

UNITED NATIONS



**United Nations Visiting Mission to
Trust Territories in East Africa, 1957**

REPORT ON RUANDA-URUNDI

**TOGETHER WITH THE RELEVANT RESOLUTION
OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL**

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NOTE

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REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS VISITING MISSION TO TRUST TERRITORIES IN EAST AFRICA, 1957, ON RUANDA-URUNDI (T/1346)

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL, DATED 4 DECEMBER 1957, FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
VISITING MISSION TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, in accordance with Trusteeship Council resolution 1714 (XX) of 9 July 1957 and with rule 99 of the rules of procedure of the Trusteeship Council, the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1957, on Ruanda-Urundi.

I should be grateful if you would allow an interval of three weeks to elapse between the transmission of this report to the members of the Trusteeship Council and its general release.

(Signed) Max H. DORSINVILLE
Chairman, United Nations
Visiting Mission to Trust Territories
in East Africa, 1957

INTRODUCTION

1. The United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa in 1957, the fourth Mission appointed by the Trusteeship Council to visit Ruanda-Urundi, visited the Territory from 18 September to 10 October 1957. The present report was adopted by the Mission at the Headquarters of the United Nations on 30 November 1957.

2. The composition of the Mission as completed by the Council at its twentieth session was as follows: Mr. Max H. Dorsinville (Haiti), Chairman; Mr. Robert Napier Hamilton (Australia); U Tin Maung (Burma); Mr. Jean Cédile (France).

3. At its 836th meeting on 9 July 1957, the Council adopted resolution 1714 (XX) setting forth the Mission's terms of reference, directing it:

(a) To investigate and to report as fully as possible on the steps taken in the Trust Territory towards the realization of the objectives set forth in Article 76 b of the Charter of the United Nations, taking into account the terms of General Assembly resolution 321 (IV) of 15 November 1949;

(b) To give attention, as may be appropriate in the light of discussions in the Trusteeship Council and in the General Assembly and of resolutions adopted by them, to issues raised, in connexion with the annual reports on the administration of the Trust Territory, in petitions received by the Council relating to that Trust Territory, in the reports of the previous periodic Visiting Missions to the Trust Territory, and in the observations of the Administering Authority on those reports;

(c) To receive petitions without prejudice to its acting in accordance with the rules of procedure of the Council and to investigate on the spot, in consultation

with the local representative of the Administering Authority, such of the petitions received as, in its opinion, warranted special investigation;

(d) To examine, in consultation with the Administering Authority, the measures taken and to be taken in respect of the provision of information about the United Nations to the peoples of the Trust Territories under Council resolution 36 (III) of 8 July 1948 and General Assembly resolution 754 (VIII) of 9 December 1953, and to undertake the duties enumerated in Council resolution 311 (VIII) of 7 February 1951;

(e) To transmit to the Council as soon as practicable a report on the Trust Territory containing its findings with such observations, conclusions and recommendations as it may wish to make.

4. The Mission left New York on 14 July 1957 and, after having visited Somaliland under Italian administration and Tanganyika, arrived in Usumbura, capital of Ruanda-Urundi, on 18 September 1957. From 18 to 20 September, it had meetings with representatives of the Administration and visited several institutions of Usumbura, schools, hospitals, etc., as well as the *paysannat* of the Ruzizi and some of the important public works of the region. From 21 to 23 September, the Mission visited Urundi. At Kitega, it met the *Mwami* of Urundi and the High Council of the *Pays*; it also visited the *paysannat* of the Mosso. From 24 September to 5 October, it travelled in Ruanda. At Astrida, it visited the *Groupe scolaire*, the veterinary laboratory and the Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa (IRSAC). It saw the *paysannat* of Ntyazo. At Nyanza, it met the *Mwami* of Ruanda and the High Council of the *Pays*. At Kigali it attended the festivities of the *Mwami's* "*Joyeuse Entrée*" on the occasion of his twenty-five years of reign. It visited the SOMUKI mines. Near Kisenyi, it visited the hydro-

logical works of the Bugoyi. On 4 October, the Mission went to Bukavu (Belgian Congo) by way of Lake Kivu and returned next day to Usumbura, where it devoted the remaining days of its stay to several meetings with private individuals, and to some visits. It had the opportunity of observing commercial night fishing on Lake Tanganyika. Lastly, it had discussions with the representatives of the Administration. Details of the Mission's activities in the Territory are given in annex III. On 10 October, the Mission left Usumbura for Léopoldville, capital of the Belgian Congo, where it had an interview with the Governor-General of the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, and where it visited Lovanium University. On 13 October, it left Léopoldville for Rome. The Mission stayed in Brussels from 16 to 18 October and met the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Minister for Colonies and senior officials of the latter's ministry. The Mission returned to Headquarters, in New York, on 23 October 1957.

