seasonal crops and 25 acres of non-seasonal food crops, of which 15 acres must be planted with manioc. Moreover, the indigenous inhabitants may be obliged to harvest these crops, maintain them, fertilize the ground and carry out anti-erosion work.

(Mr. Leroy, Special Representative)

May I add that all this compulsory work is done in the exclusive interest of the person who does it, and that the crop belongs in its entirety to him. He can dispose of it freely. He can consume it, he can sell it, or he can do anything else with it that he wants.

*private schools*  
*under day*  
*closed*  
Mr. KOCIANCICH (Italy)(interpretation from French): I come now to my last question, which has to do with education. Paragraph 153 of the annual report indicates that private schools requiring no State subsidy can function freely, provided they fulfil certain moral and health requirements. The statistics annexed to the annual report make no mention of this, but I should like to know whether there are in the Territory such private schools which are not subsidized by the Administering Authority.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative)(interpretation from French): I can think only of the Bernadine religious school at Kigali, which is mentioned in the Visiting Mission's report. The Administration would like to accredit this school properly, but it so happens that there is one official school in Kigali and that the number of children in the region is not sufficient to warrant the establishment of two schools. However, it may be said generally that schools of this kind are only provisional, and that usually they are properly accredited after one or two years. It must not be considered that this applies to the bush schools to which I have referred previously. These are institutions where indigenous inhabitants who cannot attend ordinary schools are taught how to read and write, for one or two years at the most, simply for the purpose of spreading literacy -- the purpose of adult education. These schools, of course, have done yeoman service in the anti-literacy campaign, but they are not subsidized and of course they are not accredited.

*proposed*  
Mr. TOMEH (Syria): My first question relates to the problem of demographic pressure. I am fully aware of the question put yesterday by the representative of Guatemala and of the answers that were given to that question. Nevertheless I want to ask a question from amore particular and specific angle.

(Mr. Tomeh, Syria)

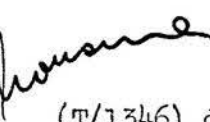
It is recognized that this problem of demographic pressure is one of the gravest problems in the region. On the other hand, the working paper (T/L.810) prepared by the Secretariat notes in its paragraph 5 that "the traditional society in Ruanda-Urundi was adapting itself to modern democratic ideas and forms at an increasing rate". My question is this. Are there any manifestations among the educated classes in Ruanda-Urundi of indigenous leadership in the sense of having a society of social workers which would, for instance, instruct peoples as to the gravity of the situation. And if they exist, are they encouraged?

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

As I said yesterday, we are faced with the moral as well as the social problem here. The Administration is faced with a population of some 4 million inhabitants. These inhabitants traditionally consider a big family as being a source of wealth and power and they greatly esteem mothers who have many children. In addition, about half of that population, more than 2 million, are catholic in religion and as such do not approve of birth control, at least in most of its forms. It would be very difficult, and not desirable, to organize movements against such belief and against that type of life.

On the other hand, we must recall that there exists near Ruanda-Urundi, and especially in the Belgian Congo, vast territories which, if necessary, might receive excess populations from Ruanda-Urundi. The solution of the problem is not as easy as it might seem at first sight, because the sparsely settled territory in the Congo is usually covered with equatorial jungle and it is very difficult for the mountain populations of Ruanda-Urundi to become acclimated.

It has been noted -- and all ethnologists make this observation -- that the more a population is at a low level and the more the vitality is threatened, the more prolific it is, and once a population is better off and has a great deal of resources, and so forth, why then the lower the birth rate. We can perhaps foresee that when living conditions improve in Ruanda-Urundi, the birth rate may drop off automatically without it being necessary to conduct a deliberate campaign for a lower birth rate.

 Mr. TOMEH (Syria): Paragraph 220 of the Visiting Mission's report (T/1346) deals with housing and states the following:

"Public opinion and the General Council have been somewhat critical of the programmes and methods of the OCA. It has been stated, amongst other things, that part of the buildings is already in need of considerable repair, and that another part is at the point of collapse; that the OCA has refused to accept any advice from the local authorities or to submit to their control, and that the accounts of the OCA have never been scrutinized in the Territory."

May I ask for clarification as to the relations between the Office des cités africaines and the local authorities referred to in this paragraph.

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

Since the time that the Visiting Mission was in the Territory, the contacts between the Office des cités africaines and the local authority have greatly improved. There has been a change in the direction. These questions were usually handled or managed in Brussels. At the present time the work in this field is much closer; it is on the spot in Ruanda-Urundi and therefore matters have improved. In other words, the whole thing is not run from Brussels.

With regard to the buildings, and so forth, we conducted an investigation and we reached the conclusion that a part of the construction, although normally built, nevertheless had been built on ground that was not very stable, and this situation has proven to be the case in numerous places in Africa. Because of the extreme heat, the soil itself has a certain amount of movement which brings about cracking of the buildings. The investigation revealed that it was not a question of misfeasance but that it was just the fact that a certain preliminary study of the land plot had not been made. However, the situation has greatly improved since the time the Visiting Mission was there.

Mr. TOMEH (Syria): I would like to thank the special representative for his clarification. My third and last question is on human rights and racial relations. I wish to draw attention to paragraph 247 of the Visiting Mission's report which deals with racial discrimination and the difference in status between European and African officials. This paragraph reads in part as follows:

"The 'Statement of Views' presents the question, nevertheless, as an instance of political discrimination, adding that 'the difference being such that a European at the lowest level, that of territorial agent, is far and away above an African of the highest grade, that of assistant territorial agent -- a grade which, incidentally no African under Belgian administration has yet succeeded in reaching'." (T/1346, paragraph 247)

Would the special representative care to comment on that?

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

This situation has often been commented upon. The Europeans who are part of the Ruanda-Urundi administration are required to meet very severe standards. To achieve the lowest rank in European administration one must have had complete primary education and secondary education, and also to have taken five or six months of specialized studies specifically concerned with African problems. At the present time there are only a few Africans which might be compared with these Europeans who have recieved this training. Those Africans who can meet the standerds have not yet evidenced a desire to obtain a job in the Administration. However, I am sure that they would have been admitted into the Administration.



(Mr. Leroy, Special Representative)

The Africans who are now in service in that branch of the administration are those who took their studies in Africa. It will only be in July 1958 that we shall have the first African graduates who have received an education equal to that received by graduates of a school in Europe. These are the differences that exist between the Africans and the Europeans in the Administration.

However, I should like to draw the attention of the Council to a particular problem which is rather serious. At the present time we have very few people in the central European administration, approximately 600 or 700 persons. It is true that for a population of more than 4 million we should have a considerable extension of the administration. The Council has recommended on numerous occasions that we should obtain more doctors, teachers, labour inspectors, geologists and so forth. The Council is always urging us to recruit more personnel. However, we do have a deficit budget. We must pay rather high salaries to the European officials; otherwise we cannot obtain them. That is why we do not have a sufficient number of doctors. We cannot find sufficient doctors although the salary is rather high. Doctors find that they can do better in Europe and do not want to go off to Ruanda-Urundi.

If we should undertake to hire Africans at the same level as Europeans, we would get into a very difficult situation. We are in a type of vicious circle. If we lower the salaries of the Europeans, no Europeans will go to the Territory. However, the European technicians are indispensable. If we raise the salaries of the Africans to the level of the Europeans, we will be in a very difficult situation. I think that we must strike a compromise. We shall have to be satisfied with a smaller number of doctors and we shall try to improve the situation of the Africans. However, we cannot bring their salaries up to the level of the Europeans. That is just a practical and material problem.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): If no other member of the Council wishes to put questions, we may take it that we have concluded this stage of our considerations.

use of languages  
in educ.

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): I merely wish to supply some information which was requested yesterday by the representative of the Soviet Union relating to the position of the General Council on the use of languages in secondary education. The General Council voted in 1958, by 29 votes of the 42 present -- the 29 including 16 of the 18 African members -- in favour of the following system. The first language, the language in which all courses are taught, should be French or Dutch at the option of the student. The first language to be taught after the first year, at least four hours a week, should be either French or Dutch, other than the one chosen as the first language in the previous year, or, again optionally, a course in African linguistics. The third choice language to be taught after the second or third year, three hours a week, would be optionally either the language not selected as the second language or else English. This allows a possibility of eight combinations optionally available.

