



Monday, 27 March 1961,
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New York

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Chairman: Mr. Adnan M. PACHACHI (Iraq).

AGENDA ITEM 43

Question of South West Africa (*continued*)

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOUTH WEST AFRICA ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 1568 (XV) (A/4705) (*continued*)

1. Mr. OWONO (Cameroun) recalled that the question of South West Africa had remained on the Committee's agenda because his delegation had announced its intention of submitting a draft resolution on the subject. Despite the fact that the resolution approved at the 1115th meeting was a step forward, his delegation considered that another resolution was called for in view of the fact that South Africa was about to leave the Commonwealth. After consulting various delegations, however, he had come to the conclusion that there was not sufficient support for that point of view to ensure the likelihood of a majority in favour of such a draft resolution and he had therefore renounced his intention of submitting it. He would submit it at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly if by then no action had resulted from the judicial proceedings before the International Court of Justice which would enable the United Nations to exercise supervision over South West Africa.

2. His delegation was not convinced by the argument put forward by the United Kingdom representative that the United Kingdom Government had no responsibility in the matter. The second paragraph of the preamble to the Mandate clearly showed that the Mandate had been conferred on the British Crown and its execution entrusted to the Government of South Africa. No other interpretation of that paragraph was possible.

3. The CHAIRMAN said that in view of the statement made by the representative of Cameroun the debate on the question of South West Africa was now terminated. He therefore requested the Rapporteur to prepare a report on the subject which would be examined at a later meeting.

Requests for hearings (*continued*)

REQUESTS CONCERNING AGENDA ITEM 13 (REPORT OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL) (*continued*)*

4. The CHAIRMAN announced that three further requests for hearings in connexion with the plebiscite in the Northern Cameroons had been received. If there was no objection they would be circulated in the usual manner.

*It was so decided.*¹

AGENDA ITEM 45

Question of the future of Ruanda-Urundi (A/4689-A/4692, A/4694, A/4706 and Add.1, A/C.4/471) (*continued*)

HEARING OF PETITIONERS (*continued*)

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Pierre Ngunzu, representative of the Parti Hutu-Tutsi-Twa, and Mr. Urbain Bandy, Mr. Joseph Biroli and Mr. Jean Kigoma, representatives of the Front commun, took places at the Committee table.

5. Mr. NGUNZU (Parti Hutu-Tutsi-Twa) (*translated from French*):² I do not wish to speak of myself, but for the sake of clarity I am obliged to outline my previous relations with the Administering Authority.

6. In 1950, after I finished my studies, I worked exclusively in the private sector, where the organization in general and where justice and respect for the African are vastly superior to those in the administrative sector. In 1957, when the Administering Authority decided to set up the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi, I was appointed a full member of this Council, whose existence, I feel compelled to state before this international assembly, was the salvation of the country; throughout the period during which the Council functioned, the Administering Authority never abused its rights as it does today; and we are extremely sorry that this body no longer exists, the Administering Authority having unofficially abolished it in order to have a freer hand in wrecking the organization of Ruanda-Urundi.

7. In 1958, at the suggestion of some Europeans, I set up a political party called Parti du peuple (PP), from which I resigned shortly afterwards with reservations, because the Administering Authority had in a very cunning way interfered with the sound politics of the country. As an example, I shall read the following letter from a Belgian colonist to the Committee of the Parti du peuple:

* Resumed from the 1108th meeting.

¹ The requests were subsequently circulated in document A/C.4/469/Add.4.

² In accordance with the decision taken by the Fourth Committee at its 117th meeting (see A/C.4/SR.117, para. 28), the text of this statement is reproduced in full.

“Usumbura
“5 March 1960

“To the Chairman,
“Vice-Chairmen,
“Regional delegates
“Sirs,

“I have just learned that you have been indescribably overcome by fear.

“The movement is no longer advancing: the manifestos of other political parties are circulated in advance but the liberating party remains unknown. Poor BARUNDI BAKANGWA (intimidated Burundi), the majority of whom are Bahutu, account for 84 per cent of the population. I am the first to suffer from this and I promise to do everything possible to restore racial justice, which has hitherto been trampled under foot by the feudalists, these dictators and oppressors in the country—I can speak with authority for I have consulted the Government, which promises financial support to the party which I have just founded (PARTI DU PEUPLE). Above all do not worry, remain strong and independent; I have just spoken of this to your Vice-Governor-General, who will shortly arrange officially for the release of the leaders and will allow them to issue their manifestos.

“It is my duty to inform the Batares (founders of the PDC) about the discrimination regarding the succession to the throne, which has always been reserved for the Bezi. In this connexion, it will be sufficient to contact Chief Ntidendereza (big brother of Biroli), who will certainly have considerable influence.

“Keep calm, victory is ours. I have already given you my support and above all placed my confidence in all of you, especially in Baribwegure Joachim.

“(Signed) MAUS Albert.”

8. Subsequently, His Majesty King Mwambutsa of Burundi, in agreement with the Administering Authority, gave me the command of a chiefdom in one of the districts of Burundi, where I again founded a national democratic political party called HTT for the traditional union of the whole of Burundi.

9. Because this party, like UPRONA and the Coalition, was nationalist, the Administering Authority took pleasure in destroying them, accusing them of being communist and racist and putting all the great leaders of these parties in prison.

