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New York

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

AGENDA ITEM 46

Dissemination of information on the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System in Trust Territories: report of the Secretary-General (A/4542, A/C.4/478, A/C.4/L.673/Rev.2) (*continued*)

1. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) informed the Committee that the Argentine delegation, had it been able to vote at the previous meeting, would have voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.4/L.673/Rev.2.

Requests for hearings (*continued*)

REQUESTS CONCERNING AGENDA ITEM 13 (REPORT OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL) (A/C.4/469/Add.7) (*continued*)

2. The CHAIRMAN suggested that, if there were no objections, the request for a hearing concerning the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration submitted by Mr. Kingué and Mr. Ouandié (A/C.4/469/Add.7) should be granted.

It was so decided.

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, A/C.4/476, A/C.4/477) (*continued*)

HEARING OF PETITIONERS (*continued*)

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Urbain Bandy, Mr. Martin Barajegetera, Mr. Pascal Bigirindavyi, Mr. Joseph Biroli, Mr. Jean Kigoma and Mr. Laurent Nzeyimana, representatives of the Front commun, Mr. Pierre Ngunzu, representative of the Parti Hutu-Tutsi-Twa (HTT), Mr. Bernard Niyirikana, representative of the Union pour la promotion des Hutu (UPROHUTU), and Mr. Apollinaire Siniremera and Mr. Thadée Siruyumunsi, representatives of Unité et progrès national (UPRONA), took places at the Committee table.

3. Mr. NIYIRIKANA (Union pour la promotion des Hutu) (*translated from French*):¹ Since today I have the honour to submit my petition to the international organization of which you are the representatives, I venture with all due respect to begin by reading to you a petition addressed to the President of the General Assembly and entrusted to me by the Etudiants nationalistes du Ruanda-Urundi, who unfortunately are unable to appear here themselves. Here is their petition:

The present session of the United Nations General Assembly constitutes the last hope of the peoples of Rwanda-Burundi. The youth of the country, for whom we speak, rely on you to take strong measures against the cleverly planned moves made by the Belgian Government in our country during the past fourteen months.

We vigorously protest against the latest steps taken in our country, in flagrant violation of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its December 1960 session, and we demand that these resolutions be carried out completely and unconditionally.

In the crisis through which Rwanda-Burundi has been and still is passing, just as in the Congolese crisis, no one can fail to perceive the consistent bad faith of the Belgian leaders. Where Rwanda-Burundi is concerned, we need only recall that communal elections were organized and held despite the prudent advice of the United Nations mission of inquiry which visited the country in February 1960, that a so-called Rwandese sovereign republic under trusteeship (*sic*) has been set up, that a puppet government has been established in Burundi and that the military occupation has been continued although it is said to have been brought to an end. In short, there has been a deliberate failure to carry out any of the recommendations made on different occasions by the United Nations and in particular the resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its last session. We shall not mention the Congo, where the facts are well known to you and where intrigues of every kind are preventing you from finding a solution to one of the gravest problems today threatening world peace.

Can the United Nations draw a distinction between the way in which one Government's sinister and deliberately planned machinations have aggravated the Congolese crisis and the baneful behaviour of that same Government in the Trust Territory of Rwanda-Burundi?

Can the United Nations look on unmoved when a Government tramples underfoot the sacred principles of the United Nations Charter and the Trusteeship Agreements which, be it noted, the Belgian nation freely signed?

Can the United Nations underestimate the justifiable reaction of the Belgian people who have just put an end to the term of office of the "ill-starred Government", as it is called in Belgium?

Can the United Nations condone and help to strengthen the wicked and criminal acts of a Government which showed such deliberate and consistent bad faith in its African policy that its constitutional term of office was shortened by two years?

Of course not!

¹ In accordance with the decision taken by the Fourth Committee at its 1117th meeting (see A/C.4/SR.1117, para. 28), the text of this statement is reproduced in full.

In our country, matters have become so much worse and the atmosphere has deteriorated to such an extent that it is absolutely impossible for Belgium alone to put matters to right. If it were to have recourse to just measures likely to remedy this state of affairs, Belgium would be obliged to disavow in public the shameful policies which it has been trying to defend in the Trust Territory for over a year, and this, it is felt, would be a blow to its international prestige. This is indeed a strange attitude on the part of its leaders, for all that they achieve is to lower still further the already seriously damaged standing of a nation, which, despite everything, is honest and anti-militarist.

It is our belief that, if we are to be spared the worst, the United Nations alone should take the necessary steps. In this connexion, Mr. Kronacker, the President of the Belgian Chamber of Representatives, has just made a statement to the Press on the subject of Rwanda-Burundi, some extracts from which are as follows:

"But what the public does not know and should know is that, in the view of our Administration and of our settlers, we have embarked on a course which will lead us straight to a worse catastrophe than we experienced in the Congo. We are not only hazarding our responsibility as Administering Authority but once again we are hazarding our reputation . . ."

Mr. Kronacker goes on to say:

"We should tell the United Nations . . . 'We agree to your sending as many observers as you wish, but, so long as the trusteeship is our responsibility, it is for us to decide what steps to take. If you do not accept this point of view, we shall immediately place the trusteeship at your disposal.'"