This system will be set up only to the extent that a sufficient number of pupils is available who will take either one or more of these options. As I said, sixteen of the eighteen African members of the General Council supported this formula, which makes it possible to eliminate completely one of the four languages.

That is all that I have to say on this question. May I recall that this is an advisory opinion and that it is not absolutely certain that it will be accepted by the Brussels Government.

political parties

Mr. HOOD (Australia): I apologize for a somewhat belated question, but it relates to a matter of some interest to my delegation. As far as I recall, no question has been addressed to the special representative in this connexion. I refer to paragraph 246 of the report of the Visiting Mission concerning the question of association of the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory. In the light of the statements in the report in this connexion, would the special representative have anything to add at this stage to the opinion attributed to the Administering Authority that at the present stage of society and communal development, the possibility of political organizations is yet somewhat remote?

(Mr. Hood, Australia)

This statement, of course, has been made to the Council previously; nonetheless, it is a matter of somewhat fundamental importance not only to the Council but to other Governments concerned with this type of problem. Would the special representative have any comment to make by way of further information in relation to the statement contained in the report?

Mr. LEROY (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): There is one point which calls for some comment. In Ruanda-Urundi we are squarely in the middle of an intense movement of political evolution. We are witnessing a transition from traditional institutions to more democratic institutions, while trying not to destroy a framework which, in many ways, has proved itself and which might well be retained in a democratic system.

(Mr. Leroy,  
Special Representative)

The establishment of political parties should scarcely take the shape of importation of foreign parties or ideologies lock, stock and barrel. The other day I cited the case of labour unions that were set up in Ruanda-Urundi, unions belonging to the Social Christian Party of the General Federation of Belgian Workers, as well as those belonging to the Belgian Liberal Party. The Africans did not take the same attitude towards these trade unions as we would. They affiliated with all three sets of trade unions because they did not find it possible to reject invitations for affiliation which were addressed to them in pleasant terms. Personally, I do not believe in the future of political parties imported from Europe into this country. As the situation develops, parties should be expected to arise on a local basis. At present, however, the interests involved are not yet in my judgement diversified enough to give an opportunity for the rapid establishment of parties with well-defined goals and platforms. It is in this sense that the constitution of political parties in Ruanda-Urundi sometimes appears to be in an infantile stage.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): As no other representative wishes to put questions to the special representative, I believe that we may take it that the question and answer period has come to an end and that we can proceed to the next stage, which will be the general debate.

#### General Debate

Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (interpretation from French): I do not think that the Council will upbraid me for having asked too many questions on social and educational advancement. The ample explanations given by the special representative in answer to abundant questions have, in my opinion, cleared the ground and perhaps met a good part of what we were concerned about or interested in. The members of the Council have been familiar for some time with the clarity and conciseness which have characterized the annual reports of the Administering Authority for Ruanda-Urundi. The members of the Council for the past ten years have also been accustomed to getting detailed information on developments in the daily life of the Territory.

(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet,  
France)

We have thus followed the Territory's political evolution, its economic, cultural and social development on a continuous basis, and we have thus noted how the objectives of the Charter were being fulfilled.

The statements of the representative of Belgium and of the special representative, Mr. Leroy, as well as the comments of the representatives of the specialized agencies and the working papers published by the Secretariat, leave no doubt in our minds as to the constancy and tenacity with which the Administering Power over the past two score years has sought to drag this Territory out of the mediaeval stage in which it found it and to move it to the ideals of well-being and justice of a modern nation.

We now have the direct testimony of our own representatives in the Territory. The Visiting Mission has given us an account of their travelling impressions as well as a summary of developments in Ruanda-Urundi over the past ten years as found in the Belgian authorities' report last year, furnishing the Council with an element of appreciation on which an unbiased judgement can be based, all the more so as the Chairman of the Visiting Mission was our colleague, Ambassador Dorsinville.

Now the first impression noted in this document is that in the political field Ruanda-Urundi finds itself at a turning point in its evolution. In political, economic and social matters progress does not come continuously; it is always discontinuous. It goes by fits and starts. Reforms only give fruit in the long run and then, suddenly, the results appear and blossom forth and become tangible. That is what has been happening in Ruanda-Urundi. In a Territory where important elections took place in 1956, the Visiting Mission was able to measure exactly the road travelled since the signing of the Trusteeship Agreements, the roads travelled towards the objectives of the Charter. This was the establishment of the Vice-Government General in 1947, the introduction in 1949 of the Bami and other notables in this Council. There are the judicial reforms; the reform of the political organization in 1952, the establishment of electoral rolls, the general elections of which I have just spoken, and finally the creation of the General Council in 1957.



(Mr. Kaszciusko-Morizet,  
France)

In the preamble of its report, the Visiting Mission noted that, wishing to avoid any umbrage to a traditional population known for its conservative turn of mind, the Administering Authority for the past forty years has sought to prepare the country slowly, prudently but progressively and with perseverance for profound changes.

According to our representatives on the Visiting Mission, the reforms introduced by the Belgian Government which I have just cited have been the consequence of voluntary deliberation. They were in no case imposed by the pressure of events or of external circumstances.

The alteration of political institutions occurring in 1952, the institution of a hierarchy of indigenous councils, the abandonment of certain vestiges of the feudal regime have fundamentally but progressively altered the political life of the Territory, and the Visiting Mission in its report has not hesitated to declare that these changes are a guarantee of continued favourable development of the country.

Encouraging and laudatory as this judgement may be, it should not hide from us the magnitude of the job still to be done. The Mission considers, and some of the members of the Council have made it clear in their questions to the special representative, that the new atmosphere in the Territory favours a more rapid political pace of political advancement than has been the case in the past.

The rate of adaptation of the traditional elite in Ruanda-Urundi to modern democratic life has increased very much recently. The transition, the passage from a semi-feudal stage to the operation of institutions impregnated with a democratic spirit should, as it has, continue progressively and painlessly.



(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

We know that the Administering Authority seeks to promote the birth of a viable State through the economic and social advancement of the masses and through the political education of this new community, even though this community is still heterogeneous in many respects, regrettable as this may be.

Adult suffrage and direct elections has marked an important stage with which we are familiar through administration of French territories. We should congratulate the Administering Authority for its progress in this domain. If this progress has not been quite as rapid as some would have wished it to be, the development of institutions has nevertheless run along the lines urged by the General Assembly and by the Trusteeship Council over the past few years.

As regards the civil service and the training of indigenous inhabitants especially for administrative posts and posts of authority, the Administering Authority has again earned our praises. Taking account of the wishes of the Council, the Administration has allowed and enabled a growing number of Africans to occupy administrative posts. Though the results so far have been limited, the prospects of which the Belgian representative and the special representative have given us a glimpse have been encouraging in the extreme, and it may well be thought that in the years to come what we call the Africanization of the civil service will continue at an increasing rate of speed.

The Drafting Committee for this chapter of the Council's report on the Territory should be asked to congratulate the Administration for its reforms designed to bring about a more thorough separation of the executive and judicial powers in the Territory. The Visiting Mission noted that a new code of judicial competence and of judicial organizations is about to be promulgated.

This continuing evolution of institutions would have been pointless had it not been coupled with a parallel development of the economy. Here, again, the progress accomplished has been notable. The Visiting Mission has been impressed by the achievements of the past few years, by projects in course and by the vigorous efforts made for the equipment of the Territory. It is a poor territory as far as foodstuffs are concerned and it is saddled with a demographic problem due to a lightning-like expansion of the population. Hence the difficulties encountered by the Administration in securing a profound and systematic change-over of current methods of economic activity and exploitation

(Mr. Kosciuszko-Morizet, France)

of the country's resources. Economic and social advancement surely are inter-connected. Progress in Ruanda-Urundi is based squarely on an improvement of the standard of living of the people and a correlative improvement of social conditions. The statements of the Administering Authority and the observations of representatives of specialized agencies have properly emphasized the need for such a change-over, which will also contribute to balancing public finances.

The wise observations of the special representative in answer to questions on economic conditions have enlightened the Council sufficiently so as to make it unnecessary for me to dwell further on this matter. I wish, however, to note the progress in increasing the resources of Ruanda-Urundi. The report of the Visiting Mission states that coffee is still the chief crop and that the Administration has fostered its extension. This is particularly important since coffee is an export product which will improve the balance of payments of the Territory.