10. The situation in Burundi is serious, and I shall give you the facts.

11. Firstly, during the last meeting which the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi was able to hold, Mr. Joseph Gitera of Ruanda, supported by His Excellency Monseigneur Bigirumwami also of Ruanda, asked the Resident-General of Ruanda-Urundi, who was the Chairman of this Council, to take action to put a stop to the incidents in Ruanda and, he said, to bring his fatherly influence to bear in order to prevent the massacres and burning of houses, so that peace and calm could be restored in the country. The reply was most disappointing. It was as follows: in view of the gravity and delicacy of the question, and as it is not included on the agenda, it will be dealt with later and the meeting is adjourned. To our mind, this means that it is the Administering Authority which is causing and organizing the disturbances in Ruanda-Urundi, just as it is doing in the Congo.

12. Secondly, the reason the Administering Authority has imprisoned the great nationalist political leaders such as Mr. Gaspard Nkeshimana, Mr. Joseph Mboneko, Mr. Bonaventure Kibwa, Mr. Jean Simbavimbere, etc., whose status and family are the same as those of the leaders of the Front commun (the party of the Administering Authority itself), is to benefit the latter party.

13. Thirdly, on 25 October 1960 the Resident-General bombarded us with a legislative ordinance granting all possible and imaginable powers to the Administering Authority; the purpose was to crush the nationalists and arouse public opinion in favour of his party, the Christian Democrats and its satellites known as the Front commun.

14. Fourthly, on one occasion the Administering Authority, taking advantage of the absence of His Majesty King Mwambutsa, who was temporarily in hospital at Lausanne (Switzerland) in October 1960, forcibly captured Prince Louis Rwagasore and placed him in controlled residence in order to foment a civil war so as to produce the same situation as in Ruanda; and to organize intensive propaganda against the monarchy, which was an obstacle to the policy of disunion pursued by the Belgians.

15. Fifthly, on 15 January 1961 the Resident-General once again bombarded us with legislative ordinances—Nos. 02/16 and 02/18 concerning the institutions and legislative elections in Ruanda and Nos. 02/17 and 02/19 concerning the institutions and elections in Burundi—in order to complete his work and establish the Government of his Front commun: in other words, the Government of the Administering Authority itself.

16. On 24 January 1961, without the agreement of His Majesty the King of Burundi and the uninformed population, the Administering Authority formed a provisional government in Burundi, which was immediately joined by a legislative council, both of them contested by the sovereign and by the people. To quote only one example among many, I shall read the following letter addressed to the General Secretary of UPRONA:

“Ngozi, 30 January 1961

“To the General Secretary of UPRONA at Usumbura:

“We, the UPRONA members in the province of Ngozi, have the honour to state that, in spite of the incorrect information given by Radio Usumbura that in the province of Ngozi there was total participation in the elections of 29.1.1961, the communal councillors who are members of UPRONA abstained from voting in these hasty and unplanned elections. After several inquiries we have ascertained that even if one of us did vote, he did so secretly. We have even discovered that several people who are not members of UPRONA did not vote because they were not prepared for the elections. We have noticed that the population is concerned about these elections, which were hasty and not universal.

“We urgently request to be allowed to express our grievances to the United Nations Commission. We would point out that several of those who abstained are being arrested for not participating in the elections. We request you to notify the United Nations Commission that the population has no confidence in these elections and wishes to have new elections, properly prepared and with universal suffrage.

"Another fact which we would state is that: on 28 January 1961 the Provincial Administrator summoned a number of people and when they arrived their photographs were taken to be used as proof that a number of people were calling for elections. We would point out that these people did not know why they had been summoned.

"(Signed) NDIKURYAYO Marcel, KAGAYO Claver, MAYUGI, NDAGIYEKUMAGI, NZABAMPAMA Martin, NYAMUSABA Deogratias, NKEN-GUBURUNDI, SUEDI Alimasi, MIDADUKO, MADEVERI Balthazar, HATUNGIMANA Augustin, BUKARA Simon, NDIKUMWAMI François, KIRUMUBWA Benoît, RUBAMBA Melchiade, KABUNDUGURU Joseph, MWA-MARAKIZA, KIHIGI, MASHIMANGO.
"Members of UPRONA in the district of Ngozi—Province of Ngozi."

17. Sixthly, Belgian colonialism has managed to disguise itself as a provisional government known as the *Front commun*, and it is quite certain that the same thing will occur in the case of the final government. That is the stumbling-block for the future of Burundi.

18. I should like to state before the Fourth Committee that, after reading the letter from Mr. Maus which I have just quoted, the only possible conclusion is that the Belgian Administration is contributing to the financing of certain parties to the detriment of the national parties. It also appears from this same letter that the Belgian Administration is the object of criticism. This Administration is criticized for having sown the seeds of discord and even hatred between clans and families in the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, and this is only too true. If the Administering Authority were consistent, before entering into party politics in order to set the parties against each other, it would first officially renounce its mandate. Instead of plucking up courage and divulging its true role, however, it is continuing to perpetrate the dishonest acts of which it is continually accused.

19. I would add with considerable apprehension that the plan drawn up by the Belgian Administration in Ruanda-Urundi will be followed until the bitter end since, in the eyes of the colonialist world, the United Nations is merely a legal body which makes laws and never manages to enforce them; the United Nations resolutions are therefore mere hypocrisy to which no importance need be attached because the United Nations will never intervene to enforce them.

20. My delegation would be glad if the United Nations Commission, which will be entrusted with the implementation of the resolutions concerning the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, could leave not one month after, but immediately after, the decision of the General Assembly.

21. In my capacity as delegate of the nationalist parties which have formed a coalition with UPRONA, in the interests of my dear country and in particular for the security of its inhabitants, I urgently request: firstly, the end of Belgian trusteeship in the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi; and secondly, the withdrawal of Belgian military and para-military troops from the Territory, if possible during the ten days immediately following the General Assembly decision, since the national army, under official orders from the United Nations Commission which will be in charge of the forthcoming legislative elections, in close collaboration with the Head of State (the King), would be in a

position to ensure order in the Territory and the elections will take place in a manner which is fair for all the parties, in a political atmosphere of peace and calm, which cannot be hoped for today with the politicized Belgian army.

