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Twenty-sixth Session

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE ELEVEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 24 June 1960, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. VITELLI (Italy)

1. Examination of annual reports of Administering Authorities on the administration of Trust Territories: Ruanda-Urundi /3a/(continued)
Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1960: Ruanda-Urundi /5a/(continued)
Examination of the possibility of sending a United Nations Observers group to supervise the elections to be held in June 1960 in Ruanda-Urundi /12/(continued)
Plans of political reform for the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi /16/(continued)
2. Examination of annual reports of Administering Authorities on the administration of Trust Territories: Report of the Drafting Committee on New Guinea /3d/

Note: The Official Record of this meeting, i.e., the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.1126 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

AGENDA ITEMS 3a, 5a, 12 and 16

EXAMINATION OF ANNUAL REPORTS OF ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF TRUST TERRITORIES: RUANDA-URUNDI (T/1461, 1536, 1540, 1543; T/L.935, L.992; T/PET.3/L.10 to L.37; T/COM.3/L.26, 27, 29 to 33) (continued);
REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS VISITING MISSION TO TRUST TERRITORIES IN EAST AFRICA, 1960: RUANDA-URUNDI (T/1538) (continued);
EXAMINATION OF THE POSSIBILITY OF SENDING A UNITED NATIONS OBSERVERS GROUP TO SUPERVISE THE ELECTIONS TO BE HELD IN JUNE 1960 IN RUANDA-URUNDI (continued);
PLANS OF POLITICAL REFORM FOR THE TRUST TERRITORY OF RUANDA-URUNDI (GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 1419 (XIV) (continued))

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Reisdorff, Special Representative for the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration, took a place at the Council table.

General debate (continued)

Mr. EDMONDS (New Zealand): The New Zealand delegation does not intend to present any detailed analysis of the reasons for, or the complex background of, the regrettable disturbances which took place last November in the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi and the state of tension which still exists in Ruanda and, to a much lesser extent, in Urundi. To seek now to apportion blame and to criticize or justify past attitudes would seem likely to deepen present differences and acerbate difficulties at the very time when the various factions among the people of the territory must be brought together in an atmosphere of mutual confidence. That mistakes and miscalculations have been made on all sides can be stated with all the certainty of hindsight. Mistakes and miscalculations are to be expected from human beings, especially when they are caught up in a historical process which suddenly begins to move at a greatly accelerated pace, as has nationalism in Africa.

(Mr. Edmonds, New Zealand)

The most important thing now is not whether the Administering Authority's past policies have been right or wrong, whether or not the Administration's police measures last November were adequate and taken as quickly as possible, whether this party or that party is nationalistic, traditionalist, feudal, progressive, democratic, social reformist, republican or monarchist; the most important thing is that the people of Ruanda-Urundi -- Tutsi, Hutu and Twa -- should, despite differences of opinion, live together without fear, peacefully and in harmony. This Council's function is to make history, not to write it.

To sit in judgement on the actions of others or say "I told you so" is always a temptation; to offer objective suggestions on how best to act in present circumstances is more difficult but much more constructive. Yet this, in the view of my delegation, is the primary duty of this Council.

This was also the primary duty and guiding principle of the recent Visiting Mission to Ruanda-Urundi whose actions, recommendations and conclusions my delegation not unnaturally endorses. We welcome the Administering Authority's acceptance of most of the Mission's recommendations, especially that suggesting the holding, in early 1961, of national elections in Ruanda and Urundi based on direct universal suffrage and supervised by the United Nations. My delegation is confident that, if these general elections can be satisfactorily organized and held in normal conditions of peace and freedom, the assemblies resulting from them will be in an excellent position to agree, in consultation with the Administering Authority, on the further steps that should be taken to achieve the independence of the Trust Territory, an objective common to all parties and to the Administering Authority.

The main problem facing the people of the Territory and the Administering Authority is how to establish conditions which will enable these national elections to be held in the best possible circumstances. In tackling this problem they look for, and require, the sympathetic assistance of this Council. Unfortunately, because of practical difficulties arising from the Belgian Government's preoccupation with matters connected with the granting of independence to the Congo, the Administering Authority was unable to hold a broadly based and fully representative round-table conference on Ruanda-Urundi in May or June. Such a procedure would seem to have offered the best opportunity of solving the key

problem and reducing political tensions. At first the Administering Authority thought in terms of a conference in August with communal elections postponed until after that date. Then, apparently as a result of pressure from certain political groups in the Territory, it was decided to proceed with communal elections in June and July and to hold a conference probably in October.

In an effort to achieve some degree of national reconciliation before the communal elections the Administering Authority arranged two small meetings, one on Ruanda and one on Urundi, to be held in May and June. The meeting on Urundi may well succeed but whatever possibility the meeting on Ruanda had of fulfilling its purpose, and in my opinion this possibility was never great, came to an end when UNAR decided not to attend. UNAR also decided not to participate in the communal elections.

This situation must be considered as most unfortunate as reconciliation clearly depends on full co-operation among all major political parties, and between these parties and the Administration. My delegation understands, however, from the statements of the representative of the Administering Authority, that the communal elections are to be regarded as of purely local concern and of a political nature. We have heard, moreover, from Mr. Rwagasana, the Secretary-General of UNAR, that his party would still be willing to participate in any truly representative conference held after the communal elections. It seems, therefore, that all is not lost and that it should still be possible to hold a round-table conference of the sort envisaged by the Visiting Mission, although it would now be held in rather less auspicious circumstances.

Like the Visiting Mission and the other members of the Council, my delegation would like to stress the desirability of holding this conference, fully representative of all shades of political opinion, at the earliest possible date.

We hope that the Administering Authority will give further consideration to the Visiting Mission's opinion that the presence at the conference of United Nations observers might be of considerable assistance, both to the territorial political leaders and the Administering Authority. The importance of, and need for, early national reconciliation in Ruanda, if existing divisions are not to harden, cannot be overemphasized. This is, of course, recognized by the Administering Authority. The problem is not an abstract political one; it is a human one.

(Mr. Edmonds, New Zealand)

The task of drawing agreement out of opposing groups, the members of which feel their individual rights and social positions threatened by the members of the other, is extremely difficult. My delegation is confident that Belgium, which has done so much for Ruanda-Urundi, will be able to discharge this last delicate duty, probably the hardest and most complex ever faced by an Administering Authority of a Trust Territory. In this task it will need all its tact, adaptability, wisdom, patience and accumulated experience.

The taking of amnesty measures in connexion with the incidents of last November must be considered as an important element in any programme of national reconciliation. The reconciliation is, of course, a much deeper and more complex matter than simply freeing a few political leaders. In view of the fears and mutual suspicions which still exist in Ruanda, it seems that agreement on the terms and implementation of a comprehensive amnesty will probably have to be delayed until the round table conference. To ensure that the conference is truly representative of all shades of opinion, however, it may well be necessary for ad hoc amnesty measures to be taken with regard to some political leaders. My delegation is confident that the Administering Authority is aware of the need to ensure the fully representative character of the conference if it is to reconcile all factions and classes. If it is not so representative the conference cannot fulfil this purpose and almost certainly will not establish the conditions prerequisite to the holding of those national elections under United Nations supervision, which are desired by all parties.

While aware of the sensitivities of certain political leaders on this matter, my delegation hopes that the Administering Authority will consider, as a first step towards the common goal of reconciliation, the possibility of establishing some avenue of appeal for persons sentenced by the Military Tribunal for offences in connexion with the November disturbances.

We agree with the representative of Bolivia that the process of reconciliation should be continuous and that it should begin immediately.

The resettlement and reintegration of refugees displaced from their homes since last November has, according to the details given by the Administering Authority, made considerable progress. It is important that this work should be carried out as quickly and smoothly as possible and that wherever practicable the refugees should return to their former homes and receive compensation for their losses.

(Mr. Edmonds, New Zealand)

The question of the appointment of interim authorities is also dealt with in the Visiting Mission's report. We are confident that the misgivings mentioned by the Mission will be borne in mind by the Administering Authority and that care will be taken not unnecessarily to replace the former authorities before the communal elections which may, we hope, make the situation more regular.

The Visiting Mission has reported on the particularism and the historical and political differences which pose obstacles to the setting up of a unitary government for the whole Territory of Ruanda-Urundi. My delegation considers that this is clearly a matter which should be discussed at the proposed round table conference and, if necessary, discussed again immediately after the election of national assemblies. A solution to this problem cannot be arbitrarily imposed; it must be based on the consent of the people of the Territory. It is to be hoped, however, that the political leaders of Ruanda-Urundi will realize the dangers inherent in extreme particularism and the desirability of working out common political institutions and a common destiny.

The future relations of an independent Ruanda-Urundi with the Congo and with other neighbouring territories are clearly something about which it would be foolish to prophesy; this also will be decided by the people of the country themselves. Whatever the legal niceties of the situation, however, there seem good practical reasons for the temporary continuation of arrangements whereby the Territory may have the advantage of sharing in some Congo technical and fiscal and economic services. We are confident that the Administering Authority will keep this Council or the General Assembly fully informed concerning any such arrangements which may result from the work of the joint commission of delegates from Ruanda-Urundi and the Congo.