This is indeed a strange attitude. After admitting the mistakes they have made in the Trust Territory of Rwanda-Burundi, the Belgian leaders apparently want to hold full powers there.

We repeat that only the United Nations is still capable of helping our people to find the right remedies for the chaos which they are experiencing today. Accordingly, we propose to the United Nations that the following measures should be taken:

(1) The resolutions concerning Rwanda-Burundi adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its last session should be respected and carried out in full;

(2) All Belgian troops stationed in Rwanda-Burundi should be replaced immediately, totally and unconditionally by United Nations forces drawn from the African countries. A maximum of 1,500 soldiers would be amply sufficient for this purpose;

(3) All the armed bands of the PARMEHUTU political party formed since the month of July 1960 should be universally and completely disarmed;

(4) The Resident-General, J. P. Harroy and all his clique should be recalled and replaced immediately. This high representative of Belgium—who, according to a recent statement of his to a Brussels weekly, wants to turn Ruanda-Urundi into the "pawn" of the West in Africa—is the main instigator of the genocidal conspiracies which have steeped our country in blood for nearly fifteen months. The replacement of the other officials by young Belgian staff should be carried out in accordance with the directions of the Bami, whom we still regard as our lawful leaders, for to be valid the reform of our institutions can be carried out only by genuine representatives of our people;

(5) A United Nations commission consisting of persons from the independent African States who are versed in politics should be set up immediately. This commission would be armed with real powers of authority and decision and would be entrusted, jointly with the Administering Authority, with the administration of Rwanda-Burundi until an executive originating from free and democratic elections in both States has been established;

(6) Pending the results of these elections, a joint commission should be set up in Rwanda and in Burundi on which all political parties would be equally represented. This joint commission would watch over the organization and conduct of the

elections and would guarantee to the various parties that they were conducted honestly;

(7) The United Nations political commission referred to above should be solely responsible on a provisional basis for the administration of Rwanda-Burundi, and Belgium should be deprived of the trusteeship, in the event of the refusal by Belgium to agree to such a compromise. The Belgian officials not covered by paragraph 2 of this petition, i.e., most of them, could be kept in their posts as United Nations officials.

We consider that the various proposals referred to above, which in our view are in harmony with the fundamental objectives of justice and equity which the United Nations should pursue in the world in general and in Trust Territories in particular, should be taken into account by the General Assembly at its current session; otherwise, it will be too late. It will be too late because, at the rate things are moving, we shall in less than a year be occupied militarily not only by Belgium but also by the Federal Republic of Germany, with which our present wonderful leaders are already reported to have had secret talks with a view to concluding a military agreement. Soon we shall be told that, at the request of the puppet governments of Rwanda and Burundi, the heart of Africa has become a foreign military base. Doubtless it will be a threat to no one; it will merely be the "pawn" of the West in Africa, a pawn with which Mr. J. P. Harroy believes it possible to "win all games". The fact, moreover, that the delegations of the puppet governments of Rwanda and Burundi begin their round of African visits with the Congolese Province of Katanga does not conceal from observers the plots which are being hatched in this connexion. We are not unaware of the plans for the establishment of a federation of Katanga and Rwanda-Burundi. This has furthermore just been confirmed by a Brussels weekly which reported statements made by Mr. Cimpaye, the Prime Minister of Burundi. Is not this the first move in a vast and comprehensive scheme which in the near future would also include the Union of South Africa and the present Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland? In any case, this is not a new idea, and it is no doubt in this way that Mr. Harroy thinks that he will win every game by using Rwanda-Burundi as a pawn.

We ask that this petition should be circulated to all delegations to the General Assembly of the United Nations together with all those petitions which we have submitted to the various United Nations commissions with which we have had an opportunity of meeting and in particular to the Commission of observers headed by Mr. Dorsinville at the time of the Ostend talks last January. The subject matter of all these documents is more relevant than ever to present problems.

Lastly, with regard to the just settlement of all the problems of Rwanda-Burundi in particular and those of Africa in general, we make an urgent appeal to all those nations whose goodwill is manifested in their desire for the peaceful coexistence of peoples. More especially do we urge the Western Powers to bring about a genuine end to colonialism. If they do not, they will no longer be entitled to our gratitude, despite all the bonds between us and what we owe to them.

We have the honour to be . . .

ETUDIANTS NATIONALISTES DU RWANDA-BURUNDI EN BELGIQUE

BARUNDI

Liège: NIMUBONA, Lorgion
NKURIKIYE, Ferdinand
BARANYANKA, Charles L.
NTAHORUBAZA, Patrice
NDABAKWAJE, Libère
Louvain: NICAYENZI, Zénon
RURAMUSURA, Henri
Brussels: KABAGEMA
RUHEZAMIHIGO, André

BANYARWANDA

Liège: RUTAGENGWA, Oswald
KALISA, Athanase
SEBUSERUKA, Didace
Louvain: KATARAYIHA, Gaétan

FOR THE STUDENTS IN FRANCE

Mr. and Mrs. BISIZI Claudien

4. I shall now without delay address myself to the main part of my petition, partly as an independent but partly also as a representative of the party for the advancement of those Bahutu and Batutsi of Burundi who have not been favoured by fortune, namely, UPRO-HUTU.