22. Mr. BIROLI (Front commun) (*translated from French*):² Barely four months ago, the parties which are members of the Front commun, entrusted our delegation with the task of explaining to this Assembly the political situation in Burundi. Now that I am in your presence I should like once again, on behalf of my delegation, to express our gratitude to the United Nations and the Fourth Committee for the opportunity granted us of restating the standpoints of our parties. The inhabitants of Burundi are not unaware of the persistent and disinterested efforts made by the different missions, and by the Commission, of the United Nations to lead the country of Burundi to the rank of an independent and modern State.

23. Important events have occurred in the country since the last session of the Fourth Committee. One important step has been taken; for my country, which became self-governing in January, is today on the threshold of independence. More than ever, sincere co-operation with the United Nations constitutes one of the objectives of our policy, as much for the present, within the framework of the Trusteeship Agreement, as for the future, within the association of free nations.

24. The people of Burundi has become aware of its political rights and is preparing to assume completely, in the near future, its obligations at the international level. It is convinced that the United Nations will furnish it with all assistance towards the attainment of its aspirations. I say the aspirations of the people of Burundi, because in the light of events occurring on our borders we fear that many things may happen, under the cover of international policy, which would be to the detriment of our true national interests. My delegation in its present state of confidence has no other aim than to contribute to a better understanding of the problems of Burundi and hopes that, as a result of your work, the General Assembly resolutions will be welcomed throughout the Territory.

25. The resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its fifteenth session, and particularly resolution 1579 (XV), paragraph 7 of which recommended postponement of the elections, were bitterly resented by the whole population of Burundi, since no one doubted that we had fulfilled the conditions and that the necessary atmosphere prevailed for legislative elections which would lead to the establishment of national democratic institutions and furnish the basis for the national independence of Ruanda-Urundi in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. For us in Burundi, there was no question of amnesty, no problem of national reconciliation, no refugee problem, no Kigeli referendum—none in fact, of the reasons advanced for the postponement of the elections; there was merely the deliberate confusing of two States, Ruanda and Urundi, which, although forming a single legal entity at the international level, are none the less separate at the national level.

26. The population felt a real sense of frustration when it saw that, on the eve of its independence, all possibility of acquiring domestic self-government on the basis of legislative elections with universal suffrage was denied to it, and that even its independence might be delayed. In fact the people thought that it had been betrayed by

Belgium, with the connivance of the United Nations, and this provoked a mass reaction on its part in several centres of the country.

27. Faced with such a situation, it was impossible for us, as responsible leaders of the political parties, to remain passive and accept events without, at least, trying to control them. The United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi notes, in paragraph 162 of its report [A/4706]: "It [*the local Administration*] apparently regarded the Commission as an awkward witness to the action undertaken in the Territory . . . in order to ensure the execution of plans previously arranged without regard for the United Nations resolutions."

28. We were totally unaware of the existence of such previously arranged plans, but one thing at least is certain: as a result of decisions taken by the Belgian Government after the Ostend Conference, a wave of general discontent arose in all areas, and gave reason to fear the worst. Accordingly, in response to the legitimate and pressing demands of the people, the Interim Government was at once formed and second-stage elections were organized. That mode of election was familiar to us.

29. The Interim Government and the Interim Council, since called the Legislative Assembly of Burundi, met a real need. No one questions the justification for setting up those new institutions, and the proof is that everyone tried to do the same; in fact, at one point we had several governments. In his letter of 5 February 1961 [A/4706/Add.1, annex XXV], transmitted to the United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi, Mwami Mwambutsa wrote: "However, since all sides seemingly agree on the principle of a provisional government, I take the responsibility for forming a Provisional Government of National Union . . ."

30. You will note, therefore, that the establishment of a provisional government was a necessity—not a challenge to the United Nations, as some are attempting insidiously to make us believe. Our Government was constituted solely out of regard for the higher interests of the country, with the results of the communal elections as the only possible criterion for the assignment of ministerial portfolios that being the only legal basis for such assignment. Without observance of those proportions, there was a risk of arbitrary action being taken.

31. All those considerations were briefly set forth at Kitega on 8 February 1961. The Commission "then received the leaders of the parties belonging to the Front commun. They explained that they had set up an Interim Government, not in opposition to the United Nations, but because the political atmosphere in Burundi had become so explosive that the taking of steps to avoid serious trouble was a matter of urgency. The abolition of the chiefs had eliminated one traditional source of authority and had created a feeling of insecurity among the people. This feeling of insecurity had been considerably augmented by the nearby events in Kivu in the Republic of the Congo and by the disturbed situation in Rwanda. The country could not therefore be left without a government, particularly since to do so would have meant delaying independence. The Front commun parties did not consider that the second-stage elections held on 29 January were a substitute for elections by universal suffrage under United Nations supervision. They hoped that the elections envisaged by the General Assembly in resolution 1579 (XV)

could be held, but they did not regard that as possible until a more peaceful atmosphere had been re-established . . ." [A/4706, para. 123].

32. The Front commun regrets that it did not have more frequent contacts with the visiting Commission. It is therefore not surprising that the leaders of these parties should note that their point of view is given in the report in an elliptical fashion, whereas the arguments of the minority group are developed, throughout the report, in great detail. We are still eager for real co-operation, and were hoping that the Commission would have had enough time for useful and adequately prolonged visits to the interior. The Commission's report emphasizes lack of co-operation with the local Administration; since the fault was not that of the Front commun, it can only regret that fact.