My delegation concurs in the view of the Visiting Mission that the establishment of a force publique recruited entirely in the Trust Territory should be regarded as a task of very high priority. Ruanda-Urundi, where the people live scattered over the hills, not gathered together in villages, must be a very difficult country to police, and a strong local police force is urgently needed. Africanization of other branches of the public service is also an urgent question, the approach to which should be planned and implemented with a new sense of immediacy. As in other Territories, any really intensive and comprehensive

(Mr. Edmonds, New Zealand)

programme of Africanization will be expensive, entailing, as it will, increased expenditure, not only on the further training of present local officials but on secondary technical and vocational training. We are confident that the Administering Authority will be willing to co-operate with and assist the territorial authorities in this essential work.

There is perhaps no need for my delegation to stress the need for complete impartiality on the part of all concerned with administering or solving the problems of Ruanda-Urundi. This impartiality is not always easy to obtain, as it is almost inevitable that the platform of one or other of the political parties or leaders should be in itself more attractive even to an outside observer. Neither this Council nor the Administering Authority is called upon to indicate its sympathy, let alone endorse, the objectives and programmes of any political grouping in the Territory.

The merest appearance of favouritism or preference must be scrupulously avoided. This elementary rule is, like most rules of conduct, often easier to preach than to practise, especially by administrative officials and others who are in close and daily contact with the people of the Territory and their personal problems. We sympathize with them in their difficult position and feel sure that they must appreciate the necessity for making transparently clear, in word as well as deed, privately as well as publicly, their objectivity and their disinterestedness in the Territory's domestic political life.

This is particularly important when dealing with delicate questions, for instance with the august and influential indigenous institution of the Mwami, which is deep-rooted in Ruandese civilization. There should be no suggestion that officials are in any way opposed to the Mwami, either as an institution or as a person.

The Administering Authority has another difficult but necessary task in maintaining strict control over its administrative officials and their actions at all levels. At the same time, the leaders and supporters of political parties and other groups must realize that it is their duty to avoid misrepresentations and irresponsible or extravagant allegations concerning the Administration, the Mwami or their political opponents. Great care is necessary for in Ruanda, at least, rumour spreads quickly and grows as it spreads, frequently assuming the most extreme and fantastic guises which contribute considerably to the state of

(Mr. Edmonds, New Zealand)

tension and unease. Rarely was there greater need for restraint and moderation on the part of politicians and other prominent persons than there is in Ruanda today.

Ruanda-Urundi is far from being a naturally wealthy country, and my delegation considers that the Administering Authority again deserves the Council's commendation for the way it has endeavoured, starting from scratch or perhaps even from behind scratch, to develop the Territory's economy. Its financial assistance has been generous; we are sure it will continue to be so. Its technical services, especially in agricultural research and extension, are of very high quality and many of its activities, such as the development of rural action zones, show enterprise and adaptability which are noteworthy. The fine road system of Ruanda-Urundi will, I am sure, be one of the many lasting memorials to the Territory's Belgian Administration, as will the development of the coffee industry. The Territory's excellent agricultural services have ranged the globe, seeking useful crops which can be successfully introduced to augment and diversify the economy.

On one research station in a remote part of Urundi, I even found, during the visit of the recent Mission, plots of New Zealand flax and Australian barley. I am happy to say that both were flourishing.

(Mr. Edmonds, New Zealand)

But Ruanda-Rundi will need even more economic assistance, both technical and financial. My delegation notes that the European Economic Community is giving the Territory important financial aid. We welcome the information that the Administering Authority is negotiating with the Secretary-General concerning the dispatch to the Territory of a United Nations technical assistance mission, as recommended by the Visiting Mission. We are confident that the report of the technical assistance mission will be of great value in the planning of further assistance from both the Administering Authority and this Organization, its specialized agencies and allied bodies. It is to be hoped, moreover, that the mere presence in the Territory of this United Nations mission will serve useful purposes which are not only economic. It is also to be hoped that relaxation of political tensions will enable the early restoration to their previous level of crops grown as a reserve against famine.

Problems associated with the traditional land tenure call for urgent study and solution and have considerable political significance. My delegation notes with satisfaction that some limited provisional reforms have been implemented and trusts that the elected representatives of the people will soon tackle these issues with energy and alacrity, assisted by the work of the proposed preparatory committee.

In the field of public health the Administering Authority has done much. We welcome the offer of WHO to assist in the integration of curative and preventive health services and are confident that this integration will form the basis of further expansion and improvement. The Administering Authority's water supply programme is also important and merits commendation.

Like most other under-developed countries, independent and dependent, Ruanda-Urundi does not yet possess a satisfactory educational system, despite the efforts that have been made by the Administration and by Christian missions. Urgent expansion of the system is needed, especially at the secondary level, if the needs of the Territory for trained indigenous personnel are to be met in anything like the near future. It would be only natural if the country were to look to the Administering Authority for even greater help in this field. It is to be hoped that international organizations, especially UNESCO, which has recently completed a study of educational problems in Central Africa,

(Mr. Edmonds, New Zealand)

can also be of assistance. The possibilities of greater local initiative in the establishment and support of schools should also be fully explored, as should the possibilities of building less expensive but equally efficient school installations.

My delegation would like to thank the representative of the Administering Authority for Ruanda-Urundi and the Special Representative, Mr. Reisdorff, for the valuable contribution which they have made to the work of the Council. We should like also to thank the petitioner, Mr. Rwagasana. Speaking as a member of the recent Visiting Mission, I should like to ask Mr. Reisdorff to convey to the Resident-General, the two Bami, the Administration officials, the political leaders and the people of Ruanda-Urundi my warmest appreciation of the assistance, co-operation and friendship which they extended to the Mission during its stay in the Territory.

Ruanda-Urundi is a most beautiful, though over-populated, country and its people, though unusually poor, are hospitable and peaceful. At present they lack satisfactory political instructions through which they can express their will and prepare and implement their own plans for reforms of all kinds. This institutional inadequacy must pose fearful problems: for the Bami, who wish to be constitutional monarchs but have not settled constitutional organs through which to work; for the Administration, which has insufficient institutional shielding between itself and domestic political pressure; for the political parties and people who, feeling insecure and having no other avenue of expression, tend to take direct action to obtain their ends. In Urundi the traditional indigenous institutions, though inadequate, have not broken down completely, partly because politics and social pressures are less, partly because in Mwami Mwambutsi the people have a well established and experienced ruler. One reason why the crisis reached such a peak in Ruanda was that, just at the time when internal pressures were rapidly increasing, the Mwami died and a stabilizing factor was removed. But had Mwami Mutara III lived -- and we have every hope that Kigeli V will prove a worthy successor -- new political institutions would have been necessary. This, of course, has been recognized for some time by all concerned -- by the Administering Authority, by the Bami, and by all the political parties.

(Mr. Edmonds, New Zealand)

The Administering Authority's own carefully prepared plans in this connexion have been overtaken by events. My delegation, therefore, shares the view of the Visiting Mission that the most urgent present need is "to reach agreement on certain basic measures which will be as far as possible acceptable to the whole population, and which will be directed towards the establishment of institutions through which the people can peacefully and constitutionally pursue their political, economic and social objectives". We also believe that a round-table conference, based on the fullest possible representation of all shades of opinion, offers the best opportunity for achieving national reconciliation and reaching agreement on the future institutional framework of Ruanda-Urundi.

We wish the people of Ruanda-Urundi and the Administering Authority well in this essential but difficult task, and we urge them not to delay by one hour the work of co-operation and reconciliation among all inhabitants of the Territory.

Mr. OBEREMKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Consideration of the question of Ruanda-Urundi at the present session of the Trusteeship Council has been undertaken under new circumstances which differ substantially from those in the past year.

As far as Ruanda-Urundi is concerned, the most important events were those which took place in the Belgian Congo; indeed, the Trust Territory's nearest neighbour, the Belgian Congo, within a few days -- on 30 June -- will become an independent State. These events in the Belgian Congo, which evolved from the background of the great movement towards national liberation on the part of all African peoples and the establishment of a series of new African States, could not fail -- and has not failed -- to result in the political and patriotic awareness of the political elements in the Trust Territory and to call for immediate independence for Ruanda-Urundi and the transformation of democratic institutions.

The events which took place in November 1959 in Ruanda-Urundi have shown that the Belgian colonial authorities are able no longer to maintain the old order of things and that the indigenous population resolutely and emphatically speak against the colonial regime which supports the feudal system in the country.

(Mr. Oberemko, USSR)

The Visiting Mission which visited the Trust Territory this year, and which gathered a considerable amount of information dealing with the November events, unfortunately did not come forward with the necessary conclusions regarding the true causes of those disturbances and did not give proper evaluation of the role played in these events by the colonial Administration in the Trust Territory. However, the information contained in the report of the Visiting Mission and in the numerous petitions which were sent by the indigenous inhabitants to the Trusteeship Council shed sufficient light upon the basic reasons for the November disturbances in the Trust Territory.