As far as cotton growing is concerned, results have been satisfactory both quantitatively and qualitatively. In the field of power production, the Administration has engaged in a policy which is quite the reverse of timid. Regions capable of industrialization will soon have sufficient cheap electric power at their disposal. There has already been a substantial increase in industrial consumption from 2.5 million to 3.1 million kilowatt hours.

May I mention likewise the considerable efforts made in the educational field, notwithstanding the financial difficulties, which have been emphasized. The Visiting Mission has commented on these efforts; their quality and their social importance are clear.

Inter-racial schooling in various fields of education, not only secondary, bear witness to the liberal spirit which presided over these efforts. To a considerable extent, social transformation and the transformation of ways of life are the hallmarks of Ruanda-Urundi. Hence the great need to register further progress in the educational field.

I am fully alive to the dangers involved in making forecasts on the time required to complete a task which is being prosecuted with vigour and faith. It is a difficult task, a long-range task and a meritorious task in a country whose

(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

economy offers thorny problems. It is a task in which the Administering Power has certainly not been shirking its duty. It has not been seeking egotistic objectives or profits for itself, far from it.

An expert in under-developed countries, Mr. Servoise, has noted that the development of a backward economy in any part of the world, whatever the political regime in the country -- whether it be independent, self-governing, autonomous or under trusteeship -- is hampered by certain geographic factors. Sometimes there are sociological problems concerning insufficient trained personnel. There may be an insalubrious climate which is not propitious for productivity. There are all sorts of difficulties. Notwithstanding substantial external assistance which such Territories as Ruanda-Urundi enjoy, there are no panaceas, there are no universal remedies. There is hard labour which must be adapted to specific conditions. Capital is required; personnel is required; political, social and moral training is required; and this is a tough kind of training. The Administration seems to be fully alive to these difficulties and it is resolved to overcome them with complete disinterestedness. For this, we should pay tribute to it.

I should like to thank the representative of Belgium and the special representative who have made every effort to enlighten us on all aspects of the present situation of this Territory.

The meeting was suspended at 4.10 p.m. and resumed at 4.25 p.m.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): In reading the report of the Administering Authority one gains the impression that all the care and attention of those who drafted that report was focused on not omitting any instance or any occasion for stressing even the imperceptibly positive sides of the life of the Territory. This circumstance has resulted in a shifted perspective and has hampered our paying proper attention to the rather substantial drawbacks in the development of the Territory. The Soviet Union delegation deems it its duty at least partially to correct the situation and to draw the attention of the Council to some aspects of the matter which, in its opinion, are of importance. In so doing, we proceed from the premise that it is the task of the Trusteeship Council not so much to collect separate and frequently uncharacteristic phenomena, but rather to carry out a profound analysis of the situation as a whole in order to make it possible to judge how successfully the tasks of trusteeship are being carried out.

The first point to which we should like to draw attention is that both the report and the answers given by the special representative and the representative of Belgium to questions asked in the Council have again confirmed the view that the Administering Authority regards the Trust Territory as an inseparable and integral part of the Colony of the Congo. It has happened frequently that, in answer to questions on the situation in the Territory, the representatives have used data relating to the Colony. Attempts were even made to prove the beneficent influence of the Colony on the development of the Trust Territory. After that, there will scarcely be anyone who will deny that the Trust Territory and the Colony are being governed on the basis of the same policy. An interesting characterization of this policy is offered by the foreign editor of the Swiss newspaper Neue Zuercher Zeitung, Mr. Schwarenbach, who went on a long journey in the Congo and described it in a series of articles published in his newspaper.

(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

I may add that it would be unjust to suspect this author of any lack of sympathy for the Administering Authority, and there are no grounds for questioning or doubting the dispassionate and objective nature of his conclusions.

Dwelling on the policy carried out by the Administering Authority and by Europeans living in the colony, the author, Mr. Schwarenbach, notes that they would like to insulate the Congo hermetically so as to make it possible to continue to use it as a model economic enterprise. That is why, the author goes on to say, they are so frightened by the possibility of the penetration of "harmful" ideas or experimentation, and they see a danger in the penetration of such ideas coming from the Upper Nile region. As far as the indigenous population is concerned, it turns out that it does not even know anything about it, and it has no opportunities for expressing its views. The majority, even those who are literate, are so naive that they believe everything as it is fed to them. After all this, the author draws this important conclusion:

"The whole system leads to the situation that among the indigenous inhabitants there is not a stratum which, in respect of organizational and leadership positions, could even partially fill the political vacuum if the Belgian Congo, despite all political prophylactic measures, were to be infected at some time by the virus of African nationalism."

It would be difficult to characterize more concisely and strikingly the substance of a policy which is prosecuted both with regard to the colony and with regard to the Trust Territory. In the light of this policy, the whole picture of the situation in the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi becomes clearer. It is small wonder that political advancement in the Territory is marked by its slowness, inasmuch as the Territory is essentially designed to be used as an economic enterprise.

Here, and here alone, may be found the answer to the question as to why the recommendation of the General Assembly for the establishment of a definitive time-limit and intermediate planned and scheduled dates for the attainment of the objectives of the Trusteeship System is being rejected so obdurately and so consistently.



(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

Let us note the passage in the explanatory memorandum of the Council of Ruanda in which it is stated that fear of what may happen upon the termination of the Trusteeship System causes dread among those who would like to invest their capital in Ruanda-Urundi. This testimony complements the picture. If, in respect of the definitive time-limit, the Administering Authority fears that in its zeal it may make some error and lead the Territory to independence more swiftly than the previously established schedule, and therefore wishes to avoid setting any such time-limit, then what prevents it from instituting intermediate time-limits or deadlines, such as a time-limit or a schedule for the introduction of universal suffrage, for the establishment of representative legislative and executive organs, and so forth? Why not do at least that?

In answer to this suggestion, it was asserted here quite recently that the indigenous population is so backward that it is inconceivable that it would avail itself of its right to vote if that right were granted. But now that the attempt to carry out elections to the councils of the sub-districts with the participation of the indigenous population has been made, and now that the indigenous population has demonstrated that it fully understands and is entirely capable of coping with its obligations as voters, what can still justify this extraordinary slowness in the development of an electoral system, that slowness which has been the hallmark of the situation in the Territory for some time?

It is proper to recall in this connexion that the Administering Authority has some experience which it has garnered in the recent municipal elections in the Congo, and these elections demonstrated clearly that the indigenous population fully understands the mechanism of elections. It may have been somewhat surprising to the Administering Authority that in these elections the overwhelming majority voted in favour of the advocates of immediate independence. But, at all events, this will surely not be regarded as a legitimate argument against the introduction of universal suffrage.

As is well known, legislative organs in the Territory are conspicuous by their absence. The legislative function is held solely by Belgium. Like the previous Council of the Vice-Governor-General, the present General Council is an exclusively advisory organ. But, as is noted in the explanatory paper of the Council of Ruanda, even the advisory functions of the existing councils are little better than illusory. The repeated recommendations of the Trusteeship



A Council, calling for the expansion of the functions of the General Council with a view to transforming it into a legislative organ within a brief period of time, have been ignored by the Administering Authority. The impression arises that the Administering Authority has firmly committed itself to maintaining and supporting the old feudal traditions, hampering democratic reforms that would secure the swift political advancement and development of the indigenous population.

(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

As we have had occasion to note, this policy harmonizes fully with the plans of the Administering Authority to carry out the unification of the Trust Territory with the Congo and with Belgium under a single crown. But this annexationist policy has nothing in common with the purposes and objectives of the Trusteeship System.

In the realm of economic development of the Territory the period under consideration was characterized by an intensification of trends the danger of which has been repeatedly brought out in the Council. First of all, everyone, including the Administering Authority, has noted the soaring budget deficit. This sad fact reflects the economic policy carried out by the Administering Authority, the purpose of which is further to cement the dependent condition of the Territory. This also is reflected in the Territory's budget as if it were in a mirror. An analysis of the budget indicates that the attention of the Administering Authority is focussed on the building of roads, harbour facilities and airfields. No attention is given to the development of industry -- especially those branches of industry with which the independent existence of the country would be inseparably connected.

The picture is a familiar one -- a typical picture of a colonial economy. The development of the Territory is clearly based on foreign interests rather than on the needs of the indigenous population. Is it necessary to repeat the evident proof that the building of roads, ports and airfields is designed further to intensify the exploitation of the Trust Territory? All of this is designed to facilitate the intensified export from the Territory of raw materials and agricultural produce, and this, in turn, is marked by the intensified fostering of the single crop production of coffee.