33. In order to dispel all misunderstanding, it may not be amiss to review, briefly, the recent events which led to our autonomy.

34. As a result of the first communal elections, the parties of the Front commun represented about 80 per cent of the electorate, the minority being represented by UPRONA. From that moment onwards, UPRONA endeavoured time and time again, by every possible means, to cast doubt on the democratic character of the elections, with the obvious intention of camouflaging its own defeat. What could be more understandable than that gesture of resentment? Democracy cannot be learnt in a day. However, the agitation engaged in by UPRONA did not alter the firm intention of the Front commun to achieve national union. The legislative elections were almost due—in early 1961, as we had been given reason to hope by the United Nations Visiting Mission's report [T/1538]; in January 1961, as the Administering Authority had told us—and a national solution was to be found very soon.

35. The unexpected (to say the least) decision of the Administering Authority to postpone the legislative elections came upon us like a thunderbolt. While nobody doubted for a moment the good faith of the United Nations General Assembly, which had recommended that step to the Belgian Government, the vast majority of the people experienced a feeling of bitter disappointment. They wanted their self-government immediately, and now feared that they would attain to independence in unfavourable circumstances. Already we saw our independence imperilled. The result was likely to be a period of instability and political tension. At all costs, we had to prevent the creation of conditions which might lead to a "second Congo". The time for involved discussions was past. Urgent steps to give the people back a responsible authority were needed. A provisional government was accordingly established on the proposal of the parties, and a Legislative Assembly was constituted by second-stage election. The Administering Authority had no alternative but to recognize a *de facto* situation. Need I say that the establishment of the Interim Government in no way changes Burundi's policy of co-operation with the United Nations?

36. Desirous, as always, of achieving national union around the Government, the Front commun had approached the Mwami and asked him to persuade UPRONA to join forces with it. The Administering Authority supported our efforts; but UPRONA rejected any collaboration and even refused to explain its attitude, thus once again assuming the easy role of opposition. UPRONA went so far as to ignore the Mwami's summons, and stated publicly, through one

of its representatives, that since the Mwami was a constitutional monarch and was therefore above all parties he no longer had any authority to issue a summons to it.

37. Of course, with independence only a few months off, UPRONA's failure to respond might represent, electorally, a very clever manoeuvre since, as everyone knows, the exercise of power is a wasting asset. UPRONA, vexed by an unsuccessful electoral campaign in both the communal and the legislative field, took the easy course of withholding all collaboration, notwithstanding the enormous tasks confronting the Government. Not content merely to be in opposition, it spun a whole web of futile intrigues, probably to conceal ambitions which it dared not acknowledge—and, from that point onwards, subversion became its policy.

38. Yet the UPRONA people call themselves nationalists. How could this nationalism which is not national, these nationalists who are not building the nation, have resisted the wind of change, the building of Africa, which our parties represented? We are prepared to agree that they are a nationalist party, but let them at least tell us what nation they represent.

39. And let it not be said that our parties are the creatures of the Administration. We, possibly more than any others, have known the humiliations and injustices of colonialism, yet we cannot reject what it has given us materially and spiritually. If we have secured the majority, it is only because the people cannot be wrong. If "nationalism" means what we think it means, the parties of the Front commun are the true nationalists and the others are puppets, instruments or stooges of imperialism. Yet we have done everything possible to bring about a *rapprochement*, and I am glad that the first members whom I personally approached are here to confirm that fact. But I return to my review of events.

40. The report of the United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi makes no mention of our efforts to bring about an agreement. Still not content with its opposition role, UPRONA—even though it represented only 18 per cent of the electorate—submitted a list of ministers, members of the party, to the Mwami for his approval. Since a minority government is an absurdity, we are still wondering what could have induced the Mwami to go back on his agreement with regard to the constitution of a national government. Let us recall that a ministerial post had been set aside for a member of UPRONA, in conformity with the balance of the political parties. Moreover, the Mwami, although a constitutional monarch, presented on his own authority a substitute team of ministers, which could in no way be said to represent the country, even under the laws in force.

41. A letter which he sent at the time to the Resident-General, dated 5 February 1961, was reproduced in the annexes to the report of the United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi [A/4706/Add.1, annex XXV]. We think it useful to quote the letter from the Interim Government—which was not reproduced in the annexes to the Commission's report—replying to the Mwami's letter of 5 February 1961. It reads as follows:

"Mwami,

"The Government of Burundi has the honour to inform you that it has before it your letter of 5

February addressed to the Resident-General of Ruanda-Urundi, in which you challenge the regularity of the Government and announce your intention of forming a new team of ministers on your own initiative. The Government regards it as its duty to call your attention to the extreme seriousness of your action.

"Apart from the fact that it represents a complete reversal of your earlier position, it calls in question the institutions of the country, by a procedure which is not provided for in our laws.

"Moreover, the Government would remind you that it was regularly invested by the High Council of the country at the Council's meeting of 7 February 1960, following a vote of confidence moved by the Prime Minister and passed by the majority of the Council, which you yourself recognized by your presence at the inaugural session.

"The Government ventures to hope that the contents of your letter of 5 February are to be regarded less as an expression of your free will than as the result of manoeuvres and pressures from a minority group of the population which, despite your repeated requests, has thus far refused to co-operate in establishing, in the interests of the country, a government of national union, including a post for itself, and which, for purely partisan purposes, does not hesitate to jeopardize the interest of the nation and of the monarchy. If the Government were convinced that such is not the case, and if it failed to persuade you to reconsider your position objectively, it would be forced to conclude that an institutional crisis had arisen, and to place the matter on the agenda of the next meeting of the High Council, with all the serious consequences which that would necessarily entail for the country and for which the Government must disclaim all responsibility."