5. While it was in the Territory, the Mission was accompanied by the following Secretariat members: Mr. Jacques Rapoport (Deputy Principal Secretary),

Mr. C. K. Robinson (Assistant Secretary), Mr. Michael Chelchowski (Administrative Officer), Mr. Charles Zémor (Interpreter) and Miss Denise Wynn (Secretary).¹

6. The Mission wishes to express its gratitude to Mr. Jean-Paul Harroy, Vice-Governor-General, Governor of Ruanda-Urundi, for the particularly warm welcome extended to the Mission, and to all the officials who helped the Mission in the performance of its task. It wishes to thank among others Mr. Pierre Leroy, Provincial Commissioner; Mr. Marcel Dessaint, Provincial Commissioner, Resident of Ruanda; Mr. Robert Scheyven, Resident of Urundi, as well as Mr. I. Reisdorff, Mr. A. Preud'homme and Mr. Chotteau, who accompanied the Mission during its visit. It wishes also to express its gratitude to *Mwami* Mwambutsa and to *Mwami* Mutara Rudahigwa for their pleasant welcome. Finally, the Mission thanks all those, to whatever group of the population they may belong, who extended to the Mission a generous hospitality and who showed the most true desire to co-operate.

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL ADVANCEMENT

GENERAL

7. It may be interesting to recall first some comments of previous missions on the Territory's political advancement and its progress towards the aims defined by the United Nations Charter. The first Visiting Mission in 1948, while expressing its admiration for the constructive work of the Administering Authority in the political sphere, was nevertheless struck by the fact that the political evolution of the Territory was conceived as an extremely slow process and it concluded that a quickening of the pace of this evolution would be desirable. The second Visiting Mission in 1951 stated that development in the political field had lagged behind; it emphasized that participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the Ten-Year Plan should involve as a corollary greater participation in the administration of the Territory and that accordingly the Administration proposed to introduce a plan for the reform of the political structure. The third Visiting Mission in 1954 considered it regrettable that a lower priority had been assigned to political development. The Administering Authority contested the validity of those remarks and declared, among other things, that it was interested in both political progress and economic development and that it had emphasized economic, social and cultural development precisely in order to promote political progress, those being the necessary foundations and prerequisites of political progress.

8. In presenting the annual report for 1955 to the nineteenth session of the Trusteeship Council (454th meeting) in March 1957, the special representative of the Administering Authority gave a brief account of political advancement in Ruanda-Urundi over the past ten years and specially mentioned: the establishment of the Council of the Vice-Government-General in 1947; the admission to this Council of the *Bami*² in

1949 and later of other Africans; the judicial reorganization and the reform of the political structure in 1952; the establishment of the lists for the electoral college; the general elections in 1956; the establishment of the General Council in 1957. He concluded that the political advancement affected the whole administrative and judicial structure of the Territory and that as a result of it the indigenous population was participating increasingly in the government of the country and being given ever broader responsibility; he had pointed out, however, that while institutions could easily be changed, it took many years to change a people's outlook.

9. The Mission does not propose to comment on the remarks of previous missions or the observations of the Administering Authority, or to give a historical account of political advancement in Ruanda-Urundi. The preceding paragraphs are designed only to preface certain general impressions on which the Mission will subsequently dwell at greater length and for which it will give the factual background. One of these impressions is that Ruanda-Urundi has reached an important stage in its political development. Without anticipating spectacular and revolutionary changes overnight, the Mission is aware of the increasing rate at which the traditional society in Ruanda-Urundi is adapting itself to modern democratic ideas and forms; the evolution of conditions is such that the Trust Territory may be expected to assimilate an increasing number of far-reaching reforms which will ensure its transition from a régime that is still characterized by vestiges of feudalism to institutions that are more in keeping with democratic principles; and, lastly, there is every reason to hope that the transition will take place with a minimum of tension, friction and difficulties.

10. Although this situation is only the natural result of a process which began many years ago, it is

¹ Mr. H. Wieschhoff (Principal Secretary) and Mr. G. Howard (Assistant Secretary) did not accompany the Mission in Ruanda-Urundi.