It is characteristic that this purely colonial approach to the economic development of the Territory is attended by lengthy, demagogic considerations in favour of the necessity of the industrialization of the country. We say "demagogic considerations" advisedly because they have nothing in common with practical reality, nor are they coupled with any practical deeds. In reality the Governor has repeatedly stated that the only road to salvation for this over-populated country is the utilization of the vast hydroelectric resources of the Territory and its industrialization on the basis of the development of cheap electric power. This is a perfectly unquestionable conclusion, but it would be significant only if it were taken into account in the Territory's

(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

development plans. That does not happen to be the case. The utilization of hydroelectric power so far is relegated to plans on paper and to constantly changing drafts.

The special representative, in answer to the relevant question, declared that the building of the first hydroelectric power station in the Kuzizi valley, with an output of 20 kilowatts, will completely satisfy all the needs of the Territory, and that there is no need to plan for an expanded construction of such power stations. In answer to this statement one need only recall that the Governor himself has declared that such views are unbelievable and erroneous.

If the Territory is seriously to be expected to take the broad highway of independence then it is necessary swiftly to see to it that the main trump cards which it has, and which the Governor has mentioned, are played in the immediate future. If this is to be done then another industrialization policy is in order. As the Governor himself put it, profound and systematic modifications in the methods of the exploitation of the natural resources of the country would be called for. And to this we might add that what would also be required is a radical alteration in the entire approach to the problem of the development of the country towards the swift attainment of independence.

In examining the economic situation of the country one must, time and again, revert to the burdensome link which is forcibly foisted upon it, and it is easy to see that here I am referring to the link between the Territory and the colony of the Congo. We have already dwelt on the consequences of the administrative union between the Territory and the colony, and we have shown that it bodes no good and has no good effects so far as concerns the political development of Ruanda-Urundi. I must now dwell on the harmful consequence of the customs union between Ruanda-Urundi and the Congo. The opinion of the Budgetary Commission of the General Council to the effect that Ruanda-Urundi has had great losses as the result of this union -- losses to be counted in hundreds of thousands of francs -- is of interest. The General Council has declared that the customs and financial union between the Territory and the Congo hampers the establishment of a separate budget for Ruanda-Urundi, and that this is the root of the profound difficulties experienced in respect of the Territory's finances.

(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

I can give another example of the consequences of the policy of unifying the Territory with the colony under the roof of foreign monopolies. I have in mind the fact that part of the resources of the Coffee Equalization Fund is invested in Congo loans. Is it not paradoxical that foreign loans are received by the Territory in burdensome conditions while at the same time the resources of the Territory are invested in loans of the neighbouring colony in conditions which are surely less favourable?

The agricultural situation was studied by us in some detail at the last session of the Council. During the year that has elapsed since then there have been no substantial changes, and all that remains for us to do is to reaffirm our previous recommendations. We do wish, however, to make some comments on the question of land use in the Territory. As is known, the Visiting Mission considers that the land use system is one of the chief problems of Ruanda-Urundi which calls for a solution. It is difficult to question this conclusion of the Visiting Mission. In addition to the complexity of the land use system, which in turn occasions many difficulties in the development of agriculture at large, the practice of alienation of land has not yet been halted. In this connexion the Soviet delegation deems it essential for the Council in its recommendations to assign proper emphasis to this question and again urge the Administering Authority and the Committee for the Economic Development of Rural Areas immediately to carry out studies in this field in accordance with the relevant resolution of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

In examining the economic situation in the Territory, one cannot ignore so important a circumstance as the inclusion of the Trust Territory in the so-called European Economic Community. This move by the Administering Authority was carried out without eliciting the views of the population of the Territory. It was carried out behind the backs of the United Nations and it should surely be discountenanced. It spells the establishment of a unified front of West European Powers in Africa which is pitted against the growing unity of the African peoples in their struggle for independence. Through concessions at the expense of colonies and Trust Territories, the Administering Powers obtain mutual support, including support on the part of West German concerns.

The common front of the colonizers is thus designed to hamper and prevent the disintegration of the colonial system. It is designed not only to make more difficult the emancipation of the peoples of colonies and Trust Territories, but it creates a serious threat to those people which have already obtained political independence in Africa. The inclusion of Trust Territories in the European Economic Community runs counter to the preamble of Article 73 of the Charter, especially paragraph (a), as well as Article 76 of the Charter, in as much as this inclusion surely will slow down the economic development of the Trust Territory.

It is indubitable that the elimination of customs restrictions will squelch the weakly-developed local industries of the Territory definitively and for good, or rather, it will make it die a-borning, whereas it is not yet born. The inclusion of the Trust Territories in the Common Market Treaty is a unilateral violation of the Trusteeship Agreements. This is a step which was carried out without the Africans and against the Africans and therefore should be regarded as null and void.

A study of the reports of the Administering Authority and of the Visiting Mission leaves us disconsolate as to the social development of the Territory as well. As the Visiting Mission has noted, the economic level or standard of living of the indigenous population is still dismally low and a gulf separates it from the Europeans. The poor development of industrialization creates a serious problem for securing some gainful employment for the bulk of the population.



(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

Now as before tens of thousands of the indigenous inhabitants carry out an exodus from the Territory in search of work in other Territories and colonies. During the period under consideration the number of such inhabitants reached about 50,000. At the same time there has been a considerable influx of Europeans into the Territory, their numbers over the past ten years having increased by a factor of 3.5. The situation, unfortunately, is rendered even more alarming by numerous manifestations of racial discrimination and racial strife.

The Visiting Mission has quite properly attached great attention to the problem of racial relations. Whatever one may call numerous instances of racial discrimination, whether there be new or old aspects of this problem, it still remains one of the most alarming problems causing concern to the indigenous population. If, as the Visiting Mission notes, many indigenous inhabitants still labour under the impression that racial discrimination in one form or another still remains a very widespread phenomenon, then we cannot shirk the duty of analysing the resulting situation rigorously. If this impression mentioned by the Visiting Mission is widespread, then surely there are some reasons for it and these reasons should be revealed and exposed and, if possible, eliminated.

We do not dispute the view of the Visiting Mission to the effect that the Administering Authority is not consciously engaged in a policy of racial discrimination. But at the same time justice requires us to note that the Administering Authority has failed to display sufficient resoluteness in rooting out existing discrimination. Even the most crude manifestations of racial discrimination expressed in such phenomena as the curfew and corporal punishment, even these manifestations clearly are carried out under the wing of the Administering Authority. Nothing will justify the retention of these ugly survivals of the past. The Visiting Mission cites many instances of complaints by indigenous inhabitants to discrimination in the courts, in the field of freedom of assembly and association, in the field of medical services, education etc.

Whatever mitigating circumstances may be listed to account for these instances of discrimination, the fact remains the fact: the indigenous population runs into racial discrimination or limitations at every step. Is not the indigenous



(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

inhabitant entitled to regard it as racial discrimination when, in order to defend his interests in court, he must rely entirely on an interpreter who may regard the interests of the indigenous inhabitant who avails himself of his services as entirely indifferent? Even an accidental instance of negligence or a lapse on the part of the interpreter can do great harm to the indigenous inhabitant. Let any European imagine himself in the shoes of the indigenous inhabitant and he will understand how humiliating the situation is altogether.

Are not the indigenous inhabitants entitled to speak of the existence of racial discrimination when the existing judicial system is designed to prevent the extension to the indigenous population of those advantages which are involved, for example, in the remission of the execution of sentences? Relations between the principal groups of the African population continue to be poisoned by hostility and racial strife and, unfortunately, the Administering Authority has so far done little to eliminate this sad situation.

Speaking of the racial situation in the Territory, one must in particular dwell on the situation of the Batwa people who are in a situation which is incredible in the twentieth century. This people, which as a result of its own grievous experience has acquired particular caution in relations with Europeans and others, requires particular solicitude and care. They have not yet been touched even by the entirely inadequate reform and measures of a social and economic character which have been carried out in the Trust Territory. Albeit small and insignificant in numbers, it must be cared for. Solicitude must be displayed, and it might be properly said that particularly for these reasons the solicitude shown to these people should be all the greater. These problems of the social advancement of the Territory are directly connected with the problem of national education.