5. Firstly, I vigorously protest against the Foreign Affairs Commission duly delegated by the illegal Interim Government of Burundi to the Common Market under the chairmanship of Mr. Joseph Biroli.

6. What are the reasons for this opposition on my part? The first is that this Commission is composed of officials, who, as advised by Brussels, have set themselves up as petitioners and are unquestionably here to defend the Belgian position, which the worthy Belgians themselves would not dare to uphold officially for fear of stirring up the backwash of their baneful policy in Africa.

7. The second reason is that this pro-Belgian delegation claims to represent the Front commun démocrate populaire du Burundi, which is actually non-existent, as I shall prove. This ostensible common front was established in the following circumstances: the hostility of the Administering Authority towards UPRONA, the first nationalist party to emerge in Burundi, led to the proliferation of political parties among us, our young and inexperienced political leaders desiring to follow the policy laid down by the Administration and thus avoid any repression. This resulted in the establishment of: (a) the Parti du peuple (PP), whose chief adviser is Mr. Maus, a former Jesuit missionary, who, being familiar with the country, having been involved in the Hutu-Tutsi question in Ruanda—see the report of the Visiting Mission [T/1538]—and having noted that the first party to emerge (UPRONA) was headed by practically all the former feudalists, desired, in what I believe was an entirely optimistic spirit, to put fresh heart into the masses; and (b) the Parti démocrate chrétien (PDC) (originally PDB or Parti de la famille des Batare), an opponent of the feudal majority of the family of the Bezi, which, had it had exclusive power, would have used it to suppress its Tare rival.

8. Unlike the anti-colonialist UPRONA, PDC played the game of the Administering Authority, in return for which it was granted all sorts of administrative and financial favours by the latter. PDC, being sure of itself and being supported by the power of the Administering Authority, conducted its campaign in the communal elections under the best possible conditions after having attracted to itself the so-called small parties with a view to establishing the puppet Front commun which, as I shall show, does not in fact exist.

9. You may ask me how and why these small parties made an alliance with PDC. The main factors which led them to do so were the fear of being oppressed by the Administering Authority and the solemn and repeated promises made on the honour of Mr. Ntidendereza to finance them from the sums received as a result of the arrangements which he made abroad at the time of the first Brussels talks.

10. The truth of the statement which I am making cannot be denied, since I used to be the permanent secretary of the said Front commun. I might add that I agreed to be general secretary of PDC and the Front commun in order to learn these very facts which I am placing before you today in order to free my deluded people from the colonialism both of the Belgians and of

PDC. The most striking fact is that the statutes were drafted and presented for signature by Mr. Ntidendereza without any discussion or consultation and without any notice to these small parties. The repeated promises of financial help had borne full fruit. On the other hand, the money that had been promised never went anywhere but into greedy pockets of the Tare members of PDC, including Mr. Biroli and his foster brother, Mr. Ntidendereza. The latter presented an Opel car to Mr. Joachim Baribwegure, who was then chairman of the Parti du peuple in order to buy his help and to ensure that he would say nothing, while a Volkswagen was given to Mr. Pascal Mouziyonga, who was then chairman of the Parti pour l'émancipation populaire (PEP), a satellite of PP. This same gentleman, who in the past was a rabid racist, has today been reduced to silence by PDC corruption.

11. My third reason for objecting to this delegation is that even if it were viable, the only reason would be the Hutu-Tutsi shield presented to the eyes of the free world in the person of Mr. Urbain Bandya, Mr. Martin Barajegetera and Mr. Laurent Nzeyimana. These people not only represent different political opinions but to a lesser degree different ethnic opinions, since it is impossible to ignore 95 per cent of the population of Burundi.

12. Have you already noticed that Mr. Biroli and Mr. Kigoma, belonging to that same delegation, are brothers, and that the third gentleman, Mr. Pascal Bigirindavyi, from the same Tare family, is a relation by marriage? Half this delegation comes from the same family. That being so, how can you say that they are truly representative? What traces can you still find of the democratic veneer which Biroli puts on in order to face world opinion? Do you not see that Belgium, through its agents in the African Administration, is playing an important part in this arrangement? I would ask you to think that over carefully, and I thank you.

13. Secondly, I protest against the colonialism of the former customary authorities, supported by the Administering Authority. The way in which Mr. Biroli is trying to defend the partisan Belgian policy in Ruanda-Burundi, and particularly in Burundi, is a serious breach of and attack on democratic principles. The popular and nationalist parties of Burundi, including UPROHUTU, of which I am the second general vice-chairman and chief representative abroad, are indignant at this comedy, which is a clear sign of an oligarchic power which has remained untouched and which is now becoming stronger and imposing on the masses the most humiliating dictatorship Burundi has ever known.

14. Are we still in the age of privilege? Are we fighting against colonialism only for the advantage of those who have already profited from this shameful and outmoded system? What does the representative of Belgium think? Is he to be given the right of administrative alienation which he has always demanded? No, a thousand times no.