During recent years there was increasing disapproval in the Trust Territory and protests by the indigenous population against the feudal regime, and it is necessary to stress that the Administering Authority was doing everything possible in order to maintain and strengthen this feudal system and the authority of the feudal chiefs who were oppressing the great mass of the indigenous population.

The historical background is that the appeal of the Hutu, who constitute about 85 per cent of the population of the Territory, against the feudal Tutsi chiefs is characterized by some people as a struggle between two tribes, as a conflict between Tutsi and the Hutu. However, this is not of course a correct representation of the position. The statements of the Hutu, and their actions, were not based on tribal warfare but on much more deeply rooted social reasons consisting first of all in the fact that the great mass of the indigenous population has always been and is still subject to a system of dual feudalist exploitation -- by European colonizers as well as by the local chiefs. Undoubtedly the movement of the indigenous population against the feudalist system, against the so-called traditionalist authorities -- behind whom the Administering Authority always stood -- was an anti-feudal movement, an anti-colonial movement. In speaking against the feudal chiefs the population is at the same time speaking against those who are trying to maintain the authority of the chiefs, in other words against the Belgian colonizers.

It is known that careful measures have been carried out by Belgium in Ruanda-Urundi over many decades for the purpose of maintaining and strengthening the authority of the feudal Tutsi chiefs over the local population. Special schools were created in which only Tutsi children were accepted, and these children were trained to form the cadres for the future indirect administration of the Territory. The Administering Authority did not adopt any serious measures designed to liquidate the feudal system and to give to the Hutu the right of ownership of the land which they were working in order to liberate them from feudal servitude.

When the explosion finally came, the colonial Administration endeavoured, and unfortunately was successful to some extent, to direct the anti-colonial, anti-feudal feelings towards strife between the Tutsi and Hutu tribes. In speaking of the causes of last November's events, it is impossible not to refer to the rather unsavoury role which was played in the fomenting of tribal warfare by some of the members of the Church. The priests representing the various religions in the Territory, with a certain amount of support from the Administering Authority, were brazenly meddling in the political life of

the country and pitting one series of parties against the other. They also disseminated political tracts and proclamations supporting the most backward reactionary elements in the Territory. It is well known that the religious missions have always supported the Tutsi feudal chiefs and as early as 1930 the Bishop of Ruanda stated that the greatest harm would be caused to the Government and to the State if the Tutsi caste were to be liquidated. A revolution of that kind, he said, would lead the whole of the State directly to anarchy and to communism, which was anti-European.

The colonial Administration and the religious missions carried out a deliberate policy of encouraging the Tutsi feudal chiefs, giving them a privileged position in regard to education and other matters. A particularly ominous role in the November events, as was stated by the petitioners, was played by the notorious Bishop Perraudin. This clergyman, in his statements against the UNAR party -- which even the representative of the United States has characterized as a purely nationalist party -- alleged that there was communist and pro-Islam influence in the party's ranks.

Thus, as a result of the policy of the Administering Authority and as a result of its inactivity during the first few days of the November incidents, bloody battles took place between members of the various tribes. The Administering Authority had decided to use those events to break down the political parties which were speaking in favour of immediate independence for the Trust Territory.

All this, of course, is not being done openly. The Administering Authority is endeavouring to cover up its rather unsavoury policy by facetious statements to the effect that it is deeply concerned with the position of the Hutu people and with the need to carry democratic reforms. It must be pointed out, however, that all those statements are definitely oriented towards as late as possible a proclamation of independence for Ruanda-Urundi. After all, after more than forty years of presence in the Territory, did the Belgian authorities range themselves on the side of the majority of the peasant population, or on the side of democratic reforms? The reply to this question must be in the negative.

(Mr. Oberenko, USSR)

We are deeply convinced that the tragic events in Ruanda, in the course of which hundreds of Africans were killed or wounded, would not have taken place if the Administering Authority had not carried out a policy of repression of the nationalist liberation movement, and if it had been concerned for the democratization of the Government and Administration of the Territory. Those events would not have occurred if it had not encouraged and maintained the feudal system and exploited it for the maintenance of its own domination over the Territory. Of interest in this connexion is the situation in Ruanda-Urundi as described in the American publication, Africa Weekly, of 27 November 1959. That publication wrote that the refusal of the Belgian administration to ensure political progress for a long time had at last led to the inevitable result, a major political explosion. The Belgian authorities had denied requests for the creation of political parties on a national basis. Instead of that, at the beginning of 1959 they had authorized the creation of political parties on a tribal basis. The motive behind this was to pit one tribe against another instead of enabling the whole of the nation to achieve a way of settling and managing its own problems. The tragic events in Ruanda-Urundi in November 1959 fully proved the justice of the point of view expressed by the Conference of the Peoples of Africa, which in December of 1958 had condemned the imperialist tactics of utilizing tribal differences and religious separatism for the maintenance of colonial domination in Africa.

That was the view of that American publication, and we cannot fail to agree with the further view it expressed that in November 1959 the Hutu had spoken not only against the Tutsi but also against the whole of the colonial domination to which they were subject. They had spoken in favour of their own freedom, in favour of a better life and against colonialism, which is exploiting the feudal chiefs for its own purposes.

One may well ask why the Administering Authority, which has always based itself in its actions upon the Bami, the supreme feudal chiefs of Ruanda-Urundi, is now speaking openly against them? Why have the relations between the Bami and the colonial Administration suddenly deteriorated? The answer is quite clear. As soon as the Belgian authorities saw that the Bami, in one way or another and

to a greater or less extent were supporting the claims of the political parties for independence, the Bami immediately fell into disgrace and the Belgian authorities are now pretending to support the claims of the great masses of the population against the feudal chiefs. Hardly anyone could sincerely believe in such a sudden change. It is quite clear that the Belgian authorities have never in the past intended and do not now intend to liquidate the feudal system in the Territory and only if the people themselves take matters into their own hands will it be possible to bring about the necessary reforms.

Without liberation from colonial domination, without the attainment of independence, the people of Ruanda-Urundi will be unable to free themselves from their internal slave drivers, the feudal chiefs, because the Administering Authority is intentionally strengthening the backward feudal system in order to put it to its own service in maintaining its authority in the Territory. Considerable effort has been exerted to create an impression to the effect that the political parties consisting basically of the representatives of the Hutu tribe were endeavouring, first of all, to bring about the democratization of the country and are in favour of the continuation of Belgian Trusteeship, whereas parties such as UNAR, which consists essentially of the representatives of the Tutsi tribe, are speaking against democratic reforms and are clamouring for immediate independence so as to maintain the feudal system and the authority of the chiefs in the future.

The information contained in the Visiting Mission's report, the material appearing in petitions, in press articles and in programmes of the political parties, as well as the statement by Mr. Rwagasana before this present session of the Council, prove that such statements distort the real intentions of the political parties in the Territory. Here we see an endeavour to pit one group of parties against another and to prevent them from realizing their demands regarding truly democratic reforms and the attainment of independence by Ruanda-Urundi, which indeed is something which has been called for by all the political forces in the Territory. In fact, the UNAR party is speaking in favour of immediate independence for Ruanda-Urundi. But this party is endeavouring also to bring about democratic reforms in the country, and the Administering Authority is fully aware of that.

We heard here the statement of the Secretary-General of UNAR, Mr. Rwagasana, that his party was in favour of the creation of representative organs on the basis of universal suffrage -- that is, suffrage for males and females -- and that UNAR was prepared to discuss with the other parties the democratic reforms which it is necessary to carry out in the country, whereas the Administering Authority, as is well known, is still refusing to introduce universal suffrage and is, in

fact, depriving the whole of the female population of the country of the right to take part in the forthcoming communal elections. Despite that, the UNAR party is being accused of anti-democratism and the Administering Authority is trying to represent itself as the fervent champion of the most far-reaching democratic reforms.

The UNAR party is stating that it intends to achieve compromises and reconciliation with other political parties in the interest of attaining the independence and democratization of the country, whereas the Administering Authority is trying to set one party against the other and is severely prosecuting UNAR, thus fomenting hatred and warfare in the country. Why is all this being done? In order to prevent Ruanda-Urundi from obtaining either independence or the democratic reforms to which we have been referring. As is pointed out by the Visiting Mission in its report, the question of independence lies at the basis of all the recent political events in Ruanda. One of the principal parties of the Territory, the UNAR, first of all called for internal autonomy by 1960 and for independence by 1962. After the November events that party has revised its programme and is now calling for immediate independence after the holding of free elections under United Nations supervision. The party is also demanding the holding of a round-table conference with the participation of representatives of all political parties and representatives of the Administering Authority and the United Nations in order to prepare for the holding of such elections in the nearest possible future. In addition to that the political parties of Ruanda are demanding the immediate carrying out of democratic reforms. Similar demands are being advanced by the political parties of Urundi.