At previous sessions, the Council noted a number of changes in the field of primary education, even while pointing to poor conditions as regards secondary and higher education. The period under consideration has brought no change for the better. The reports of the Visiting Mission and of UNESCO even speak of some deterioration in the educational field. Two-thirds of the children of school age receive no primary education whatever. Schools higher than the first level are attended by less than 1 per cent of the total number of children in the age group 13 to 19. During the period under consideration, the rate of attrition has increased. During the period 1952-1955, 27 children per 1,000 attending school reached the sixth grade, while during the period under review only 18 children per 1,000 reached the sixth grade.

Now as before the dominating role in the education of the indigenous population belongs to the religious missions. The low level of instruction in these schools has been mentioned time and again, but the situation remains unchanged. The uncontrolled activities of religious missions in schools cannot fail to cause alarm. The low level of the training of teachers in religious mission schools has been repeatedly mentioned in the reports of UNESCO.

As is well known, the Administering Authority accounts for the special role assigned to religious missions by the fact that they are cheap. However, the report of the Visiting Mission indicates that the activities of the religious missions cannot be justified even on those grounds, since more than 80 per cent of expenditures for these schools are also supported by the budget for the Territory, while the salaries of the teaching personnel are paid entirely out of the budget of the Territory.

As we already noted, the Administering Authority pays special attention to schools with a European curriculum. These schools enjoy special conditions. In these schools the budget not only pays for scholarships but also for travelling expenses involved in an annual trip to Belgium. But these schools in practice are not assigned to the indigenous population. Only twenty-eight indigenous boys and two indigenous girls from the entire Territory are admitted to these schools. Only those indigenous children who speak French and have an education equivalent to that of European children of the same age are admitted into these schools. One may ask: How can an indigenous inhabitant hope to acquire that level of instruction if he does not occupy a special situation or status in the feudal hierarchy.

so fully supported by the Administering Authority? Any changes in training specialists with higher education among the indigenous inhabitants can be sought for in vain. So far there are no such people in the Territory. They have yet to occupy even one important post in the Administration.

The members of the Council have heard how the special representative, in reply to a question of the representative of Syria, stated a long list of difficulties which an African faces in trying to reach any sort of post with authority. As has been clearly stated, not one indigenous inhabitant has so far succeeded in overcoming these hurdles or in being able to get through this sort of purgatory.

The representatives of Belgium and of the Administering Authority have made signal efforts to represent the stream of European immigrants as so much enrichment of the Territory in terms of trained personnel and material values. Without engaging in an analysis of the grounds and motives for this stream, one may properly ask when the time will come when the Territory will begin to be enriched by its own trained African personnel. May it not happen that in the future the trained African personnel will have missed the bus, since all jobs will be occupied for good by European agents of the Administering Authority and by agents of foreign companies? This danger is a real one, since it flows directly from the general policy of the Administering Authority. This danger, like certain other dangers, is enhanced by the circumstance that in practice the activity of political organizations, trade unions and a free Press are forbidden in the Territory. There is not a free Press or any organization that could properly express the aspirations of the indigenous population.

The special representative sought to dispute the information found in the report of the Visiting Mission to the effect that there was no indigenous free Press in the Territory, while the European Press was not only free but it may be said that it abuses its freedom by seeking to pit some against others. The additional explanations of the Chairman of the Visiting Mission leave no doubt on that score as to the justice of this conclusion. How can one even speak in terms of any free indigenous Press when everything published in the Territory is in the hands of the Catholic missions or is completely dependent financially on the bounty of European companies? It is unquestionable that this sort of Press merely fulfils the social commands of those quarters to which it belongs, and it belongs body and soul to European missions and companies.

(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

As a result of the consideration of the situation in the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, the delegation of the Soviet Union deems it essential to urge that the Council should recommend strongly to the Administering Authority that it should take swift measures for the rapid attainment of independence by the Territory, that the Administering Authority moreover should swiftly implement the resolution of the General Assembly which calls for the establishment of time-limits regarding the fulfilment of this task. As a first step in this direction, representative, legislative and executive organs should be created as rapidly as possible in the Territory. Moreover, universal suffrage should be instituted.

Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom): The consideration by the Council of conditions in Ruanda-Urundi this year has been very greatly assisted by the report of the Visiting Mission, presided over by my friend, the representative of Haiti. This report is a most penetrating analysis of the situation in the Territory. It is an exceedingly stimulating document, and I am sure that it will receive the closest possible attention in the Territory itself.

If I may be forgiven for saying so, no one who read this balanced and carefully written and prepared report could possibly have believed that he was listening to a statement about the same Territory when he was listening to the speech which we have just heard. Vilifications of the motives of Administering Authorities, in my opinion, do nothing to promote the advancement of the peoples of these Territories or the attainment of the objectives of the Trusteeship System.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

In this world we do not expect to find everything black or everything white, everyone of one colour or another. Usually it is found that human affairs reside somewhere in between the two, and attempts by anybody to suggest to the contrary usually, in my opinion, defeat their own objects. Let us try to return to a world of reality from what seemed to me, I must say, a world of "Alice through the looking glass".

I have had the very great benefit during the last eighteen months of visiting the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi in a private capacity. Indeed, I arranged to do so as soon as I heard that I was coming to sit on the Trusteeship Council. I was fortunate enough through the courtesy of the Vice-Governor-General, my friend, Mr. Harroy to travel from one end of the Territory to the other, from Nyanza-Lac in Urundi to Ruhengeri and Kisenyi in the north end of Ruanda.

I was received most courteously by the two .ami and was able to see some of the splendid traditions of these two States in the dances and music with which the Bami are accustomed to receive visitors. I was able to see many other things during this journey, and some of them I may have occasion to refer to during the course of the few remarks which I should like to make.

I came away from this Territory with two vivid impressions. First, the great promise and potentiality of the people of the Territory and the great moves forward which they are now making under the guidance and leadership of the Belgian Administration. Secondly, the remarkable work which is being done by Belgian administrators and many other Belgian people working in Ruanda-Urundi. And I would say that anyone who says the contrary is speaking remotely from the facts.

Of course, the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi in some respects stands out perhaps beyond any other territories in tropical Africa as having special practical problems of the most acute difficulty. The overpopulation which exists in Ruanda-Urundi is due to a number of natural causes and is not -- I say it with all respect to my friend, the representative of the Soviet Union, on my left -- due to the wickedness of colonial administration. It is a fact with which the people of the Territory and the Belgian Administration have to deal, and it is a thing which cannot be solved by words, however eloquent. It can



(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

only be solved by hard practical work, by the application of scientific knowledge and, above all, by the closest possible co-operation between the governing authorities and the people of the Territory.

Now in the annual report with which we have to deal and in the report of the Visiting Mission to which I have already referred, we can see quite clearly the description of the work which is going forward. The problems of the Territory, the practical problems, the unescapable practical problems have been clearly analysed both by the Administering Authority and the Visiting Mission. And who can doubt that the Visiting Mission has done this with the utmost impartiality? These problems also have been discussed in this Council on a number of occasions, and the members of the Council are well aware of them. We also have the benefit of the fullest possible information of the steps being taken by the Government and the Administering Authority. There is no doubt that the most important of these practical problems are related to the land, to land use and agriculture and to the raising of cattle. But before coming to the subject of land, I would like to make one or two general observations with regard to the social structure within the Territory, and particularly the relationship between the Bahutu and the Batutsi.

We have annexed to the Visiting Mission's report two documents, one described as a manifesto of the Bahutu and another as a statement of views by the High Council of Ruanda. One does not need necessarily to agree with everything that is said in these two documents to describe them as remarkable and interesting statements of two different points of view, statements which deserve careful study. It has become very clear during the Council's question period that the barriers which for generations have distinguished in certain respects but not absolutely, as had been explained, the Batutsi and the Bahutu are beginning to break down. We hear, for example, that the High Council of Urundi contains three Bahutu and that a Mahutu Chief has been appointed. These may be small things, but they are a clear pointer. Furthermore, it became clear during the questioning period that the Bahutu are increasingly demanding and increasingly receiving the fruits of education. We can certainly expect that the results of the education programme over the past twelve years, a continually expanding and improving effort, will make a very considerable contribution indeed to the disappearance of the existing social barriers. This point has been very



(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

clearly made by the special representative in various replies to questions. I do not wish to underestimate or to appear to underestimate the grave difficulties which in any part of the world, whether dependent or independent, must attend most efforts to break down social barriers which have been entrenched for generations. But I think it is quite clear from the papers before us and from the exchange of question and answers which we have heard during the past few days that the prospects now are good in the Trust Territory.