² Plural of *Mwami* (king).

nevertheless an important new element in a country which has always impressed observers by its traditionalism and conservatism. It may therefore be of interest to consider the causes of the situation before describing in detail its outward manifestations.

11. In the first place it can undoubtedly be attributed to the efforts of the Administering Authority, which has during forty years of mandate and trusteeship slowly and prudently, but progressively and with perseverance prepared the country for profound changes. The measures taken by the Administration have been planned and deliberate; they have not been determined by the pressure of events or the demands of public opinion in the Territory. To mention only the most recent events, there can be no doubt that the political reforms of 1952, the institution of a whole system of indigenous councils, the systematic encouragement of the indigenous population to abandon certain of the customs underlying the feudal régime (such as the *ubuhake*),³ the holding of elections and particularly the 1956 elections, and the transformation of the Council of the Vice-Government-General into a General Council are measures which have gradually but profoundly modified the political atmosphere in Ruanda-Urundi. The Mission considers them a guarantee that the favourable advancement of the country will continue.

12. But there are certain other factors which have contributed to the people's willingness to accept new ideas, and other ferments. In the first place, there is the emergence of a growing number of adults and young people who have passed through educational institutions and in particular the post-primary schools, where they have become familiar to a varying extent with Western patterns of thought and behaviour and, more particularly, there is the fact that a small number of indigenous inhabitants have now completed their higher education and a growing number of Barundi and Banyaruanda are attending universities outside the Territory. This factor is all the more important as less than ten years ago there was no indigenous inhabitant of Ruanda-Urundi who had even begun a course of higher study, with the exception of those preparing for the priesthood.

13. Another factor of considerable importance is the presence in Ruanda-Urundi of indigenous inhabitants who have been to Belgium or abroad either as students or visitors. It should not be forgotten that it was only in 1949 that the first student from Ruanda-Urundi left for Belgium and that the first visit to Belgium of the *Bami* and notables was organized. Since then a growing tide of students has passed through the institutions of higher education in Belgium and some have attended educational establishments in other countries; each year, moreover, an increasing number of indigenous chiefs, notables, officials, farmers and women from Ruanda-Urundi go to Belgium for brief visits, and the *Bami* have revisited Belgium and various other European countries.

14. The existence of inter-racial secondary education in Ruanda-Urundi and the beginnings of inter-racial primary education are also helping to give the inhabitants confidence and to change their way of thinking.

³ A system by which the indigenous inhabitants who are holders of cattle do not own them, but have acquired a long-term right of use in return for which they become the dependants of the owners of the cattle, to whom they owe goods and services as defined by local custom.

15. What are the outward signs of this new atmosphere which is in the Mission's opinion conducive to more rapid political advancement than in the past? In the first place, the people themselves have become aware of the fact that Ruanda-Urundi is undergoing a process of evolution to which they must contribute. The Bahutu are beginning to challenge the basis of the feudal and traditional system and the Batutsi are beginning to question their prerogatives and rights. The *Bami* and the great chiefs are beginning to recognize the need for profound changes in the customary administrative and judicial structure of society. Further information on this subject will be given in a later chapter. It is remarkable that in this society where surreptitious intrigue has been traditional for generations, to the almost complete exclusion of any form of open expression of political views, the new trends are sometimes expressed openly, documents are circulated, political manifestos published and ideas debated. These phenomena are still embryonic but, in the Mission's view, their importance should not be underestimated.

16. On the other hand, some persons, few as yet but in increasing numbers, are beginning to take an interest in the outer world. They ask questions about the situation in the neighbouring territories. How is the Belgian Congo developing? What is happening in Tanganyika and Uganda? Will this political change or that movement have favourable or unfavourable repercussions on Ruanda-Urundi? What should be the Territory's future relations with the Belgian Congo and Belgium?

17. The Administration is receptive to this public opinion which is awakening and seeking expression. It does its best to encourage and stimulate it. Outside the Administration, most Europeans no longer shrug their shoulders when mention is made of Ruanda-Urundi's progress towards self-government and modern forms of political democracy. The climate is less and less favourable to the various manifestations of racial discrimination.