When it became known that the Belgian Congo was to be given independence, the Supreme Council of Urundi, on 3 February 1960, adopted a decision to the effect that the independence of Urundi also should be granted in June 1960. As has been pointed out in the Visiting Mission's report, as a result of the position taken by the Supreme Council of Urundi in relation to the policy of the Government, relations between the Administering Authority and the Council had sharply deteriorated. By way of repression of the demands of this Council the Belgian Resident-General decided not to extend its term of office and has

(Mr. Oberemko, USSR)

replaced it by an interim committee, and this brought about a legitimate negative feeling among the population -- and, incidentally, numerous criticisms here in the Trusteeship Council as well.

A number of political parties in Urundi, in demanding independence, have justly pointed to the fact that it would be unthinkable if Ruanda-Urundi, which is a Trust Territory, were to remain outside the scheme of things when a number of African countries have already attained independence or are on the eve thereof. Thus it may be said that the common denominator for the majority of the political parties in Ruanda-Urundi is the demand for independence and for the carrying out of far-reaching democratic reforms.

What are the recommendations which are being advanced to the Trusteeship Council by the Visiting Mission which went to the Trust Territory this year? First of all, we note the conclusion of the Visiting Mission to the effect that on a whole series of questions of principle there is agreement among the parties, and that their political divergences are not substantive. We consider that this is a very important conclusion which the Council should take into consideration. The Visiting Mission, in speaking in favour of the holding, first of all of the round-table conference, and, further, for the postponement of the communal elections to a later date, said:

"... the Mission, in the light of the tragic events which had occurred in Ruanda, the disturbances which were still occurring there and the rising tension in Urundi, considered that discussions could not longer be delayed which might lead not only to long-term solutions and political programmes, but also to solutions of more immediate and delicate problems. Ruanda-Urundi is no longer an isolated island in an Africa in ferment, and with the Congo attaining its independence on 30 June 1960, it would be unrealistic to imagine that the Administering Authority still has many years in which to bring Ruanda-Urundi to the stage where it can decide its own future."

(T/1538, paragraph 447)

In this connexion the Visiting Mission proposed the holding of a conference on Ruanda-Urundi in August 1960. It considers that the communal elections scheduled for June and July 1960 should be postponed until a date as soon as possible after the holding of that conference. The Visiting Mission recommends also that elections by universal direct suffrage should be held early in 1961, under United Nations supervision, for the purpose of forming national assemblies for Ruanda and for Urundi, and that the organs so elected should develop a constitution which would lay down the democratic institutions.

(Mr. Oberemko, USSR)

Subsequently, the Visiting Mission expressed the hope that the United Nations General Assembly at its session in 1961 would be able to discuss the question of the independence of Ruanda-Urundi and the termination of the Trusteeship System for that Territory. As the petitioner, Mr. Rwagasana, told us, one of the most important parties in Ruanda-Urundi, the UNAR party, basically supports the recommendations of the Visiting Mission.

What has been the reaction of the Administering Authority to these proposals of the Visiting Mission? Initially it stated that it was in agreement with some of the recommendations of the Visiting Mission. However, subsequently the Administering Authority decided to revise even those inadequate recommendations which were made by the Visiting Mission. It is trying by every possible means to postpone until considerably later the reforms proposed in the plan of the Visiting Mission.

First, it is necessary to point out that the Administering Authority has refused for some reason to hold the round-table conference with the participation of representatives of all the political parties in the near future and is proceeding with the holding of communal elections under emergency conditions in the country, under conditions of the complete domination of the police and the Belgian forces, under conditions where meetings of more than five people are prohibited, where one of the principal political parties in the Territory, the UNAR party, is being persecuted and part of its leadership is in jail or in exile. In such conditions it is impossible to speak of holding free elections. These will be elections in the colonialist fashion.

It is no accident that the Administering Authority has constantly refused to grant any amnesty and to cease its persecution of those members of political parties that are clamouring for independence. The Administering Authority has reserved special emergency powers for the Resident. We can only agree with the conclusion of the Visiting Mission that the existence of such a regime will inevitably create doubt as to the legitimate nature of the forthcoming communal elections. The Visiting Mission, therefore, expressed the hope that the Administering Authority should consider the early cancellation of the emergency conditions.

It is quite clear that the Administering Authority must adopt measures for granting amnesty and it must cease persecuting political parties; it must re-establish normal conditions in the country, conditions which are so essential for the holding of elections.

(Mr. Oberemko, USSR)

What was the plan presented by the Administering Authority for its part? In its opening statement the Belgian delegation spoke rather vaguely of its intention of bringing the people of Ruanda-Urundi to independence by means of democratic measures and, at the same time, they said that independence after all was not a problem, that this was some sort of an abstract concept, as it was called. The Administering Authority intends in the emergency conditions to hold communal elections in the course of the next few months in Ruanda and somewhat later in Urundi. It is immediately necessary to point out that if these elections are to be held on the basis of the interim decree of 1959, they will not provide for the democratization of the political life and the establishment of the organs of authority on a truly democratic basis.

First, it is necessary to point out that all women are deprived of the right to participate in these elections. In addition, the reforms which are proposed by the Administering Authority are in fact completely insufficient. They are minor concessions, semi-reforms which have already fallen behind the times and do not provide for true democratization. If we examine the interim decree of 25 December 1959, again we immediately see that the chiefs of the communes, even though these communes are called temporary communes, will not be elected on the basis of universal suffrage. In fact, they will be appointed by the Resident, in other words by Belgian officials. Articles 12, 13 and 14 of the interim decree provide for the right of the Resident to postpone any nomination of a chief of a commune to a later date. This decree also provides for every possibility to ensure the appointment by the Belgian Administration of persons agreeable to them as chiefs of these communes. In other words, they intend to maintain the feudal structure which at one time had prevailed in Ruanda-Urundi and which, throughout the whole of the trusteeship period, has been carefully nurtured and maintained by the Administering Authority.

Furthermore, after holding the communal elections, the Administering Authority intends, toward the end of 1960 or at the beginning of 1961, to hold a conference with the participation of the representatives of the political parties. Thus we see that the Administering Authority is attempting to postpone this conference to a still later date.

(Mr. Oberemko, USSR)

Further, the Administering Authority intends at the beginning of 1961 to hold elections in the legislative assemblies of Ruanda and Urundi, and also to hold elections either directly or indirectly for the establishment of a general council. After the elections it is intended to have the responsible governments of Ruanda and Urundi set up and, in the course of 1961, the Belgian authorities intend to organize a general conference of the delegates of the governments of Ruanda and Urundi in order to discuss with them, as the representative of Belgium pointed out, the form of independence that they wish to have and to consider the procedure that would lead to the termination of trusteeship. The Administering Authority does not mention any definite dates for the granting of independence to the Territory, but simply states that it will inform the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly of the course of events and the progress achieved.

Of course, it goes without saying that the principle defect of this Belgian plan is the absence of any indication regarding a specific date for the granting of independence to Ruanda-Urundi as well as the absence of information on the reforms which have to be carried out to democratize the life of Ruanda-Urundi.

In addition, we cannot overlook the fact that the present plan of the Belgian Government does not provide for the effective measures which would guarantee the unity of the country so that Ruanda-Urundi might constitute a single state, as it is now a single Trust Territory, and this is provided for in the Trusteeship Agreement. We see that in all cases the Administering Authority is providing for separate organs for Ruanda and for Urundi, and the question of mutual relations and the powers of the central organs as well as the question of the actual existence of such central organs is intentionally left completely vague.

Thus, it is possible to conclude that unification of the country is not part of the Belgian plan, although we have heard numerous statements by the Administering Authority that the Belgian authorities are endeavouring to achieve such unity. The Soviet delegation considers that Ruanda-Urundi, in accordance with the Trusteeship Agreement, must always be considered as a single Trust Territory, and that it is necessary to provide such measures as will ensure the unity of the country.

(Mr. Oberemko, USSR)

The Soviet delegation wishes to state that it fully supports the demands of the political parties and organizations of Ruanda-Urundi on the question of granting immediate independence to the Trust Territory and with respect to carrying out democratic reforms in the country.

In connexion with the proclamation of 30 June 1960 with respect to the independence of the Belgian Congo, it is of particular importance to state a definite date for the granting of independence to Ruanda-Urundi in accordance with the demands of the political parties of the Territory. We consider that the Administering Authority must develop and present to the fifteenth session of the General Assembly a concrete plan, including specific dates, for the handing over of authority by the Belgian Administration to the organs of Ruanda-Urundi, which should be democratically elected by the population of Ruanda-Urundi. The Trusteeship Council must recommend to the General Assembly the establishment of a specific date for the proclamation of independence for Ruanda-Urundi, at the latest in 1961.

The Soviet delegation supports the proposal submitted by the representative of India that the Trusteeship Council should recommend the inclusion of the question of Ruanda-Urundi as a separate item on the agenda of the forthcoming session of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Oberemko, USSR)

The Soviet delegation considers that the Administering Authority should immediately implement the democratic reforms, including the introduction of universal suffrage without any limitations or restrictions and the election of all responsible organs by means of direct universal suffrage.