42. Despite some confusion resulting from the behind-the-scenes manoeuvres of the opposition, the Front commun is still convinced that, in the end, common sense will prevail. In practice, a certain measure of collaboration has already been initiated, since several members of UPRONA hold posts in the Government in an individual capacity. Moreover, the misunderstanding with the Mwami seems to be clearing up.

43. The Interim Government of Burundi, created by the pressure of events, has assumed the task of leading the country towards independence in the spirit of the United Nations Charter. This fully representative Government has been warmly welcomed by the people, with a real feeling of relief and confidence.

44. However, in order to avoid any misunderstanding as to the aims of this Government, the Prime Minister of Burundi, Mr. Cimpaye, stated in his first speech that the steps which had just been taken were not final, but that the parties had been forced to resort to them in order to prevent a power vacuum calculated to increase political disorder and economic disintegration. The Government undertook to hold legislative elections as soon as the United Nations agreed to them.

45. The Government has lost no time in taking every step to compensate for the short interval which still separates us from independence, by rapidly establishing the country's institutions. The organization of the ministries, the Africanization of the administration, the administrative decentralization of the common services of Ruanda-Urundi, the study of land reform, decoloniza-

tion, the problems of Ruanda-Urundi as a community—such, *inter alia*, have been the main concerns of the new Government. Our delegation cannot stress too strongly the necessity for the Fourth Committee to consider those suggestions. Particularly in connexion with the last mentioned problem, our Government would welcome the assistance of United Nations experts.

46. On the eve of its independence, the people has become irrevocably aware of its political rights. Henceforth, it will not understand or tolerate not being consulted concerning decisions which affect its future. In all discussions bearing on the legislative elections and the modalities and date for those elections, the legal Government of Burundi will now have to be consulted, since the people could not accept any other procedure.

47. I should like to express our unwavering confidence in the future of Burundi, and our pride in our ability to lead our people towards full freedom. I have tried to speak without passion and to regard the good of the country as the only valid criterion in the assessment of the political situation in Burundi.

48. Although I do not want to engage in an argument with my friends and political adversaries of UPRONA, my silence would be interpreted as concurrence if I did not protest, as a matter of principle, against the personal attacks, and certain flagrant inaccuracies, which characterized the statement made at the previous meeting by the representative of UPRONA. I would note, in passing, the assertion that members of his party had been arbitrarily arrested at Kaganza. Such action would undoubtedly have been grist to the mill of UPRONA in its making of a case before this Committee. I am sorry for the opposition party, but there were simply no arrests, not a single one. Another example: UPRONA reduces the ideology of the political parties to a caste struggle. I presume that its panic, in anticipation of the verdict shortly to be delivered by the people, impels UPRONA to use every means to achieve its own ends. The manoeuvre is not a new one, and it is superannuated. UPRONA is deliberately trying to conceal from the United Nations the existence of a new awareness in the Murundi people. A third sample of this incoherence: UPRONA regards the elections of November 1960 as having been an extortion of votes from an unprepared electorate. But if that is so, how could the independence which UPRONA demanded for June 1960, before the Congo's, have been secured except by means of free elections? As UPRONA sees it, the country was ripe for elections and independence in June, but suddenly, five months later, became backward and uninformed once more.

49. I do not wish to add to the list of inaccuracies. The Committee will be the judge; I prefer to confine myself to considerations of general interest.

50. Mr. KIGOMA (Front commun) (*translated from French*):² I should like to thank you in the first place for the honour of being allowed to take the floor on this first visit.

51. I have witnessed the continuous efforts on the part of the United Nations to improve the situation of my country. Our most sincere desire is to see a close collaboration established between us as soon as our independence has been granted. I need hardly say that there does not exist the slightest obstacle, either in fact or in the people's minds, to a co-operation which we desire should be as frank and cordial as possible.

52. May I be allowed to state here—and I feel a certain pride in being able to say it—that the situation

in Burundi continues to remain calm, despite the country's proximity to events taking place in Ruanda and in the Congo. This fortunate state of peace and tranquillity in our country contradicts most emphatically the accusations of electoral fraud levelled at us by an opposition which is unable to admit defeat at the polls, fraud which allegedly resulted in the establishment of an authoritarian government.

53. The people of Burundi is not the servile and passive instrument which some would like to make you believe. The reason why the provisional Administration in Burundi has been able to ensure an atmosphere of peace is because the State sees in its present Interim Government the true interpreter of its legitimate aspirations and the essential force behind its well-being. If this were not so, is it likely that our present rulers would be rushing towards certain political suicide by calling insistently, as they are doing, for free legislative elections to be held under international control? Thanks to United Nations action, we are on the eve of gaining our independence. Only the legislative elections stand between us and the final ending of an out-dated colonialism.

54. As the spokesman of the Interim Government of Burundi, I have the honour to inform you of that Government's determination to be consulted in all matters concerning the future of Burundi, including the date of the elections. There are two reasons for this: firstly, this gesture would seal Burundi's political coming of age, and our national pride obliges us to request this of you; and secondly, the choice of a date cannot be left to some arbitrary decision; for example, legislative elections held during the coffee-picking season would seriously disorganize that sector of our national economy.