Now the Administering Authority is of course in a powerful position to influence this salutary evolution in the right direction by the measures which it takes, and it must be most encouraging to the Council to have heard from the replies given by the representative of Belgium and the special representative that this is the policy which the Administering Authority is pursuing. But, and I would emphasize this point, the solution must lie even more and perhaps fundamentally in the hands of the inhabitants of the Territory themselves.

There is every hope that the younger generation will increasingly recognize the inevitability of the complete fusion in the end of the two social strata in the Trust Territory. The increasing educational effort and the emergence of a larger and larger educated class perhaps provides the best hope of all in this particular vital evolution in the Territory.

(Sir Andrew Cohen,  
United Kingdom)

May I now turn to economic problems, and first to the problems of the land.  
The Visiting Mission in paragraph 117 of its report writes as follows:

"... the Mission would like to record the favourable impression it formed in the Territory of the extent of the Administering Authority's efforts, the spectacular achievements of recent years and the work now in progress."

(T/1346, p. 52)

We heard nothing of remarks of this sort in the speech which my friend from the Soviet Union has just made.

As a humble visitor to the Territory a short time before, I got very much the same impression. I was able to visit some of the remarkable practical experiments which are taking place in the attempts to solve these extremely difficult land problems. There are the experiments known as the paysannats; the secteur-pilote; the work of INEAC, the remarkable agricultural institution which operates not only in Ruanda but also in the Belgian Congo and which is not, in my view, in any way contaminated by the fact that it is not simply confined to the Trust Territory. I also visited IRSAC, the social research institute which, of course, has a very important task to perform in the study of these problems of land utilization because, without the study of the human side there can be no solution of these problems. I spent considerable time with the Vice-Governor General who has the great advantage of a deep scientific knowledge of his own and who has devoted himself to these problems of the land, problems which, as we all know, are at the basis of the whole economic problem of the Territory.

I do not think that any impartial person who has studied what is being done can doubt two things: one, that the problems are of extreme difficulty and cannot be solved by any possible means except over a long period; and two that quite extraordinary human and material efforts are being made by the Belgian administration in co-operation with the chiefs and people to tackle these vital problems.

I also saw the remarkable coffee industry, the industry which has brought cash to peasant farmers all over Ruanda-Urundi. It is remarkable both for its growth and for the efficiency with which farming operations are conducted. Why is it that if, through great efforts and to the great benefit of the people,

(Sir Andrew Cohen,  
United Kingdom)

one introduces and extends an industry such as this, one is immediately accused of the crime of monoculture?

It was extremely interesting to hear from the special representative that steps are being taken --, I think in the northern part of the Territory -- to develop the tea industry. Experience in some neighbouring British Territories has shown that tea is a promising crop for the conditions of this particular part of Africa. Because of the immense progressive increase in tea-drinking which must be anticipated from the inhabitants of Africa and, we hope, also, from the inhabitants of other parts of the world, tea is a sound investment. The important thing here, I believe, is to find means of making tea, to some extent at any rate, into a peasant crop. Having had some experience of the planning of this particular process in a neighbouring Territory, I fully realize its practical difficulties. But I was interested to hear from the special representative that this was being thought of. If it succeeds, it will not only be greatly to the benefit of the people of Ruanda-Urundi, but will be most valuable as a stimulus and an example to people working in neighbouring Territories.

It is also necessary to refer briefly to the subject of cattle. There is over-population of cattle in parts of Ruanda-Urundi and, as recorded on page 71 of the Visiting Mission's report, expert opinion has pronounced itself in favour of a programme designed to deal with this problem. But every expert who has tried to deal with the problem of over-stocking in African Territories knows that it is easy to sit in an office or a council chamber and enjoin people to do this, but that it is a matter of extreme difficulty and possible danger to put the programme into operation in the field.

I think that the matter is very clearly dealt with in the subsequent paragraphs of the Visiting Mission's report. Paragraph 185 refers to the study which is taking place of "the intensity with which grazing land is used." Paragraph 186 explains that "the Administration has concentrated on stimulating meat consumption to improve the organization of markets."

In paragraph 189 reference is made to a statement by the Governor, as follows:

(Sir Andrew Cohen,  
United Kingdom)

"... the Governor spoke of efforts made and to be made to assist the indigenous population in better protecting their cattle against disease, in improving selection and feeding and in understanding the true economic importance of the cattle, whether for dairy or meat. The success of this veritable crusade, the Governor concluded, might mean a decisive advance in the country's economy." (T/1346, pp. 72 and 73)

The Mission concludes as follows:

"The Mission wishes it could be optimistic; it tends rather to believe that a long road lies ahead, before a potential wealth, inherently dangerous because of over-stocking, can be transformed into a real and productive wealth." (Ibid., p. 73)

I think that most members of the Council will probably agree with the very moderately worded conclusion.

May I go on to refer to a subject of particular interest to me and to my delegation, namely, the emergence of an African middle class. I was particularly interested to hear what the special representative had to say on this subject in reply to some questions.

I believe that in the sphere of transportation, where we understand that a considerable transport industry owned by Africans in the Territory is developing and also in retail trade, there is much to be done. I thought I detected in the answers given to me by the representative of Belgium and the special representative a certain feeling that it is difficult and possibly dangerous for Government to intervene in these operations. If I may be permitted to say so, I do not entirely agree with this view. I believe that in the special conditions in these Territories it is necessary for Government to play a perhaps more active part than it would in some other parts of the world. I was rather encouraged in this belief while I was serving in a neighbouring Territory by a request from the Director-General of Economic Affairs in the Congo to send one of my advisers who was particularly concerned with this to I think it was the Congo to discuss the problems involved with some of the Belgian officers concerned.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

I believe that something positive can be done in this field, and I believe that special arrangements may be necessary for dealing with the problem of credit to Africans. Ordinary banking arrangements may not be sufficient, and it may be possible for Governments to devise measures suited to the circumstances of the people concerned. I think that this is a subject which, if I may venture to say so, in the conditions of Ruanda-Urundi, may be deserving of careful study.

I am sure that the emergence of a propertied African middle class with a stake in ordered progress is of extreme importance in the evolution of the territory of Ruanda-Urundi, and I would remind members of the Council that it is always from the middle class that the movements for progress have begun.

I cannot leave the subject of economic development without some reference to industrialization. I feel that there is too great a tendency in some quarters to theorize on this subject and to assume that industrialization is good in all circumstances, even if it would impose an economic millstone round the neck of particular Territories. I myself believe that industrialization is a desirable process, but I do not believe that it can be quickly or easily pursued; and the documents which we have in front of us regarding Ruanda-Urundi seem to me to support that view. The main task of Governments in this field of economic development must be, first of all, to provide basic economic services; and by that I mean proper communications, proper water supplies and proper electric power services. These are things which Governments can do and which are necessary to industrial development. And, as we see from the papers in front of us, it is quite clear that these things are being done with great efficiency and at great financial cost by the Belgian Administration. The Belgian Government is, we understand, investing by means of loans something like \$8 million a year. And why is it that if an Administering Authority spends large sums of money in a Territory, it is criticized? If it fails to spend large sums of money, it is criticized. If it spends large sums of money, we are told that this is increasing the dependence of the territory on the Metropole. You cannot have it both ways.

As far as the provision of electric power is concerned, a good deal is said in the Visiting Mission's report. A previous speaker quoted a statement by the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi on this subject but said that it was no use making



(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

speeches in favour of provisional electric power if practical action was not taken. The reference to the speech appears in paragraph 204 of the Visiting Mission's report. Paragraph 205 reads as follows:

"The Mission was therefore glad to learn that a hydro-electric plant, which is under construction on the Ruzizi river, will be supplying Usumbura by December 1958, and, unless the plans for the construction of the Taruka plant are delayed, the chief mining areas of Ruanda will also have a source of power in August 1959."

The Visiting Mission's report goes on to record the very large increase which has taken place recently in the consumption of electric power in the Territory. The Mission was not able -- and I can well understand this -- to make many practical suggestions for the industrialization of the Territory, but, generally speaking, it commended the action which was being taken. It fully supported the view of Mr. Harroy that the Territory should proceed resolutely along the path of industrialization, and it expressed the hope that this industrialization would take place. I doubt whether, in this Council, having received this report of the Visiting Mission, we can go very much further than that.