15. May I quote these words of a representative of Belgium: "We shall democratize regardless of all opposition!" These words, which are still echoing in your ears are seen today to be ridiculous and grotesque. The most obvious proof of this is that three of the six members of the false delegation are from one and the same family, as I have just mentioned. This is indeed incredible. Were they chosen because of their special

qualifications, instead of my brothers who are stagnating in oblivion? Or are they here to defend, as I said before, a view which the Belgian Government does not dare to support officially? This latter assumption seems to me more than likely.

16. Free nations which believe in the liberation of colonial peoples, help us to denounce the partisan, if not arbitrary, character of this false delegation. It exemplifies the threat which weighs heavily upon our hearts: the abuse of power by the masters of tomorrow. May the following statement, however, serve as a warning to them: the Murundi people have waited calmly, but the situation is becoming more troubled, and the guilty will certainly be punished.

17. The former customary authorities, harassed by progressive movements and unanimously rejected by public opinion, withdrew from the political stage, but not without trying to regain and hold the power which was slipping from their crime-laden hands. This is how some of them reorganized themselves, and this very delegation which I am challenging embodies a sample of the old régime which, alas, as I see with bitterness in my heart, rises from its ashes like the mythological animal. Who made this resurrection possible? The occupying Power indisputably bears a heavy responsibility. Instead of simply deposing them, the Belgian Government saw fit to reward them by granting them handsome pensions. Whether or not they had reached retirement age, whether they were twenty-five or fifty-six years old, these gentlemen still drew the full amount of their former salaries, while some had more than one salary or other bounties well known to the corrupt circles of Kitega, Bayanza and Usumbura. Thus our Government, or rather our State, in which the average yearly income is not more than 4,000 Belgian francs, indulges in the luxury of keeping thousands of unproductive people, whom I might describe as useless mouths. A para-governmental body provided with every means of winning over certain sinister and grasping persons by the classic methods of corruption is a force to be reckoned with. These emissaries of disaster travelled throughout the State, spreading false rumors and instilling confusion and terror into the whole people. Nothing has changed, they said in the hills; follow the former Authority, which alone is valid and holds all lawful power. Why has the Administering Authority not attacked the evil from its most vulnerable side? On the contrary, it has on many occasions proposed an increase in certain salaries.

18. UPROHUTU, the party for the advancement of the unfortunate Bahutu and Batutsi, and the popular nationalist parties join forces to protest against this useless and costly burden. They are determined to thrust aside anyone who holds up the movement towards national freedom.

19. Thirdly, I wish to mention the fundamental problem, the system of land tenure in Burundi. National liberation, which has been discussed above, is as necessary as the solution of the land-tenure problem, which must follow it immediately. The peasant and the small stock-breeder are still in bondage. The present system of land tenure defies justice and right. Each peasant should own a piece of land in his own right, and each farmer should till a plot from which he can provide for his family's needs. This is why I propose that the land should be fairly distributed. The disgraceful properties of the former ruling class must be broken up. This class owns immense stretches of land, mostly un-

used, over which the famous lean and long-horned cows stray. There are places, and even countries such as ours, where the life of beasts is considered much more important than that of humans.

20. In Burundi the common people, who have been dispossessed of their land, are being deported in large numbers to unhealthy regions. In all justice, the *baganwa* (the dominant feudal class) and the great and unjust rich should give the land they have stolen back to its rightful owners and should be ready to obey a lawful government, which would settle disputes. The case is so disgraceful that small holders who have refused to be deported are entering into harsh contracts with the fortunate owners and dispossessors of the land. How many of the majority are leaving the country to live under milder skies (Uganda, Tanganyika Territory) and to find work and better living conditions? I speak with great feeling on this aspect of our fundamental problem, because more than 95 per cent of the inhabitants of Burundi live off the land. Every day the peasant knows this tragedy, and every day brings him only poverty and disillusion.

21. I must mention, incidentally, the humiliating case of the Bahutu small holders, Ngenzi and Mushahu, of Buriza and Kabuye communes in Kayanza province, in the former chiefdom of Baranyanka (the father of Biroli and founder of PDC), who were dispossessed of their land, with many others whose names I shall not mention here. The ex-chief's favourites now occupy a part of the land, while the rest has been used to extend the vast and well-known coffee plantation of Baranyanka.

22. In order to compare the injustices of Kayanza with those of Bwanganangwe-Busoni (former chiefdom of Ntidendereza, brother of Biroli), to compare, I say, a father and a son who are inseparable in misfortune, I mention this case: Rubamba, the father of the former sub-Murengeantwari of Nyabikenke, in Kirundo province, Muhinga district, was nailed to a tree surrounded by blazing fire. He was burned to death because he refused to agree to the most flagrant injustices of an unjust and exacting chief. I have not forgotten the many frauds committed in the same region, which were brought before the District Court of Muhinga. The Court decided against the same former authority in Burundi. The Administering Authority did nothing to execute these judgements, and the hundreds of thousands of Belgian francs have not yet been paid to the unfortunate old women. On the contrary, in order to reward this famous figure for his iniquity, the Administering Authority has given him a portfolio in the Interim Government of Burundi. This is one of a thousand examples. In any case, we can say that the authorities of Burundi care little for equity and the status of chief, because their conscience has been stifled by the habit of injustice.