For the purpose of liquidating the feudal system, the Administering Authority must carry out an agrarian reform. It must give the land, de jure and de facto, to those who work it and must liquidate the feudal property relationships and the various forms of feudal servitude, this being a reform which is demanded by the overwhelming majority of the indigenous population.

Only as a result of the implementation of such measures will it be possible to say that the Trusteeship Council and the Administering Authority are acting in accordance with the demands and the interests of the indigenous population of the Trust Territory.

For understandable reasons, both the Visiting Mission and the Trusteeship Council, in considering the question of conditions in Ruanda-Urundi this year, devoted considerable attention to the future fate of the Trust Territory and to the question of giving independence to Ruanda-Urundi. This, of course, does not minimize the significance of the economic and social questions which also call for solution. Since the Trust Territory is on the eve of independence, it is particularly important at present for the Administering Authority to take measures such that in the remaining time everything may be done to improve the living conditions of the indigenous population and to develop the economy of the Territory. During the forty years of its administration, the Belgian Government did not adopt the necessary measures for raising the living standards of the indigenous inhabitants. That is why the standard of living has remained extremely low. On the basis of evidence from reliable sources, the average per capita income in Ruanda-Urundi is only about 160 francs -- in other words, more than sixty times less than the earnings in the metropolitan territory. In the majority of the petitions from the indigenous population, it is stated that the inhabitants are still living in conditions of dire poverty. Even an official personality such as the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi had to recognize the existence of, as he called it, the problem of universal pauperism among the population.

(Mr. Oberemko, USSR)

The indigenous population is suffering from a lack of land, and nevertheless the Administering Authority has consistently carried out a policy of alienation of land from the indigenous population and the creation of large plantations for the Europeans. As a result of this policy, an African family, on the basis of official data, has available to it an average of 1.5 to 2 hectares of land, whereas Europeans hold considerable estates, consisting of 75 to 200 hectares each. The backward state of agriculture does not provide for a subsistence economy.

There is both open and concealed unemployment. A large number of indigenous inhabitants cannot find employment in Ruanda-Urundi and are therefore obliged to seek it outside the borders of their own country. The workers who are employed earn only about 400 francs a month, which is approximately \$3.

As was pointed out in the report of the Visiting Mission, the Territory frequently suffered in the past from famine, and some of the officials are now experiencing some alarm in this connexion. In their view, it is possible, as a result of recent events -- and if there are unfavourable climatic conditions -- to have a terrible famine in the Territory once again. They have noted the substantial decrease in the reserves of food supplies in 1959. These alarm signals must be heeded by the Administering Authority, and it must take all the necessary measures for providing the population with the necessary food supplies.

The financial situation of the Trust Territory, which was rather unsatisfactory in the past, continues to worsen. Toward the end of 1959, according to the testimony of the Visiting Mission, the national debt of Ruanda-Urundi was 4.63 billion francs. The greater part of this sum was constituted by loans offered by Belgium. The Visiting Mission points out that the situation of Government finances in Ruanda-Urundi is serious, and difficulties are anticipated in the future.

In these circumstances, a question inevitably arises as to the need for a considerable increase in the funds being earmarked by the Administering Authority for the improvement of the financial and economic situation of the Trust Territory. It is quite clear that it is precisely the Administering Authority which must provide the necessary assistance to the Trust Territory, pursuant to

(Mr. Oberemko, USSR)

its obligations under the Trusteeship Agreement, and it should not try to shift this obligation to any international organ or organization, including the United Nations.

In addition to a substantial increase in the allocation of funds for the Trust Territory, the Administering Authority should, in our view, also give assurances that it will not require from the independent State of Ruanda-Urundi any reimbursement of loans formerly made available for the covering of the budget deficit. This is true particularly if we take into account the source of these loans. The Soviet delegation spoke of this in some detail at the last session of the Trusteeship Council.

Of particular concern is the completely unsatisfactory situation in regard to public education. In 1957, the Visiting Mission noted that the situation in the educational field was far from satisfactory and far from meeting the needs of the Territory and that much work had to be done in order to improve the system of public education. Not only has the situation not improved since then, but it has actually deteriorated. In referring to a lack of funds, the Administering Authority is not only not adopting the most resolute measures for the development of primary education, but is in fact hampering its development. That is the explanation of the fact that in 1957 there were approximately 245,000 pupils in primary schools whereas in 1959 there were only 237,000. The natural increase in the population is considerably higher than the increase in the number of those attending schools. It is also necessary to take into account the fact that four-fifths of the children of school age are not getting any education at all and are simply left out of the educational system and its programmes.

Even on the basis of the official data provided by the Administering Authority, more than half of the inhabitants are illiterate. It is known, of course, that the rate of illiteracy is considerably higher than is shown by the official data, since the official statistics do not take into account children who have spent a year or two in school, who do not receive any further education and who more or less relapse into illiteracy.

(Mr. Oberemko, USSR)

The Visiting Mission, although it could not devote sufficient attention to the question of the educational situation in the Trust Territory, nevertheless did mention that there are considerable gaps in this field. Of particular importance is the adoption of a spearhead programme to improve the situation in education. For the financing of this programme, the Administering Authority must provide the necessary funds out of its own budget.

Such measures must also be carried out in the field of health, where the situation is equally unsatisfactory.

The whole complex of such measures must serve one single purpose, namely, the speediest attainment of independence by the Trust Territory and the facilitating of the transfer of all authority in all fields from the hands of the Belgian administration to the hands of the representative organs of government of the Africans.

In terminating my statement, I express the hope that the Drafting Committee on Ruanda-Urundi will duly take into account the comments and proposals of the Soviet delegation and will see that they are reflected in the draft conclusions and recommendations presented for the consideration of the Trusteeship Council.

Mr. LOUTFI (United Arab Republic) (interpretation from French): In the Visiting Mission's report, which the Council members have studied, particular mention is made of the political situation obtaining in the Trust Territory. In our opinion, the report contains sufficient information concerning this situation and the future development of the Territory. My delegation formed part of the Visiting Mission and has subscribed to the contents of the report; therefore we wish to restrict ourselves in this statement to emphasizing certain aspects of the political situation which, in our opinion, are of capital importance for the future of the Trust Territory.

It would be superfluous to recall that my delegation considers the most important factor in this domain to be respect for the freely-expressed wishes of the people of the Territory. The Visiting Mission upon its arrival in Ruanda-Urundi was confronted with a very delicate political situation. A state of tension prevailed, following on disturbances which had occurred in November 1959, and there was fear that these disturbances, with their attendant burnings and bloodshed might be renewed. This situation is described in detail in the report.

The Visiting Mission found it necessary to issue appeals for calm, asking the people to avoid provocations and to maintain order. The Mission was also obliged, in view of the circumstances, to issue, at the time when it was about to leave the Territory, a communiqué containing suggestions and recommendations for solution of the problems of Ruanda-Urundi. These actions of the Visiting Mission have been criticized, and as a matter of principle, we might say that the criticism was well-founded. We, however, were seeking to preserve calm and avoid bloodshed. With regard to the causes of the disturbances of November 1959, we did not wish to pass judgement or assess responsibility; we wished simply to devise adequate measures which might be taken to provide solutions for the serious problems faced by Ruanda-Urundi.

In its communiqué of 31 March as well as in the conclusions of its report, the Visiting Mission made certain recommendations concerning which I would like to state the position of my delegation; likewise, I wish to state our position with respect to the latest political developments in the Trust Territory.

(Mr. Loutfi, United Arab Republic)

From the moment of its arrival in the Territory, the Visiting Mission, after the conversations which it held with the political parties, felt that in order to put an end to the disturbances and the state of tension obtaining in the Territory, national reconciliation and reconciliation among the political parties was necessary, and that in order to achieve reconciliation relations between the local authorities and the political parties had to be improved. The people of Ruanda-Urundi, in their contact with the Mission, showed that they placed great confidence in the United Nations and expected our Organization to find a solution for their problems. A great deal was said at that time in the Territory about the round-table conference in the Belgian Congo at which had met all the political parties of the Congo together with the representative of the Belgian Government, and which had achieved, under delicate circumstances, an understanding. The fact of this conference had greatly impressed the political leaders of the Trust Territory, and they felt that this was a way of finding a solution of their own problems. The Visiting Mission, after having studied the situation, felt that a meeting between representatives of the political parties and the Administering Authority might indeed assist in achieving national reconciliation, the advantages of which I need not emphasize.