55. If we lay such stress on the principle of mutual consultation, it is because the United Nations cannot understand fully all the interplay of our economic and political life when the visits of its representatives are necessarily all too short. It is hardly surprising, in the circumstances, that the reports of visiting missions often contain glaring over-simplifications and premature conclusions. The complete good faith and individual competence of the members of these missions cannot wholly compensate for their inevitable lack of experience of local conditions. The cordial relations that we hope to see established between the Government of Burundi and the United Nations should be based on mutual respect. It is with this object in view, that I ask this Assembly to be good enough to take my remarks into consideration.

56. But I would be failing in my duty if I omitted to mention the way in which the Interim Government of Burundi has been acting since it was established. Its first care was to bring about national unity, and there it came up against its first difficulty. "Paris was not built in a day", as they say. And we do not pretend to have attained all our objectives immediately. But what I want to bring out very clearly is that the Interim Government leaves no stone unturned to achieve national unity over and above all national or party considerations. Already the different racial groups are united in one Government, and we gauge our growing success by the ever-increasing relentlessness with which our opponents seek to distort our intentions both in domestic matters and on the international level.

57. Being firmly resolved to enable the country to reach the goal of independence while sparing it the

convulsions that have shaken the Congo, my Government has made every effort to build up a new and well-balanced administrative and judicial hierarchy, satisfying all legitimate interests so far as that is possible. Moreover, the mere fact of the existence of our Government and of a Legislative Council offers our intellectual *élite* the opportunity of gaining experience in the management of the country's affairs. Surely there could be no organization more in keeping with the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations than one thus preparing the country to enter the great family of free nations. We have every reason to hope that our manifest desire to do right and the actions which have resulted therefrom will meet with encouragement from this Assembly. We also hope that the General Assembly will show prudence in its dealings with our country, where any unfortunate acts would run the risk of provoking disturbances and creating difficulties which, despite our inevitable little internal dissensions, we have hitherto succeeded in avoiding. It is also my Government's earnest desire, responsible as it is for law and order, to be able to continue to work quietly at building up a free and independent Burundi in collaboration with everyone.

58. I cannot fail to draw attention to the passages in Mr. Rwagasana's statement [1117th meeting] in which he also claims to speak in the name of Burundi. For example, I would like to quote in particular the following passage: "There is no need to point out that the interests of reactionary colonialism have brought about the systematic division of the Trust Territory into two States, one of which is said to be a sovereign independent republic under provisional trusteeship, and the other a kingdom endowed with an autonomous provisional Government".

59. As a Murundi nationalist, and in the name of the Interim Government of Burundi, I wish to protest most strongly against this flagrant usurpation of power and this insidious and dangerous form of neo-colonialism. The right of the Murundi people to determine their own destiny belongs to them alone and depends in no sense on the opinions expressed by any private individual of Ruanda, however distinguished he may be. Fully aware of its future role in international life and of its obligations towards its African neighbours, Burundi will make every effort to strengthen the economic ties between the two States of Ruanda and Burundi and to do the same, so far as is possible, with its other African partners. Nevertheless, politically speaking, Burundi has always been a separate entity, recognized as such by the United Nations, and it intends to remain so until such time as a government set up as a result of the forthcoming legislative elections makes a decision on this matter. We urge that our political destiny should be clearly dissociated from that of Ruanda. The problems of amnesty, the referendum, national reconciliation, and so forth, all those problems which run the risk of retarding Ruanda's evolution towards independence, do not concern us in any way and cannot therefore be allowed to influence the decisions which the United Nations may take with regard to us.

60. As to the validity of the composition of the Interim Government, based on the results of the communal elections held in November and December 1960, I entirely agree with Mr. Birolis's statement on that subject. UPRONA, like all the other political parties, put forward candidates in the communal elections. And as is customary with parties that have not obtained

the electoral results they were expecting, UPRONA is now questioning the way these elections were carried out; but the report of the observers entrusted with supervising the elections refutes their criticism.

61. Mr. Siryuyumunsi has criticized the contacts made by the Interim Government of Burundi with foreign countries. The Government of our country, which intends to exercise its autonomous powers, considered that it ought to make contact with neighbouring countries straight away. Certain members of the Government therefore paid a visit to Elisabethville, Leopoldville and Brazzaville, and will shortly pay further visits; their disinterestedness and devotion to the common cause of African countries are fully recognized. Mr. Siryuyumunsi also stated that the Government had been set up without the approval of the Mwami, who was only present at the convening of the Council because of pressure brought to bear on him. I should merely like to add that Mr. Siryuyumunsi's account of the inauguration of the Council of the State was false and tendentious. In fact, the Mwami, by taking this step, clearly showed to the representatives of the Council of the State his genuine decision to recognize it, and he followed up this gesture by holding a reception for the Ministers and representatives in the drawing-room of his residence.

62. Finally, I should like to point out that Mr. Siryuyumunsi, at the end of his statement, suggests that the mandate exercised by Belgium over Ruanda-Urundi should be withdrawn and handed over to another country. Burundi, which at the present time has a régime of local self-government, is not prepared to accept that any trusteeship should be exercised over it by an international organization or a foreign country during the few remaining months before it achieves independence. What it wants, on the contrary, is that Belgian trusteeship should progressively disappear, so that Burundi may be fully ready to enter upon independence after the final legislative elections. The catastrophe that has overtaken a neighbouring country shows that the process of handing over power ought to be accelerated, so as to enable our country to reach its full independence without serious disturbances.

63. Mr. RASGOTRA (India), referring to the remark by one of the petitioners that he would not favour the holding of elections during the coffee-harvesting season, asked when that season began and ended.

64. Mr. KIGOMA (Front commun) said that the season began in May and went on until the end of August.

65. Mr. RASGOTRA (India) asked Mr. Kigoma whether he had come to present the views of a political party or in an individual capacity.