23. The Hutu-Tutsi problem does not arise in Burundi, or at least I can say that alliances between the two classes of society have reduced it. Hutu-Tutsi youth continually swell the ranks of the popular parties. We wish to save the vast majority of our people from poverty, whatever their ethnic origin. Only in this way can our action be just and our cause sacred. Now that certain African territories have suddenly become the bloody theatres of tribal warfare because of intrigues which are well known to all, our main concern is to save our peace-loving people from this calamity. We

shall do it, but we shall also destroy, even by force, the after-effects of any form of domination.

24. And now a digression on Belgian connivance and on the puppet Front commun: After a discussion between different parties of Ruanda-Burundi at the political conference of Ostend, in which I took part, Belgium decided to postpone the date of the legislative elections, simply in order to whitewash itself after the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly.

25. The Administering Authority spontaneously went back on the promise it gave at Ostend, and took two very important decisions behind the scenes in Ruanda-Burundi and at Brussels. Firstly, I might begin with a question which I do not wish to elaborate on, and for which I apologize to the Banyarwanda. I must, however, point out that it exists. This is the suggestion to the Ruandese authorities that they should set up their own permanent and responsible Government, the Government which led to the famous *coup d'état*, the Government which led to the proclamation of a Republic of Ruanda, that having been done on the basis of the second-stage elections which, I repeat, were tolerated by the Administering Authority, which, moreover, recognized the Government so formed. Secondly, by an ordinance of the same Administering Authority, an Interim Government was established in Burundi, also as a result of the second-stage elections, which in this case were supported and recognized, but not influenced, by the Administering Authority.

26. This comparison between the level of the elections in the two States is no less significant for the light it sheds on the Administering Authority's intention of stirring up revolt in our peaceful and beloved Burundi. This means that the Administering Authority may have blundered or that it is still plotting against the Mwami of Burundi, since, when the Interim Government was formed, not even his tacit opinion or consent was asked for or taken into consideration. This is proved by the statement made by the Mwami Mwambutsa on 5 February last, in a letter which I shall read to you; a photostat of the signature can also be made.

[For the text of the letter read by the petitioner, see A/4706/Add.1, annex XXV.]

27. This Interim Government, which is illegal because it has not been recognized by the Mwami of Burundi, the Head of State, has seen fit to enter into relations with Katanga and the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) through its Prime Minister, Mr. Cimpaye, as leader of a commission. A second corollary of the colonialist, federalist and criminal intentions: think of the intrigues in Katanga and the statements of that same Prime Minister; see *Pourquoi Pas?*, No. 2206 of 10 March 1961, and I quote: Question: "There has sometimes been talk of a confederation between your country and Katanga which might be extended to include a number of other nations such as the Congo (Brazzaville), the Central African Republic, etc." Reply of the Minister: "These projects exist. They belong to the future. I repeat that . . .". There is no point in continuing this quotation.

28. Since, as I have just proved, the Interim Government is illegal, all its commissions, both those presided over by Mr. Cimpaye and those of Mr. Biroli and others, are illegal, and in consequence the so-called Biroli Commission of petitioners here present is illegal and without authority.

29. Belgian complicity has been demonstrated not only in these few cases but in others which were even more

marked. I cite as an example the tedious wait for a Tshombé aircraft at Usumbura when we were travelling to the Ostend Conference. The other lines being less reliable on account of their affinity for the East, we had to await the safe means provided by the man of the Belgians, which first had to transport the army of this hero to Stanleyville. Another example: the 50,000 Belgian francs per head for commandos (eight were arrested by the Congolese Army) promised to Mr. Bimpenda and Mr. Ntamikeyvo, local authorities in the province of Usumbura, if they would release the Belgian para-commanders, are no less significant. On this occasion three vehicles, including one pick-up and two passenger cars, were seized. Thus Belgium is making very good use indeed of the Murundi's patrimony by leaving him destitute while it spends millions on lost causes which are of no use to Burundi.

30. I shall discuss next the question of the legislative elections. I would ask the present Assembly to be good enough to decide on a date for legislative elections by universal suffrage in Burundi, since we are living in a period of confusion in which power is exercised by everybody and nobody. The Mwami himself, who is accepted by the people, has no longer any justification according to the small minds of a few irresponsible people who represent a demographic minority in the State but whose rule is imposed on us by the trusteeship.

31. Order and peace must be safeguarded at all costs, but to achieve that there must be a responsible authority in the shortest possible time. Such an authority cannot, however, be found today, and everything that is done is called interim and provisional. The date mentioned above should be preceded by the arrival of a United Nations commission whose duty it would be to observe and supervise the impartiality of the electoral campaign.

32. The right of assembly, the right to organize meetings and the right to publicity (leaflets) should be respected and granted. Thus the Ordinances of the Resident-General abolishing the benefits of these rights under the inviolable banner of internal policy should be annulled.

33. The present electoral districts which were arranged to favour the victory of PDC should be changed in accordance with the views of an electoral commission made up of as many representatives as there are political parties in Burundi, without, of course, overlooking the geographical factor.

34. The elections should be carried out in stages so that the United Nations commission could be represented at each polling station by at least one of its members, who would be assisted by some Burundi acting as guides and advisers who would be attached to the above-mentioned electoral commission and be chosen according to the same procedure under the same heading.