The representative of the Administering Authority accepted the idea of a conference on Ruanda-Urundi in which representatives of the population would participate. The Belgian Government informed the Visiting Mission that it intended to call for such a conference in August of the present year. The Mission wished to see the conference held as soon as possible because, in their opinion, a delay in calling the conference might provoke new disturbances. The Belgian Government also informed the Mission that communal elections, scheduled for June and July, would be postponed until a date soon after the projected conference. Unfortunately, when the Mission was in Brussels it was informed by the Belgian authorities that, according to information from local administrations, the Hutu party of Ruanda and the people in general were profoundly disappointed by the decision of the Belgian Government to postpone the communal elections, and that if that decision remained, new disturbances might break out. For these reasons, the Belgian Government had decided to convene a restricted meeting for

(Mr. Loutfi, United Arab Republic)

Ruanda in the month of May, the objective of which would be to achieve national reconciliation, to prepare and organize communal elections and to prepare for a more general conference to be held later; shortly after the meeting for Ruanda, the Government would convene a meeting for Urundi, and after that meeting the Administering Authority would proceed to communal elections as soon as possible, starting with Ruanda.

In section B of the Conclusions and Recommendations of the Visiting Mission's report, the Mission set forth its point of view concerning the decisions taken by the Administering Authority, emphasizing that it would have preferred for the two pre-electoral meetings a broader representation. The Mission expresses the hope that all precautions will be taken to ensure that the most highly qualified political leaders will be invited to those meetings and, in particular, that the representation of UNAR will not give rise to any difficulties. Further on in this section the report states that it is even more important, in the Mission's opinion, that these elections be held in an atmosphere of calm, freedom and confidence so that the results may not be contested.

This represents exactly the point of view of my delegation. I must say that we were disappointed that UNAR was not represented in the Brussels conference, a fact which deprived the conference of a great deal of its importance. The Mission had expressed itself concerning the necessity of this representation at the Brussels conference, and in the opinion of my delegation at least, the participation of UNAR would have ensured the success of the conference.

With regard to the communal elections, we fear that they may be held in an atmosphere of tension, and that because of the existence of a state of emergency, the results may be contested, thereby delaying national reconciliation.

We have noted with satisfaction that the Belgian Government has no objection to the holding of these elections on a basis of direct universal suffrage for setting up national assemblies for Ruanda and Urundi, no objection to the holding of these elections at the beginning of 1961 and to their being supervised by the United Nations. I consider this to be a very important recommendation of the Visiting Mission. In our opinion, it may bring about

(Mr. Loutfi, United Arab Republic)

a solution of the problem. In effect, these elections will provide authorized representatives who can discuss with the Administration the future of the Territory, and they will also permit the formation of a responsible government. These assemblies will elaborate a constitution and establish democratic institutions. The Mwami of Ruanda has already, on many occasions, expressed his intention of making a constitutional state of Ruanda. We can only note with satisfaction this intention of the Mwami, and we believe that it reflects in general the aspirations of the people as well as of the political parties. We need no longer doubt the good-will of the Mwami, who is very much concerned with the development of his country. The establishment of these assemblies might also provide a solution for the problem of the connexions which must exist between Ruanda and Urundi. We would have preferred a common assembly for the whole territory, but it seems that for the moment this gives rise to problems, and that it would be better to leave to the people of the Territory, after the elections, the problem of determining the relationship which they wish to establish between the two states. Under these circumstances, my delegation hopes that the question of determination of trusteeship will be envisaged during the sixteenth session of the General Assembly in 1961.

(Mr. Loutfi, United Arab Republic)

However, if these recommendations are to bring about the achievement of the objectives for which they have been proposed, it would seem that certain measures are necessary. First of all, it would appear that a meeting between representatives of the Administering Authority and the political parties is necessary. Concerning this matter, the Visiting Mission stated:

"... the Mission recalls that one of the essential conditions for the success of a round-table conference or any other attempt at conciliation is the assurance that the participants in such negotiations should indeed be the true representatives of the political parties, even if they happen to be refugees abroad or involved in legal sentences or proceedings connected with recent disturbances in Ruanda." (T/1538, page 167)

These conditions seem to be indispensable, and we trust that the Belgian Government will take them into consideration with regard to the new meetings.

This leads me to make a brief statement with regard to an amnesty. We have already heard with satisfaction the statement by the Belgian representative that he was not opposed in principle to an amnesty. In our opinion, such an amnesty would contribute to restoring calm in the Territory. It might be discussed in detail at the meetings between the Administering Authority and the leaders of the political parties.

Another question the solution of which would contribute to the pacification of the Territory is the question of the special powers entrusted to the Special Resident of Ruanda. We can only subscribe to what the Mission states in paragraph 469 of its report. In this paragraph, the Mission states that it:

"... believes that any unnecessary continuation of the Special Resident's power to suspend or restrict certain fundamental rights will in the long run not be conducive to reducing the political tension now reigning in the country." (Ibid., page 167)

Another problem in Ruanda is that of the refugees. We feel that it is necessary for the Administration to make an attempt to reintegrate the refugees and to resettle them in their original areas. We have noted with satisfaction the information given by the Belgian representative on this matter, and we hope that the Administration will try to achieve the objectives of the complete reintegration of the refugees.

(Mr. Loutfi, United Arab Republic)

The situation in Urundi is much better, and it seems that calm obtains in that Territory. We hope that this situation will continue and that the political parties will work together for the higher interests of the country.

The Visiting Mission, because of the situation prevailing in Ruanda, could not go into greater detail in economic, social and educational matters. We might say that in these fields, if progress has been achieved in a general manner, as we see from the report, nevertheless there is still a great deal to be done. Ruanda-Urundi is a poor and over-populated country which will continue to need financial assistance. It must be able to count upon the Administering Authority for this, and I am sure the Administering Authority will continue to assist. Also, Ruanda-Urundi will have to appeal to international agencies, although the resources of these agencies are very restricted.

Education is very important at this moment when the country is about to achieve its independence. Financial and technical assistance in this field is particularly necessary and we trust that the Administering Authority, the United Nations and the specialized agencies, especially UNESCO, will do everything possible to assist the Territory in this regard.

The Visiting Mission recommended that a United Nations Mission should be sent as early as possible to Ruanda-Urundi to help the Administration in the development of the Territory. We have been told that negotiations are under way between the authorities concerned, and we hope that an agreement will be reached as soon as possible. I am also sure that the Belgian delegation will inform us in due course about political and economic development in the Territory, and I believe that this will take place in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly. Yesterday the delegation of India suggested that the question of Ruanda-Urundi should be inscribed upon the agenda of the General Assembly, and my delegation supports that suggestion. Of course, if a request is made that the elections be held under United Nations observation, that will make it necessary for the question to figure upon the agenda.

(Mr. Loutfi, United Arab Republic)

In conclusion, my delegation continues to hope that national reconciliation will be possible. It will require the co-operation of all the leaders of Ruanda-Urundi, and I hope that they will realize that their country, which is going through difficult moments, cannot solve its problems other than by union among all the citizens. We noted with satisfaction that the oral petitioner, Mr. Rwagasana, declared before the Council that UNAR is ready to negotiate with other political parties and with the Administering Authority. In fact, he told the Council on behalf of his party that there was no one among them who harboured rancour. Furthermore, he said that UNAR had only one desire, to meet all parties and the representatives of Belgium in discussions in a friendly atmosphere. He said, frankly and publicly, that he was convinced that better solutions and national reconciliation would come about as a result of such conferences.

We are confident that Belgium which has always displayed a liberal policy, notably when it granted independence recently to the Belgian Congo, will do everything possible to bring about a solution of the problems of Ruanda-Urundi and will lead that Territory to independence. We hope that the people who have shown their trust and confidence in the United Nations will achieve their goals and that very soon we shall see Ruanda-Urundi take its place among the independent countries of Africa.

Before concluding, I should like, as a member of the Visiting Mission, to thank those delegations which expressed praise for the Visiting Mission, and I would also associate myself with what was said by the Chairman of the Visiting Mission, Mr. Mason Sears, when he thanked the representatives of the Administering Authority for their co-operation during our visit. I would also pay tribute to the co-operation in the Council of the representative of Belgium and the Special Representative, as well as of the oral petitioner.

Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (interpretation from French): In speaking last, my delegation is not pretentious enough to think that it can throw any further light on the problem of Ruanda-Urundi or to express any attitude or suggest any solutions which have not already been expressed. We have

(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

listened with considerable interest to the statements made by our colleagues, and there is one point we would wish to highlight, and that is the passionate attention with which we have followed these debates in which the various delegations taking part have shown the conscientiousness with which the Trusteeship Council has dealt with one of the most difficult problems before it.

It has been frequently said that since this is an under-developed country, the political problem should not cause sight to be lost of the capital importance of the raising of the standard of living and the social promotion of the population. If our colleagues on the Visiting Mission have referred at great length and with considerable accuracy and concern about the political evolution of Ruanda-Urundi, for which we pay great tribute, they have been more discreet in relation to the economic conditions prevailing in the Territory. But, if the report devotes 170 pages to political matters and only mentions the economic and social questions, this is quite proper.

(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

Our eminent colleague, Mr. Loutfi, has just given us the reasons for that. But the immediate problems which the Visiting Mission had to face up to, with so much courage, give to its report and to our debates a special light. If the programme of our Council has not made it possible to have a more thorough study of the economic conditions in which the new State is readying itself for self-government and independence, there remains, however, the fact that this economic and social context commands and governs the political problem in many respects.