Finally, may I say something about education. There is no doubt that in a Territory such as Ruanda-Urundi, the emergence from the educational system of ~~highly educated young men and women~~ -- young men and women capable of playing their part in all the different fields of public life: in administration, in councils, in the professions, and in economic development -- is and must be as important as anything in the whole process of the evolution of the Territory towards the objectives of the Trusteeship System, namely, self-government or independence. There is no doubt also that remarkable steps are being taken by the Belgian Administration. We read in particular that 22 per cent of the Territory's revenue is going to education. That, I believe, is a very high percentage indeed. The Visiting Mission speaks in paragraph 292 of its report of the enormous task which faces the Territory in expanding education, and it is clear from the Visiting Mission's report that the members of the Mission had some anxiety on this subject; but I am sure that they would agree with my view that remarkable steps are now being taken and it is difficult to see how much more than a quarter of the Territory's revenue could be devoted to this subject.



(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

Clearly, in the realm of secondary education there is much to be done in Ruanda-Urundi, and if one examines the problems of some neighbouring Territories -- one of which we shall be discussing later in this session -- one will find that there also much remains to be done. But in all these Territories now very rapid progress is being made. During the course of the year under review the agricultural and veterinary faculty, or the start of that, of the University of Elisabethville was opened at Astrida -- I venture to think, an extremely important step in the general progress of the Territory.

If it is true that, at the present time, the number of people from Ruanda-Urundi who are actually receiving higher education, whether inside the Territory or in the Belgian Congo or overseas, is relatively small, yet it is apparent that, from the progress of secondary education, this number will rapidly increase; and this is confirmed by what we have heard from the special representative's replies to questions.

We have read in the statement of UNESCO a very interesting statement which has contributed much to our discussion of this aspect of the progress of the Territory. We have also read in the report of the Visiting Mission of the particular concern attached to teacher training. We have had a number of questions on this subject and we have heard from the representative of the Administering Authority of the action being taken to develop teacher training. My delegation attaches very considerable importance to this subject and we are confident that there will be a steady development in this field.

(Sir Andrew Cohen, United Kingdom)

My delegation would also attach considerable importance to the task of increasing the number of indigenous persons in the higher ranges of the civil service, and we have heard from the special representative that, with the growth of secondary education and of higher education, and with the increasing stream of educated people who will thus become available, it is certainly to be expected that there will be a steady increase of indigenous people in the Territorial civil service. We shall watch this progress with great interest.

May I take this opportunity of expressing the warm appreciation of my delegation to the representative of the ILO for the statement which he was good enough to make the other day to the Council. This, I appreciate, went very much wider than the affairs of one Territory, and I think that it was of great benefit to the Council to have this statement before it. We shall certainly look forward to similar statements in the future.

Finally, may I express, on behalf of my delegation, our warm thanks to the representative of Belgium and to the special representative for their initial statements and for their very lucid and full and patient replies to the questions which we put to them -- questions which, certainly in my case, occasionally suffered from being too general in character. We have listened to these replies with the greatest interest, and they have contributed very materially to our discussions.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The representative of the Soviet Union has asked for the floor. With the consent of the Council, I shall call on him.

Mr. LOBANOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): In connexion with some statements made by the representative of the United Kingdom, I wish to offer a few brief comments.

The representative of the United Kingdom spoke here of his personal impressions garnered in the course of a brief stopover in the Territory on his way to New York. But it appeared to me that he was chiefly concerned with the dances performed for the entertainment of African kings, and his conclusions do not go far beyond what is suggested by this experience.

(Mr. Lobanov, USSR)

I know that the representative of the United Kingdom surely has broad personal colonial experience, and he may find it personally difficult to avoid looking at the situation in the Trust Territory through rose-coloured glasses, and his statement in the Council today gave evidence of this shortcoming. This will also probably account for the phenomenal fact that he found no grounds for criticism of the situation in the Territory when he read the report of the Visiting Mission. We hope that he will depart from this attitude when we study the materials supplied by the Visiting Mission in connexion with, let us say, the Territory of Tanganyika.

As far as the Soviet delegation is concerned, it has another approach to the Territory and conditions therein and to the tasks of the Trusteeship System. We proceed, first of all, from an analysis of the conditions in which the people in the Trust Territory live. With this as a basic premise, we find ample grounds for what, to put it mildly, may well be regarded as a critical appraisal of conditions in the Territory. It goes without saying that, were we to act otherwise, we would be false to our own consciences and to the tasks which the United Nations has assigned to the operation of the Trusteeship System as a whole.

Mr. SEARS (United States of America): My delegation has listened with a great deal of interest to what the representative of the United Kingdom has just said about Ruanda-Urundi. For many years he has been a very progressive, a very liberal, Governor of a neighbouring Territory during some very trying times. I think he has made a great contribution to this debate.

The United States delegation wishes to congratulate the Belgian Government for what it is accomplishing for the people of Ruanda-Urundi. It is doing a splendid job, as anybody who has ever been there must agree.

We also want Ambassador Dorsinville and his Visiting Mission to know that we think their report on the Territory is excellent. It is a very penetrating document, which should be widely studied.

As to conditions in the Territory, we believe that its economic, social and educational affairs are being skilfully directed by the Belgian authorities. The chief problem is lack of land: there is not enough land to support the people. And there are very few industries. To complicate matters, the present population of four million is increasing so rapidly that it may double in thirty years.

(Mr. Sears, United States)

We hope that industrialization will be the ultimate answer and that it will absorb the energies of the people. But this will take time. Meanwhile, it is inevitable that the surplus population will continue to flow over into the adjoining Territories of Uganda and the Belgian Congo, where there is more room and more opportunity for employment. And there is nothing wrong with this: these people have to eat somewhere. Neither will this emigration of people importantly affect the political development of the country. In 1954, the Visiting Mission was afraid that political progress in the Territory was out of line with progress in many other parts of Africa. The members of the Mission thought that the future stability of the Territory would be better safeguarded if too big a gap between the political development of Ruanda-Urundi and other Territories could be avoided. Whether or not these fears were justified at the time, they do not apply today because, in the last three years, the Territory has undertaken very fundamental political progress. The principal achievement has been the setting up of election machinery so that the electoral college, which elects the sub-chiefdom councils, could be directly chosen under a system of universal male suffrage. It is most encouraging that, when the elections for these colleges were held in 1956, as many as 75 per cent of the eligible voters participated. It is interesting to note that, in nominating the lists of electors, a very large number of voters also voted for themselves. This shows a high degree of political interest by the voters and is an excellent sign for the future.

We are also glad that the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi hopes that the electoral college may be abolished in 1959, so that the sub-chiefdom councils may be directly elected by the people. When this happens, it is altogether likely that the Bahutu, who greatly outnumber the Batutsi in the electoral colleges, will exercise a major influence in the sub-chiefdom councils.

Furthermore, the ratio between sub-chiefdom and full chiefdom councils is fifteen to one. This means that the Bahutu, who form the vast majority of the population, are on the verge of dramatically increasing their political power in relation to their traditional overlords, the Batutsi. By this one act of organizing direct elections for the electoral colleges, the **Administration** has established the essential foundation for political democracy in Ruanda-Urundi.



(Mr. Sears, United States)

Taking the picture as a whole, the United States delegation is not concerned with the fact that the various councils of the Territory are at present elected by indirect vote or that their opinions are mainly advisory. Direct elections to all councils and full legislative responsibility will come in time -- there is no doubt about that. The important fact is that the time consuming process of establishing the voting lists and installing election machinery is out of the way, and that the people are training themselves in the use of the ballot. From now on the extension of political responsibility, based on the elective process, can be organized without delay. In other words, the Administering Authority now has a high degree of flexibility in controlling the speed and direction of political progress. It could speed things up or slow them down according to its best judgement and the wishes of the people.

It is most important for the Administration to have this kind of control because of the possible reactions in the Territory to the political events which are almost certain to take place in Africa in the immediate period ahead. During this period a number of large and highly populated territories are expected to become self-governing, and the consequences will undoubtedly be felt far and wide. Last year, it was independence for Ghana. Soon it will be independence for Nigeria, not to mention the prospects for self-government in three or four Trust Territories, and this is only part of the story.