35. Each voter would bring along or would himself choose his scribe without any pressure being exercised. The electoral methods could, moreover, be studied by the various political parties.

36. Pupils from the primary schools, both Catholic and Protestant, should not be employed as scribes; the propaganda intrigues of the political parties through the missions are too obvious.

37. We know that we shall be victorious and that justice will triumph in the end, but we want our

victory to be clear in the eyes of the world around us, provided that our freedom to campaign is respected.

38. As for the independence of Burundi, yes, Belgian colonialism must be left behind; the Murundi people have become conscious of their existence. It is high time to put an end to the abuses, scandals and flagrant injustices committed in our country by the trusteeship Administration and its henchmen. Today they are working hand in hand in order to rule in shame and bloodshed. The Murundi people are thirsting for freedom, justice, prosperity and peace. Neither justice nor peace will be established by the Belgian Administration, which has betrayed its mission, or by those, who with the support of that Administration have crime-laden hands. We repudiate all those whose misdeeds have been buried in oblivion by colonialist justice in order that they might represent it before international bodies. I take advantage of this opportunity to denounce publicly the falsities, the cupidity and the irresponsibility which underlie their actions. The cause and the interests for which they are fighting are revealed by their writings and their words. They should learn that henceforth the Murundi people are ready to reject their unscrupulous dictatorship.

39. Since the last session of the United Nations General Assembly, Belgium has adopted a number of contradictory stands and has made promises which have not been kept. For example, at the Ostend Conference the Minister for African Affairs stated unequivocally that the date of the legislative elections had been fixed for January. He was supported in this open opposition to the resolutions of the United Nations by the puppet Front commun. A week later this same Government, having discovered a means of neutralizing the United Nations action in Ruanda-Urundi, reversed its decision in favour of the establishment of an Interim Government in Burundi which would help it to multiply its tricks and rig the legislative elections as it had done the communal elections.

40. How can we have democratic institutions in our country if the voters, in order to be free, must support the wishes of the Belgian Administration and its faithful Tare collaborators? I feel very bitter about the communal elections, which were not carried out fairly.

41. Where will the legislative elections lead us? Mr. J. P. Harroy, the illustrious representative of Belgium in Ruanda-Burundi, has replied: "To progressive self-government and probably to independence in the first half of 1962". This statement appears in a leaflet issued by the Ministry of African Affairs. Must independence, which was originally anticipated for 1962, be a foreseeable possibility for the first half of the year? See the opening speech of the Minister for African Affairs, at Ostend. We know what these equivocations are worth. We have been living on the provisional and the interim for decades, and in my opinion we long ago passed the stage of self-government, which is still to be progressive in order to delay our liberation.

42. The independence of our country is a right and not a favour on the part of Belgium; it is a reality and not a possibility, as claimed by the Belgian Minister for African Affairs.

43. I bid the Assembly to do its utmost to obtain the recognition of this right and to rescue us from our present impasse. Our independence should be preceded by free elections under United Nations supervision and followed by the transfer of the powers still retained by

Belgium and shortly thereafter by the proclamation of independence.

44. In conclusion, I draw the attention of the worthy representatives of various nationalities, who are undoubtedly free, to the threats made to me on my arrival in New York by the gallant knight Joseph Biroli. He pointed out, for example, that I was wearing a cap and for that reason described me in public as a Moslem and a Communist. "Your presence in New York is a betrayal", he said to me. "You will pay dearly for it in Burundi; I do not see how you can expect to have any tangible results from your statements because after all we are still very powerful, with the help of the Belgian administration."

45. As our valiant knight is so afraid of losing his flair for politics that he uses intimidation in order to obtain silence, I am also going to conclude with a warning: If, Mr. Biroli, Belgium is tempted by the demon to deprive me of what is my right, then let it learn that that is an unworthy way of life. Burundi, which engendered me, belongs to me, and I belong to it, just as the Crown is the right of the King.

46. I conclude by deploring the unenlightened attitude of my friend, Mr. Joseph Biroli, our first university graduate. Apart from filling his pockets and those of his relatives with the loot of corruption, he has produced nothing tangible and profitable for the Murundi people since leaving the university. After running aground in the Common Market, where in any case he did not give the best account of himself, he withdrew in order to go to the heart of our country and drive in the sword of the so-called Démocrate chrétien Fascist party. Christian this party is by its ablutions, but the term does not really apply any more than in the case of our friends and myself, who are called communists because we are nationalists and indefatigable workers for the cause of our country and its liberation from Belgian colonialism and from imperialist—Western capitalist—views.

47. I know to what I am exposing myself in making such statements, and you will know later, but for my country I am and shall continue to be a devoted supporter in our national movement. I am devoted to it body and soul, and I shall march against anyone who attempts to sink our nation into slavery and ignominy.

48. I appeal to all free nations, to all nationalist Africans, to all traitorous Africans who, I hope, will soon return to reason and the cause of our African heritage, and to all Burundi, and I ask for support and defence against the Belgian repressive action aimed at checking our advance towards total national liberation.

49. I heartily and respectfully thank all those who have been kind enough to give attention to my short statement.

50. Mr. KOMBET (Central African Republic) asked the petitioner to re-read that part of his statement which implicated the Central African Republic.