66. Mr. KIGOMA (Front commun) explained that he was a Secretary of State in the Interim Government of Burundi. He was also a member of a party which belonged to the Front commun. His Government had instructed him to represent it before the General Assembly and since it had not yet been recognized by the United Nations he had come in the guise of a petitioner.

67. Mr. RASGOTRA (India) recalled that in his statement the petitioner had asserted that his party's point of view was objective. He would like to know whether the petitioner believed that he or his party had a monopoly of objectivity or whether they considered

that the other parties in the Territory could also take an objective view.

68. Secondly, he asked the petitioner whether he considered that the Members of the General Assembly also tried to assess the situation in an objective spirit and whether he thought, as he had appeared to imply, that despite the integrity and ability of the members of the United Nations Commission they had not stayed in the Territory long enough to be able to assess the situation there accurately.

69. Mr. KIGOMA (Front commun) replied that he had no doubt that the United Nations were capable of assessing the situation in the Territory. It would be for the General Assembly to judge whether the Commission had spent enough time there to acquaint itself thoroughly with the situation.

70. In reply to the first question, he said that each political party would have an opportunity to explain its views and that it would be for the Fourth Committee to judge of their objectivity.

71. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea), referring to Mr. Kigoma's statement that it would be inadvisable to hold elections during the coffee harvest, i.e. from early May until the end of August, asked whether he would prefer the Committee to recommend elections between 21 and 30 April, or in September.

72. Mr. KIGOMA (Front commun) said that it was difficult to reply offhand to that question. The date at which the elections should be held was a matter to be discussed between the United Nations Commission and the Barundi in Burundi.

73. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) said that he had gained the impression from the statements of Mr. Biroli and Mr. Kigoma that they considered the Trusteeship Agreement to have lapsed. The delegation of Guinea continued to regard Belgium as responsible for the Trust Territory; any decision reached must first be discussed with the Administering Authority.

74. Mr. BIROLI (Front commun) explained that what he had intended to say was that up to the present there had been two parties in the debate—the United Nations and Belgium—and that he proposed the addition of a third, the Government of Burundi.

75. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) emphasized that since Ruanda-Urundi was still a Trust Territory the United Nations must deal with the Administering Authority. He assured the petitioners of his Government's support in their efforts to find a solution to the problems of their country.

76. Mr. CHATTI (Tunisia) asked whether Mr. Biroli had any proof of his statement that the Mwami had first been in favour of the formation of a provisional government and had later changed his mind.

77. Mr. BIROLI (Front commun) said that the best proof that there had been, to say the least, a misunderstanding between the Mwami and the Government was to be found in the letter which had been read out by the representative of UPRONA. Annex XXII in the addendum to the report of the United Nations Commission (A/4706/Add.1) reproduced a further letter from the Mwami denying the statements broadcast by the Usumbura radio on 26 January 1961. Those two letters showed that the Mwami had first recognized the Interim Government and had later withdrawn his recognition.

78. Mr. CHATTI (Tunisia) said that he was not convinced. The Mwami's first letter had perhaps sanctioned the formation of a government of national union, but not of the present Interim Government. In the opinion of the Tunisian delegation the Mwami's attitude had been consistent throughout.

79. Mr. ZULOAGA (Venezuela) suggested that the Chairman or one of the members of the United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi should be asked to give an explanation.

80. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Chairman, United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi) drew attention to paragraph 110 of the Commission's report, which stated that on 2 February the Commission had received a visit from the Mwami of Burundi, who had given it a copy of a letter which he had sent on 26 January to the Resident-General, formally denying a statement given officially over the radio to the effect that the Interim Government of Burundi had been formed with his agreement, and had said that he reserved his final opinion until all the political parties had been consulted. The letter to which the Mwami had referred was to be found in annex XXII to the Committee's report.

81. When at Kitega, the Commission had received the Mwami and Mr. Reisdorff, the Resident, and had given audience to a number of representatives of political parties. The Mwami had said that he was faced with two opposing governmental entities, neither of which had received his approval, and a council which represented only the Front commun parties, and that that situation had been due to the fact that the Administration had acted without waiting for his approval. He had gone on to say that in view of those facts he preferred to reject both of them pending the formation of a definitive government as a result of the forthcoming legislative elections, but that since all sides seemingly agreed on the principle of a provisional government he took the responsibility for forming a provisional government of national union.

82. The Resident had informed the Commission that the Mwami had given his agreement to the Resident-General for the formation of a provisional government but had raised objections concerning certain ministers proposed by the Resident-General. Consequently, the Mwami had withdrawn his agreement. The Commission had, however, no written proof of that fact. The letter reproduced in annex XXII of the report had been a spontaneous move on the part of the Mwami. The second letter had been handed to the Commission by the Mwami during the Commission's visit to Kitega.

83. According to Mr. Biroli, the Commission had not published a reply from the Interim Government of Burundi to the Mwami concerning the letter the latter had given the Commission. The Commission knew nothing of any such reply; none of the members had seen it.

84. Mr. RASGOTRA (India) asked whether the Mwami's permission was obtained before announcements of decisions by him were broadcast over the radio. Secondly, he asked whether, if the Mwami denied something which had been ascribed to him on the radio, his Government took action to communicate his denial to the people. He would like those questions to be answered in due course by Mr. Reisdorff.

85. He further asked whether the coffee-harvesting season was the same in Ruanda as it was in Urundi.

86. Mr. KIGOMA (Front commun) replied in the affirmative.

87. Mr. RASGOTRA (India) recalled that the communal elections in Ruanda had been held from 26 June to 30 July 1960.

88. Mr. ZULOAGA (Venezuela) (*translated from Spanish*):³ The question I wanted to ask concerning the use of radio was put in almost exactly the same terms as I had intended by my colleague from India and the Administering Authority will undoubtedly be able to answer it when it sees fit.