In fact, when history is written it is likely to note that we are today in the middle of a concentrated era which marks the high point of African advance into self-government. Before we know it only a diminishing minority of Africans will remain under non-African rule, unless a new and subversive control begins to take its place. We trust that the new nations will remain alert to this danger. The early years of self-government are almost always very difficult. We hope, however, that these nations will be given a decent chance to build up their strength and protect their freedoms.

At all events, Africa is on the move, and, while certain areas may be unable to keep pace, the United States delegation respects the long experience of the Belgian administrators and is confident of their ability to cope with the changing times.

(Mr. Sears, United States)

In conclusion, my delegation would like to thank the representative of Belgium and the special representative for the patience and courtesy which they have shown, and which they always show, in replying to the questions submitted by members of the Council.

Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom): If it will send my friend from the Soviet Union home happy, I might assure him that I spent less than an hour looking at dancing in Ruanda-Urundi, and a number of days studying the practical problems.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.



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Trusteeship Council  
21st Session  
7th Meeting (PM)

Press Release TR/1340  
7 February 1958

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 1

The Trusteeship Council this afternoon continued the questioning of Pierre Leroy, Belgium's special representative, on conditions in Ruanda-Urundi. The Council is examining developments in this Belgian-administered trust territory.

Mr. LEROY stated, in response to a question by Wei-liang Yin (China), that relations between Europeans and Africans in the territory had continued to improve. An important step furthering this progress, he said, was the opening of inter-racial schools in the territory. The UN visiting mission which toured the territory in 1957, he pointed out, had noted the progress made in the relations between students of different races in Usumbura.

The special representative added that there were no longer differences between whites and Africans. Whereas in the past it was rare for Europeans and Africans to eat at the same table, this was a common occurrence these days.

Answering several questions by Rikhi Jaipal (India) concerning labor conditions, Mr. LEROY said the system of labor inspection had brought "excellent results." Inspections were made several times a year and they had proved effective in seeing to it that the labor codes were respected.

Houses in the rural areas, Mr. JAIPAL noted, lacked windows and were poorly ventilated. He asked what proportion of the King's Fund set up for improving indigenous housing was being spent for improvement of rural housing.

The special representative said a study was being made of the question of improving indigenous housing in both rural and urban areas, to determine what percentage of the money available under the King's Fund should be spent under the two headings. In this regard, he said, the administration must take into account the customs and habits of the indigenous people.

Indigenous housing, he went on, had undergone a steady evolution during the past years. Already huts were being replaced by brick houses. He regretted, however, that he was unable to provide figures on the sums spent.

SERGIO KOCIANCICH (Italy) asked about the administration's plans for regrouping the population from the more densely populated areas to sparsely populated areas. (Ruanda-Urundi is one of the mostly densely populated regions in Africa.)  
(more)

Mr. LEROY said there were two kinds of regrouping of population under way. One was on a local basis, designed to foster the establishment of villages and community life, with an administrative center equipped with dispensaries and schools. Ruanda-Urundi had no village life, he said. The second regrouping plan, the special representative went on, was designed to move the population to the less-populated areas and to areas opened up for agriculture or settlement. This process was continuing.

GEORGES TOMEN (Syria) referred to the report of the UN visiting mission to Ruanda-Urundi, and invited the special representative to comment on the passage which states that the difference in status between European and African officials in the administration was considered by some to be a matter of racial discrimination.

Mr. LEROY replied that solely lack of qualifications prevented Africans from reaching the higher posts in the administration. A candidate had to meet very strict requirements. So far, there were very few Africans who might meet such requirements; and those Africans who qualified had not thus far evidenced a desire to join the service.

This concluded the questioning of the special representative.

(END OF TAKE 1)

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Trusteeship Council  
21st Session  
7th Meeting (PM)

Press Release TR/1340  
7 February 1958

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 2

The Trusteeship Council then began the general debate on conditions in Ruanda-Urundi.

JACQUES KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France), the first speaker, said that from the statements and information presented to the Council, he had no doubt as to the "constancy and tenacity" with which the Belgian administration had sought during the past 40 years to help the territory change from conditions of medieval days to those of the modern age.

This was testified to by the 1957 UN visiting mission, in his view. The mission, he said, had found that in the political domain Ruanda-Urundi had reached a "turning point" in its evolution, which augured well for the future. The mission, he noted, attributed this progress to the efforts of the administering authority and concluded that the new atmosphere favored a swifter pace of progress.

The representative of France declared that Belgium should be congratulated for the reforms it had introduced and which made this evolution possible.

Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET also drew attention to the words of praise in the mission's report relating to the progress achieved in Ruanda-Urundi in the economic, social and educational fields. The administration, he stated, was alive to the difficulties still confronting the territory and was resolved to overcome them with no selfish interests.

I.I. LOBANOV (USSR) said it was no wonder that political progress in Ruanda-Urundi had been slow. The administering authority was maintaining a feudalistic system and hampering democratic reforms. This policy, he said, was in line with Belgium's plans for carrying out the unification of the territory with the Congo "colony" and with Belgium under one Crown.

In the economic field, he went on, there had been an intensification of trends in which the dangers had been repeatedly pointed out in the Trusteeship Council. Ruanda-Urundi's "soaring" budgetary deficits were increasing the territory's dependency. Its development was dictated by foreign interests and was further hampered by the customs union with the Belgian Congo. The association of the

(more)

territory in the European Common Market, Mr. LOBANOV asserted, ran counter to the provisions of the Charter.

In the social field, he went on, there were numerous manifestations of racial discrimination, such as the curfew and corporal punishment. Primary and secondary education had shown no change for the better. Political parties, trade unions and an indigenous press were "forbidden," he said.

The Trusteeship Council, the Soviet representative declared, should recommend strongly / <sup>that</sup> the administering authority take swift measures for the rapid attainment of independence by the territory.

Sir ANDREW COHEN (United Kingdom) said villification of an administering authority, like the speech just heard, would do nothing to promote the advancement of the people of the trust territory or the attainment of the objectives of the trusteeship system. In human affairs, nothing was completely black or white; the truth was usually somewhere in between.

In a recent visit to Ruanda-Urundi, he said, he had seen "remarkable work" being done by Belgian administrators. "Anyone who says the contrary is speaking remotely from the facts," he said.

Sir ANDREW noted from the visiting mission's report that the social barriers between the Batutsi and Balutu peoples were beginning to break down and that there was an increasing demand for education. While not underestimating the difficulties of breaking down social barriers entrenched for generations, he felt it was clear from statements of the representatives of the administering authority that prospects for the future were good and that it was the policy of the administration to help in this process.

The increasing educational effort and the emergence of a growing educated class provided, he believed, one of the best hopes in the evolution of the territory.

Sir ANDREW also felt that the emergence of a propertied African middle class with a stake in the future of the territory was of the greatest importance.

He commended the administering authority for the progress achieved, particularly in education. In secondary education, however, he felt much still remained to be done.

(END OF TAKE 2)

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Trusteeship Council  
21st Session  
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7 February 1958

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 3

In a brief reply to the United Kingdom representative, Mr. LOBANOV (USSR) said that Sir Andrew's conclusions had not gone beyond personal impressions of conditions in Ruanda-Urundi gathered on a brief stopover. What Sir Andrew saw were some dances for the local king.

With Sir Andrew's colonial background, the Soviet representative said, it was difficult for him to see things except through "rose-colored glasses." That was why Sir Andrew could find nothing to criticize in Ruanda-Urundi.

Sir ANDREW replied that, if it would make the Soviet representative happier, he would tell him that he had spent less than an hour watching dances, but several days in observing the conditions in Ruanda-Urundi.

MASON SEARS (United States) congratulated Belgium for its work in Ruanda-Urundi. Belgium, he felt, was doing a wonderful job there. He also praised the report of the UN visiting mission to the territory.

In the economic, social and educational fields, Mr. SEARS said, the affairs were being skillfully directed by the administering authority. The chief problem lay in the lack of land, the poor resources and the large population which was increasing at a fast rate. He hoped that industrialization would provide the ultimate answer, but this would take time.

The 1954 visiting mission, he noted, had thought that political progress had not kept pace with the progress in the other fields. Whether these fears were justified or not, they did not apply today. The territory had made fundamental progress.

Pointing out that in recent years many African territories had attained their independence and that others were about to do so, he expressed confidence that the Belgian administration would also move in accordance with the changing times.

The debate on Ruanda-Urundi will be continued by the Council at 10:30 a.m. Monday, 10 February.

(END OF TAKE 3 AND OF PRESS RELEASE TR/1340)