51. Mr. NIYIRIKANA (Association pour la promotion des Hutu) re-read the passage.

52. Mr. ABIKUSNO (Indonesia), referring to the passage in Mr. Biroli's statement at the 1118th meeting in which it was said that the people of Burundi henceforth "will not understand or tolerate not being consulted concerning decisions which affect its future" and that 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", indicated that such a stand implied that the recommendations of the United Nations took no account of the true situation in the Territory. As Mr. Biroli had also stated that the Burundi people, although betrayed by the Administering Authority with the connivance of the United Nations, were none the less eager for sincere co-operation with the United Nations, he asked Mr. Biroli how he envisaged such co-operation.

53. Mr. BIROLI (Front commun) recalled his explanation, given during the first part of the session (1067th meeting) that the situation in the Territory was such that elections could be held there in conformity with the recommendations of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1960. But when the people had been informed that those elections could not take place, a general feeling of discontent had taken shape. The Front commun had none the less chosen the path of co-operation with the United Nations, and no legislative elections with universal suffrage had been held.

54. Mr. ABIKUSNO (Indonesia) considered that the constitution of a Government and of a Legislative Assembly, for which no provision had been made in General Assembly resolution 1579 (XV), was a violation of that resolution.

55. Mr. BIROLI (Front commun) said that the General Assembly had taken no stand against second-stage elections, and that consequently the Interim Government of Burundi could not be illegal.

56. Mr. ABIKUSNO (Indonesia), observing that the people of Burundi, which had on several occasions criticized operative paragraph 7 of General Assembly resolution 1579 (XV), claimed to meet the requisite conditions for the organization of legislative elections in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter, asked what those conditions were.

57. Mr. BIROLI (Front commun) replied that legislative elections with universal suffrage in Burundi had been postponed owing to the fact that the problems in Ruanda had not yet been solved; since those problems did not exist in Burundi, the population there was entitled to say that it met the requisite conditions for the organization of free elections.

58. Mr. ABIKUSNO (Indonesia) said that he wished to know the exact reasons for the sense of frustration experienced, according to the petitioner, by the whole population of Burundi when it had seen its self-government delayed through the adoption of the General Assembly resolution.

59. Mr. BIROLI (Front commun) replied that the feeling of frustration was due to the fact that Burundi, instead of having a definitive Government, had had to be content with a provisional Government. He pointed out, however, that Burundi at present enjoyed domestic self-government.

60. Mr. ABIKUSNO (Indonesia) asked why Burundi had deemed it useful to set up a provisional Government and provisional institutions when General Assembly resolution 1579 (XV) in fact envisaged elections for that purpose.

61. Mr. BIROLI (Front commun) replied that the General Assembly resolution did not prohibit the establishment of a provisional Government. In point of fact Burundi was still awaiting the final decision of the General Assembly and had never envisaged any

policy other than that which the United Nations would pursue in agreement with the Administering Authority. It merely asked that the United Nations and the Administering Authority should take into account the will of the people and what it proposed.

62. Mr. ABIKUSNO (Indonesia) recalled that the petitioner had stated at the 1118th meeting: "A provisional government was accordingly established on the proposal of the parties, and a Legislative Assembly was constituted by second-stage election". He wanted to know how the elections in question had been organized and whether, in the petitioner's view, the present Interim Government was representative of the people of Burundi as a whole.

63. Mr. BIROLI (Front commun) replied that it was the burgomasters and the communal councillors installed after the communal elections who had appointed the representatives in the Legislative Assembly. The present Interim Government and Legislative Assembly were therefore fully representative of the people of Burundi as a whole.

64. Mr. ABIKUSNO (Indonesia) said that, according to Mr. Biroli, the "Interim Government of Burundi ... has assumed the task of leading the country towards independence in the spirit of the United Nations Charter". He asked the petitioner to explain his standpoint since, in the view of the Indonesian delegation, the establishment of the Interim Government was a violation of the terms of General Assembly resolution 1579 (XV) and was therefore contrary to the spirit of the Charter.

65. Mr. BIROLI (Front commun) replied that the present Interim Government was not illegal and had expressed no opposition to any General Assembly resolution. Moreover the United Nations Commission for Ruanda-Urundi had stressed, in its report (A/4706 and Add.1), that the setting up of the Interim Government of Burundi in no way violated the General Assembly resolutions.

66. Mr. ABIKUSNO (Indonesia) considered that there was a certain contradiction between the fact that the population of Urundi had set up a Government in reaction against the resolution passed by the General Assembly, and the intention, expressed by that Government, of leading the country towards independence in the spirit of the Charter.

67. Mr. BIROLI (Front commun) explained that the present institutions in Burundi were of a provisional nature. What had happened in the Territory did not conflict with the General Assembly's proposals; but, pending the possibility of holding elections on the basis of direct, universal suffrage, Burundi had considered it necessary to establish provisional representative institutions.

68. Mr. ABIKUSNO (Indonesia) said he was not satisfied by those explanations. He would also like to know what Mr. Biroli meant when he said that the parties had been forced to resort to the establishment of a Government and to the election of a Legislative Assembly "in order to prevent a power vacuum". In actual fact, the Administering Authority was still responsible for the Territory and should be capable of exercising its powers under the Trusteeship Agreement.