89. I should like to thank Mr. Dorsinville and to ask him for an explanation in connexion with his emphasis on the fact that the two letters from the Mwami were delivered by hand to the Commission. At the beginning, when he was not in the same locality as the Commission, why did the Mwami not post those letters? I have the impression that the Mwami distrusted the use of that normal means of communication and I should very much like to hear the comments of the Chairman or any of the members of the Commission on the subject.

90. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Chairman, United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi) (*translated from French*):³ I have just referred to paragraph 110 of the report and have read it out. I said that Mwami Mwambutsa had come to see the Commission at Usumbura at his own request and that in the course of that visit he handed over a copy of a letter addressed to the Resident-General. He told us on that occasion that we should be receiving another copy of the letter, which he had sent through the post. When on the 8th we went to Kitega, we asked him again whether he had posted the copy and he told us that he had done so, but we had not received it and have not done so up to the present. At my request, he signed the copy which he handed to us. This is the copy reproduced as an annex to the report.

91. As far as the second letter is concerned, I do not remember his telling us that he had sent a copy through the post. But when we were at Kitega on the 8th he handed us a copy that was marked "To the United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi" and bore the names of officials in the Territory who were to receive copies.

92. Mr. ZULOAGA (Venezuela) (*translated from Spanish*):³ I should once again like to thank the Chairman for his courteous reply.

93. If I understood correctly, the Mwami sent them through the post a letter enclosing a copy of the letter he had delivered to the Resident-General, but they have not yet received that letter. That clearly proves that the initiative taken by the Mwami in delivering the copy to them direct was fully justified.

94. Mr. BLUSZTAJN (Poland) pointed out that according to paragraph 123 of the interim report of the United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi the Commission had received the leaders of the parties belonging to the Front commun, who had stated that the elections envisaged by the General Assembly in resolution 1579 (XV) could not be held until a more peaceful atmosphere had been re-established, probably not before May or June. At that time nothing had been

³ The Committee decided, on the proposal of the representative of India and in accordance with its decision at the 1117th meeting (see A/C.4/SR.1117, para. 28), that this statement should appear in full in the summary record.

said about the coffee harvest. He asked the petitioners to explain that fact.

95. Mr. BIROLI (Front commun) replied that the fact that the elections should not be held before May or June did not necessarily mean that they should be held in July or August.

96. Mr. BLUSZTAJN (Poland) said that he had understood Mr. Kigoma to say that his colleagues were trying to establish international contacts and to that end intended to enter into relationships with Elisabethville, Leopoldville and Brazzaville. He asked whether the choice of those towns implied the expression of an opinion by his party regarding certain international questions which were the order of the day both in Africa and in the United Nations.

97. Mr. KIGOMA (Front commun) pointed out that he had stated that members of the Government of Burundi had visited those three towns and would soon make other visits to countries whose devotion to the cause of Africa was well known. The Government intended to make contacts in many African countries.

98. Mr. WEEKS (Liberia) asked Mr. Kigoma to expand his comments on the subject of the separation of the two States, Ruanda and Urundi.

99. Mr. KIGOMA (Front commun) said that before the Belgian occupation Ruanda and Urundi had been two entirely separate States. The community between the two had been created by the Belgian authorities. The party he represented would like that community to become progressively closer, but for the time being they were separate countries.

100. Mr. WEEKS (Liberia) wondered whether the Mwami had taken cognizance of the Trusteeship Agreement.

101. He asked what was the purpose of Mr. Kigoma's statement that the choice of the date of the elections should not be arbitrary.

102. Mr. KIGOMA (Front commun) explained that he had meant to say that the United Nations, the Belgian Government and the people of Urundi could discuss and reach agreement on the date of the elections.

103. Mr. WEEKS (Liberia) asked whether the petitioners had come to tell the Committee that they had organized an autonomous Government outside the supervision of the United Nations and that the Trusteeship Agreement had somehow been terminated, or whether they intended to ask the United Nations to make provision for the effective carrying out of the Trusteeship Agreement.

104. Mr. BIROLI (Front commun) pointed out that the Interim Government could act only in agreement with the United Nations and he did not see how its establishment could be contrary to the intentions of the United Nations regarding the evolution of the Territory. The definitive government would be set up as a result of legislative elections held under United Nations supervision.

105. Mr. WEEKS (Liberia) observed that the petitioners appeared to consider that it would be inadvisable to hold legislative elections during the coffee harvest. He asked what had been the effect of the coffee harvest on the communal elections of 1960.

106. Mr. KIGOMA (Front commun) said that he could not reply to a question which concerned Ruanda.

107. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) recalled that the representatives of India and Venezuela had raised a very important point concerning the use of the radio station at Usumbura. The delegation of Guinea had the gravest apprehensions concerning the use made of that radio station by the Administering Authority.

108. Mr. Kigoma had given the Committee to understand that there was no unity between Ruanda and Urundi. Nevertheless the Trusteeship Agreement applied to both as an entity. He asked whether the petitioner considered that Urundi could achieve independence as a separate State and become a Member of the United Nations.

109. Mr. KIGOMA (Front *commun) pointed out that he had also stated that Ruanda and Urundi should become a single country after the holding of legislative elections. In his opinion it was not impossible that Urundi and Ruanda should at some future date be represented separately in the United Nations; that would be for the future Governments to decide.

110. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) said that in the view of his delegation it would be impossible to sanction any action the result of which would be to break up a State which had been recognized by the United Nations as a single entity.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.