Indeed, the Secretariat, in a document which summarizes the general situation in the Territory for us, does not hesitate in saying, quite appropriately, that Ruanda-Urundi is first and foremost a poor and over-populated country. It will come forward from the balance sheet -- on the basis of the limited information which is given to us, as well as the more detailed information given by the Administering Authority -- that the financial situation is quite serious, and especially serious in regard to public funds. This, of course, goes on to complicate the social problems.

We are even told quite clearly that the annual increase of 2.8 per cent, which would double the population in thirty years, gives rise to a very serious problem for which no solution is foreseen now. The recent political events, added to the suppression of obligatory cash crops in 1958, has brought about a decrease in the food supplies. That is why the Resident-General has said that if in 1956 each inhabitant could have 81 kilogrammes of cassava meal, in 1961 this supply would drop to 10 kilogrammes. If this one example is to be taken, it is a very serious situation.

Some Belgian officials who remember the tragic events of 1944 think, indeed, that if the climatological conditions were to become unfavourable, and if the political troubles were to be prolonged, more terrible famines yet would certainly occur. The Belgian administration has tried, in the course of these last few years, to remedy this situation. The Visiting Mission, which enumerates the first results obtained, is definitely very generous in its tribute. In this respect it mentions the success as the result of the introduction of cash crops and the exporting of coffee, and this has been chiefly brought to the international market also.

(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

An effort has been made to increase the production of cotton and its derivatives. The mining industry has also been considered very seriously by the officials of the Administering Authority. Unfortunately, the drop in certain prices for such commodities as tungsten and cassiterite has caused a considerable fall-off, and has resulted in decreasing resources. The decrease in revenue certainly had reflected itself upon the income of the Territory. Therefore, we are well authorized to wonder what we are to do in the case of the deficit which has so far been made up by the Belgian authorities. The Belgian authorities have asked the Association of European Study Societies to conduct a global examination which would make it possible to establish an economic and social programme. The financing of these studies is provided for by the Development Fund of the Common Market. We are all certain, of course, that the authorities of Ruanda and of Urundi will take into account the recommendations and conclusions of this study.

Let us therefore congratulate the Belgian authorities for having ensured that Ruanda-Urundi will obtain, in five yearly instalments, an amount of 500 million francs from the same Fund. The advantages of such assistance, of course, need not be over-emphasized because we will remember that the General Council declared in 1959 the following:

"By 1960, Ruanda-Urundi will be forced, unfortunately, to rely upon Belgian subsidies for almost half of its public expenses, both ordinary and extraordinary."

It is not necessary to dwell upon the fact that these problems have, in spite of all the efforts of the Administration, affected education, the training of cadres, and the solution of social problems, which are so complex in Ruanda-Urundi; they have hardly been facilitated by all this.

We are pleased to note that a technical assistance mission of the United Nations will shortly be sent to Ruanda-Urundi and will examine the series of problems as a whole. This is the background on which the political problems -- the most difficult problems that we have had to examine so far -- are placed. The problems arise within the African context, with particular acuity, much more so in Ruanda than in Urundi, which we have perhaps had occasion to overlook during the course of our debates.

We know that in November of last year serious troubles occurred and that definite tensions still exist. These troubles resulted in loss of life, destruction of property, exodus of populations, and so on. We do not think, after the detailed investigation of the Mission, that it is necessary to come back to the origins and sources of this drama and, therefore, to the responsibilities which as a matter of fact, in certain respects, have been shared by several entities.

We should note, as was stated by the Resident-General to the Visiting Mission, that the bloody events of November 1959 could not be considered as anything implying serious political repercussions, because it was led only by a local mob. Reference was made to military repression. That is not true, because the Administering Authority is responsible for the maintenance of order. As a matter of fact, we must pay tribute to the Congolese and Belgian troops which have fulfilled a very difficult task.

We should note that their presence is a guarantee for order, security and social peace. Their presence is not connected with any exceptional regime, but this regime will diminish and disappear as soon as law and order is restored.

We were pleased to hear that the freedom of assembly has been re-established in the Territory and that the various parties can now freely hold their electoral campaigns. The troops should not in any sense interfere in the political fights, but their presence should ensure order in the inter-party competition. As long as there will not be any Ruanda government which will have adequate indigenous police, it is the strictest duty of the Administering Authority to maintain the order and the safety which the Trusteeship Agreement had vested in it, and all the Ruanda parties would definitely benefit from it.

What is of importance is not the past and the future; it is the possibility for Ruanda to overcome the past crisis and its aftermath and, beyond fraternal hatred, to come to independence in reconciliation and the union of all the sons of the land. In Urundi the situation, perhaps seen from an optimistic view, involves less reconciliation than adaptation of traditional institutions.

As was pointed out by the Special Representative, the conflict does not occur on the ethnic plane and the coexistence of the Hutu and the Tutsi has been more peaceful than that of Ruanda.

(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

If we are to examine the immediate future of the Territory as a whole, we will note that the Trusteeship Council is not in a position to adopt any decisions at this stage, at the present session. Ruanda-Urundi must in the near future assimilate a certain number of political and administrative reforms, of which we know there are broad lines, but the final stage of which we do not as yet know. In the absence of a final solution, which would indeed be premature, we nevertheless have to state certain principles in order to orient the action which the Belgian Government intends to carry out in the months to come.

(Mr. Kosciusko-Mbrizet, France)

First of all, it should be remembered that the Trusteeship Council as well as the Administering Authority has duties in respect of the Territory. When the international Organization permits Ruanda-Urundi to fly with its own wings and to accede to independence, we must be assured that it will be able to manage its own affairs in a proper manner without any oppression on the part of any group and with all the safeguards and guarantees for the respect of democratic legality, political peace and social peace. Yes, indeed, we have duties towards the people of Ruanda-Urundi. We have duties in respect of the huge mass of Hutu, who desire social emancipation and liberation from the feudal system.

We recognize the purpose to be played by the Tutsi once the Territory becomes independent. Therefore, if everybody in this room agrees that independence must shortly materialize, they must necessarily agree that independence should not be given haphazardly. We do not have the right to wash our hands off Ruanda-Urundi, as it were, by exclaiming, "After us, let there be the flood." We cannot condemn Ruanda-Urundi to anarchy because the problems it lays before us are too complicated and because the whims and fancies of history, the millennial isolation, the disturbance of population pressure and an explosive political and social structure have transformed this island in the African continent into a potential source of concern for its mentors.

We are told that the Belgian Congo is going to be independent very shortly, and we realize the impatience manifested by the petitioner, although he does not represent more than a fraction of public opinion. We also know that Ruanda-Urundi is in no sense less mature politically than its neighbour, and we also know that the population of Ruanda-Urundi is in fact legitimately proud of that. Apart from the fact that the problem of the Congo is outside the competence of the Trusteeship Council, we must insist upon the fact that we have a trusteeship mission as regards Ruanda-Urundi, and we cannot share that responsibility.

We should also add that the Council will recall that a prime minister of a Trust Territory himself asked, after the elections which had brought him to power, that the proclamation of independence be deferred by two odd years in order

(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

that the institutions might be established and be properly run in the interests of the new State and its population. I am not saying that we should follow that example. We are entirely prepared, at the proper time, to adopt a date in the very near future for the termination of trusteeship and independence, but there are interim measures and these interim measures are the setting up of an assembly and a government which would work properly and democratically.

The main problems in Ruanda-Urundi, including the problem of reconciliation, seem to us to pivot around the legislative elections, which will make it possible to set up central governing organs and will make the personality of the country more clear.

We can speak of the communal elections which will come before that. We doubt, with the Visiting Mission, the appropriateness of their maintenance because the initial reforms by Belgium, of which they were an element, have already been outstripped by events. As far as we are concerned, these communal elections are a step towards autonomy or self-government. These elections could contribute towards a settlement of the problem of the interim authorities. Also, it is important to provide the two countries with local representative institutions. The population will be able to familiarize itself with electoral procedures and, therefore, will be invited to a dress rehearsal of what is to come.

We can have different views as to the value of the preliminary talks in Brussels regarding Ruanda-Urundi. We regret that UNAR, which declares that it is ready to assume its part of the power, has decided not to be represented there. Nevertheless, we can be unanimous in relation to the legislative elections. What is of importance is that they take place in time and that they show clearly the trend of public opinion as it now stands. The Charter is quite unequivocal in this respect, where reference is made to the freely expressed wishes of the population concerned and their participation in representative organs. We are happy to see that the Visiting Mission and the Administering Authority are in agreement on this point, that general elections be provided at the beginning of 1961, and that the authorities in Brussels not only accept that but at this stage actually call for the supervision of operations

(Mr. Kosciuszko-Morizet, France)

by a mission of observers from the United Nations. It should be recommended that these elections be based on universal direct suffrage of men and women.