69. Mr. BIROLI (Front commun) explained that, until the recent happenings, Burundi had been under a system of indirect administration: the Administering Authority, on the one hand, and the traditional author-

ities—the Mwami, chiefs and sub-chiefs—on the other, had shared the administrative responsibilities. When, at the suggestion of the parties, the chiefs and sub-chiefs had been divested of their functions, the country had suddenly found itself leaderless; it had therefore seemed necessary, in view of the proximity of independence, immediately to create administrative organs at the communal and provisional levels. The Administering Authority continued to deal with the questions which came within its competence under the Trusteeship Agreement, at the district and provisional levels; while the new bodies had replaced the traditional authorities which had been abolished. There had been a change of system, but not a change of régime.

70. Mr. ABIKUSNO (Indonesia) noted that, in his statement at the 1118th meeting, Mr. Biroli had expressed the view that the Front commun was a democratic party but that UPRONA was more reactionary. He asked in what respects UPRONA was reactionary.

71. Mr. SIRYUYUMUNSI (Unité et progrès national) thought that his party was taxed with being reactionary because it demanded independence. If the Administering Authority so described his party, or alternatively described it as "communist", it was because that Authority felt itself threatened. In fact, UPRONA made no threats and simply asked that the legitimate rights of the people of Burundi should be respected; UPRONA's desire was that the transition to independence should take place in an atmosphere of calm, a desire which Belgium ought to welcome. Instead, Belgium had surrounded itself with parties which were favourable to it, and preferred to take shelter behind them. The fact was that UPRONA, far from being reactionary, was more democratic than the Parti démocrate chrétien itself. It had always desired elections which would square with a just democratization of institutions, and had called for such elections at the Kitega and Ostend talks. At Ostend, it had conducted itself strictly in accordance with the United Nations resolutions.

72. Mr. ABIKUSNO (Indonesia) thanked the petitioners for their replies. He assured them that he had simply wished to obtain such clarifications as would enable him to define his position, and that he had never sought to embarrass them.

73. Mr. ADAM (Ghana) recalled that several representatives had put forward the idea that the petitioners from Ruanda-Urundi might make progress towards reconciliation if they could organize informal meetings together. As the petitioners had raised no objection to that course, several delegations, including his own, had made arrangements for such a meeting to be held that same afternoon (5 April). Admittedly the Committee's programme was very heavy, but since in the long run its work might thereby be expedited, he formally proposed that the afternoon meeting should be cancelled.

74. The CHAIRMAN acknowledged the usefulness of such meetings, but emphasized that the Committee had to complete consideration of the questions referred to it by 19 April. It had granted twenty-three requests for hearings concerning the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration. It was therefore to be feared that, even with evening meetings, the Committee would be unable to finish its work in time and would have to postpone certain questions until the General Assembly's sixteenth session.

75. Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom) thought that the Committee ought to meet as planned, since it was important that all its work should be completed. In particular, it still had to deal with problems which were of concern to the United Kingdom delegation and which could not be deferred to a later date.

76. Mr. KENNEDY (Ireland) supported the Ghanaian representative's proposal. He hoped, however, that other, later meetings could take place between the petitioners, since that was what was most important. The Committee could then continue its work simultaneously, in the normal manner.

77. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) was anxious that the Committee should finish its discussions by 19 April. It was precisely for that reason that he supported the Ghanaian representative's proposal, which ought to make it possible for common ground to be reached between the petitioners and perhaps, even, for a draft resolution to be speedily submitted.

78. He formally proposed that, in any event, the questioning of the petitioners should be concluded at the end of the morning meeting of Thursday, 6 April, and that the period for asking questions of the Administering Authority should close on Thursday, 6 April, in the evening.

79. Mr. RASGOTRA (India) and Miss BROOKS (Liberia) supported the Ghanaian representative's proposal.

80. Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom) said he would raise no objection to the meeting between the petitioners proposed for that afternoon, since he appreciated all its importance; but he insisted on the necessity for taking drastic measures to ensure that the Committee completed consideration of all the questions before it on time.

81. Mr. KANGA (Cameroun) wished to be sure that the petitioners were prepared to meet.

82. The CHAIRMAN said he understood that the Ghanaian representative had obtained that assurance from them before making his proposal.

The Ghanaian proposal was adopted by 50 votes to none, with 10 abstentions.

83. The CHAIRMAN reminded the Committee that the Guinean representative had formally proposed a date for the closure of the period of questioning.

84. Mr. SALAMANCA (Bolivia) said he was agreeable to the setting of a time-limit for the Committee's discussions, but urged that, before the closure of the period set aside for questions, the political parties of the Territory other than the Front commun should make known their views on the note submitted by Mr. Kigoma concerning the land-tenure system (A/C.4/476) since that was a question which it was important to settle before the Territory's accession to independence.

85. Mr. RASGOTRA (India) thought that the Guinean representative's proposal was premature. Only when the Committee knew the results of the proposed meeting could it say whether it could conclude its discussions rapidly.

86. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) did not insist that his proposal be put to the vote immediately. He withdrew it provisionally, while reserving the right to submit it again later.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.