We may wish to associate ourselves, as a matter of fact, with the proposal made by the delegation of India, to put the problem of Ruanda-Urundi separately on the agenda of our next session. Between now and the convening of the electoral body next year, the political climate would have to be pacified and at the same time, if I may say so, be decanted.

We have been struck by the recent proliferation -- it is hardly a year old -- of political parties, which are nearly twelve in number in Ruanda and in Urundi. It is important that these parties do not squander their efforts and that they try to find, in an atmosphere of harmony and agreement, a definition of certain principles which will be acceptable to the majority of the population. This preparation of the free electoral climate will be facilitated by the round-table conference which will take place after the communal elections. Like the Visiting Mission, we hope that persons other than representatives of political parties -- eminent personalities in private life -- take part in that work.

With regard to the purpose of that conference, we feel that it should involve the organization of general elections, legislation and such electoral procedures which would ensure the impartiality of those elections. We also think that it should involve amnesty. We know that this problem of amnesty is a delicate one. Amnesty, which is desirable, must not be a political victory for those who benefit from it; otherwise, it would fail in its purpose. This conference should not only help bring about political pacification, but it should also facilitate the participation of all political forces of Ruanda in the elections.

We must say in this connexion that the statements made here by the petitioner, Mr. Rwagasana, with respect to his desire to abstain from using violence and his desire to co-operate in peace and tranquility with the other parties, seemed to us to favour reconciliation. This thesis might usefully be taken up at that round-table conference. Of course, it will be necessary for such statements to be not only statements, but facts. We think, therefore, that

(Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, France)

the foregoing should be the objectives of this conference. We were less persuaded, in spite of what the Visiting Mission said in paragraphs 462 and 463 of its report, that the round-table conference should go beyond institutional problems and should deal with the future relations between Ruanda and Urundi. We cannot prejudge in any sense the division or the unity of the two countries.

All these problems, in our view, should be settled after the general elections when Belgium will have as spokesmen elected representatives and responsible Governments. Only provisional and conservative measures should stem from the round table conference and it would be regrettable for the Administering Authority, under pressure of this or that private tendency -- and we know that these do exist, unfortunately -- to be obliged to press for administrative separation of the two countries before the elections.

The question has been raised here of having at this round table conference a representative of the United Nations, participating as an observer, or perhaps taking a more active role. In our view, the best kind of round table conference would be a round table only between the parties of Ruanda. We think that it is rather difficult, perhaps, in the given circumstances and that it would, therefore, be useful for the Administering Authority to take the initiative of this round table conference and to encourage the results towards reconciliation. Normally, it is not part of the mandate of the United Nations to interfere in such problems and we are all aware of the difficulties that might arise. In any event, as far as we are concerned, if there should be a United Nations presence at that table it would be only at the specific request of the Administering Authority.

On the other hand, what seems to us to be useful, as far as the Trusteeship Council is concerned, is to address to all the parties a somewhat solemn appeal that they might be reconciled, that they would participate in this round table conference in order that the elections to be held subsequently would make it possible actually to establish the true strength of each of them and to provide the Territory with the necessary institutions.

Once the elections have been concluded and the institutions set up, the Administering Authority and the Trusteeship Council will know what to do as regards the wishes of the population in relation to its future: immediate independence and termination of the Trusteeship regime, or independence so phased that certain reforms could be introduced if they were needed. For the time being, as I said before, the Council can only wait. It would be out of place at this stage to fix a time-table for the termination of the Trusteeship

System. Thus we have before us a limited but important objective, and one without which nothing can be done. We must be sure that there will be general elections in a favourable and agreeable climate. We are persuaded that Belgium is prepared to act on those lines, while at the same time carrying out political, administrative, social reforms, particularly in the field of education, where they are so necessary. This plan of action, which takes into account in large measure the suggestions of the mission, must open the way to national reconciliation in Ruanda and to the pacification of feelings in Urundi. Our duty is to help. We know that the plan is impartial because, as the Resident-General said on 3 March last, once democracy has been installed, Belgium will withdraw, its task completed. We could not conclude better than in the words of the Visiting Mission:

"In concluding, the Visiting Mission pays tribute to the Belgian Administration for its contribution to the development of the Trust Territory. Much remains to be done to ensure a happy and prosperous future for Ruanda-Urundi, but the Visiting Mission has confidence in the will and ability of the Banyaruanda and Barundi, their Bami and their political leaders, as well as the other sections of the population, to work together to overcome all their difficulties." (T/1538, page 161, para.454)

We could not express a more sincere wish for the happiness of the people of Ruanda-Urundi.

Our thanks to Mr. Claeys Bouúaert are particularly warm. With great frankness and great clarity, he concealed none of the difficulties which face the Administering Authority. Mr. Reisdorff has also made a very valuable contribution. We wish him every success on his return to Ruanda-Urundi in the delicate task which lies ahead of him.

The PRESIDENT: This concludes the general debate on Ruanda-Urundi except, of course, for the final statements which, I understand, will be delivered by the representatives of the Administering Authority on Monday morning, 27 June.

I would suggest that we now take up the other item on our agenda.

AGENDA ITEM 3d

EXAMINATION OF ANNUAL REPORTS OF ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF TRUST TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE ON NEW GUINEA (T/L.987)

The PRESIDENT: In the short time remaining to us before adjournment of this meeting I shall ask the Chairman of the Drafting Committee on New Guinea to present the Committee's report. We shall take up the report at our meeting this afternoon.

Mr. RASGOTRA (India) (Chairman of the Drafting Committee on New Guinea): The report which has been drawn up by the Drafting Committee appointed by the Council at its 1089th meeting has been in the hands of members of the Council for some days, and I trust that they are by now thoroughly familiar with the recommendations that this Drafting Committee has made.

I do not think that it is necessary for me, at this stage, to introduce the various proposals, recommendations and observations that the Committee has drafted for the Council, at any great length. I should perhaps say in brief that this report is, by and large, a unanimous one and I should like to express the hope, on behalf of the Council's Drafting Committee, that it will be similarly adopted by the Council.

It is a lengthy document. It is a document of some unusual length, I would say, in comparison with the reports which previous Drafting Committee have drawn up with regard to this particular Territory, but that is due to the fact, I think, that there is a great deal more of developmental activity in the social, educational, economic, as well as political fields in the Territory itself and, correspondingly,

there is a greater interest. Greater interest was indeed displayed by members of the Council in the affairs of the Territory this year. Therefore, the report is a bit longer than usual but it is, on the whole, a forward looking report. It gives expression to a progressive viewpoint, and I am glad to say that the representative of the Administering Authority, the Special Representative, who was with the Committee during its work in drafting these recommendations, was of great assistance in our work. He was present with us throughout the twelve or thirteen meetings that the Committee held. The suggestions which he made were very valuable. He brought in new information at times to correct the perspective that the Committee had on the basis of the information previously available to it; and I can perhaps also add that, by and large, the Special Representative was in agreement with the viewpoint that the Committee has taken in presenting these recommendations. I should like to express the Committee's gratitude to the Special Representative for the very able and very kind assistance which he gave it in its work.

There is one point of some importance and I shall probably come back to it later, a point on which the Drafting Committee could not reach agreement. There were some other points too; these are all mentioned in the introductory part and perhaps it will not be necessary for my delegation to come back to them. But the proposals mentioned in paragraph 7(a) and paragraph 7(b) concerning the last chapter of the report on target dates, the advance towards the objectives of the Charter and the Trusteeship System, are given here and it is stated that no agreement could be reached in the Committee as to which proposal should be adopted. There are two views; the non-administering members hold one view, and the administering members hold another.

(Mr. Rasgotra, India)

The matter was of vital importance, and, since the division was of that kind, the Committee felt that it would not be proper or desirable to have the matter put to the vote in the Committee itself. Therefore, we have brought both proposals for the consideration of the Council in the hope that the Council will adopt the proposal that is more in line with the views of the General Assembly. That is a personal hope I am expressing. I could not speak on behalf of the Committee on that matter. As I have said, I shall revert to this matter later on, not as Chairman but as the representative of India.

I should like to take this opportunity to express the Committee's warm thanks and my own special gratitude to the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. James Lewis, who was of great help to us. The Committee was working under pressure and in certain difficulties of which you are aware. At times the interpreters were not available; at times the translation services were difficult of access because there was a good deal of other activity going on in the United Nations at that time. Despite all these difficulties, it was largely due to the hard work of the Secretary of the Committee, to his diligence and to his ability, which brought forth quickly very ably drawn-up drafts, that the Committee was able to accomplish its task over a period of time which was not really too long. I should also like to express the Committee's appreciation for the services which Mr. Lewis's staff rendered to it during these meetings.

The PRESIDENT: I wonder how much the Council will like the suggestion I am about to make, which is to meet at 2.30 this afternoon. The reason for this suggestion is that by doing so we may be able to avert a night meeting. I think that is a rather interesting suggestion. The Secretary of the Council also suggests that we be on time. I see that everybody is in agreement, and therefore the Council will meet at 2.30 p.m.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.