18. It would, however, be a sign of lack of realism to close this optimistic general survey without qualifying it by making certain reservations. Although it is true that new ideas are beginning to be discussed openly, it seems that in Ruanda-Urundi the African still has a certain reticence vis-à-vis the Administration. This attitude appears to the Mission to be no longer justified and to be on the decline; but it is still apparent, nevertheless, in various forms. Thus the Mission received, as had previous missions too, several anonymous communications on various subjects ranging from private law disputes to the most vehement criticisms on general questions; they generally contain a sentence explaining that the document is not signed in order to avoid prosecution or persecution by the Administration. In the past, as on the occasion of the present Mission's visit, the Administration has vigorously refuted the insinuation that penalties or retaliation had ever been visited on the inhabitants of the Trust Territory who had exercised their right to address petitions to the United Nations.⁴ The Mission strongly suspects that some of its anonymous correspondents are malcontents who find in the mysterious and often exaggerated tone of their accusations an outlet for their resentment at being the losers in their

⁴ See note 18 below.

public or private disputes. But the Mission could not avoid being struck, nevertheless, by this reticence and this reluctance to express openly before a third party any personal views which conflicted with the official views of the European or indigenous Administration. Fortunately there are increasingly numerous exceptions to this attitude, and the Mission hopes that the Administration will continue to do all in its power to develop further a climate of confidence and free discussion and dispel the atmosphere of anonymity and fear with which many Barundi and Banyaruanda still like to surround themselves.

19. As to forecasts of the future, one remark is indispensable. It must be kept in mind that the society of Ruanda, like that of Urundi, is homogeneous, despite its diverse ethnic composition. Political and social relations have been established between a dominant aristocracy of herdsmen and a subjugated mass of farmers; the role of the cow, as essential as it is extraordinary, and other institutions, customs and usages, have turned out to be stabilizing factors in a complex civilization, which was relatively static up to the time of the European penetration. The inevitable disintegration of such a civilization on contact with the modern world and its replacement by new forms may give rise to serious difficulties in spite of all the Administering Authority's vigilance. The Administration is anxious to maintain a just balance, and to prevent the feudal oppression and exploitation of the Bantu majority by the Hamitic minority from being re-established in modified form, through too rapid transfer of responsibilities to the indigenous *élite*, which is still mainly Tutsi; on the other hand, it wishes to prevent the mass from feeling thwarted in realizing its legitimate ambitions because of a slowing down of this evolution. The maintenance of a balance between these tendencies has now reached an especially delicate stage. Without minimizing the danger of haste, the Mission believes that over-cautiousness is no less dangerous. It hopes that the Administration may anticipate the needed reforms and introduce them quite soon, as soon as there is a reasonable prospect of their being assimilated, and before they are urgently demanded by the more advanced members of the population. It hopes that the Administering Authority will not underestimate the capacity of the Ruanda-Urundi people to adapt themselves rapidly to conditions of modern living and will not wait until one reform has been elaborately tested before planning the next one.

20. One last item to be mentioned among these generalities is the question of establishing a final time limit and intermediate target date for the attainment of self-government or independence, which has been the subject of the Trusteeship Council's concern. The Administering Authority has reaffirmed its view that it was impossible to say when the objectives laid down in Article 76 of the Charter would be achieved either wholly or partly; that the important thing was to ensure a genuine self-government in harmony with the real and lasting progress made by the people; and, finally, that political progress would be hindered and not expedited by making advance promises of reform. The Mission holds divergent views on that subject. Some members endorse the Administering Authority's opinion. Other members consider that a simple political programme, but one sufficiently precise and detailed with regard to the time element, would, even if it were tentative and subject to modifications depending on

circumstances, help to expedite the country's evolution and secure a comprehensive and intelligent rallying of a greater number of Africans in favour of new political institutions and forms. In their opinion that would be an effective means for the Administering Authority to show the way to a people which was not yet fully capable of determining its own vocation.

21. The Mission could not but approve the Administering Authority's aim, as it was recently laid down by the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi, who said that what Belgium is seeking through the social and economic advancement of the masses and through the political education of this community now being formed, is in the final stage the birth of a viable State which will maintain the closest ties with Belgium. But this statement does not meet the question of a programme which is specific in its time limits.

BATUTSI AND BAHUTU

22. The curious ethnic, social and political structure of Ruanda-Urundi has been described in so many documents laid before the Trusteeship Council—annual reports, the reports of Visiting Missions, studies and monographs—that a bare summary will now suffice. In both Ruanda and Urundi some 15 per cent of the population are Batutsi, stock-farmers of Hamitic origin who hold power, and 85 per cent are Bahutu, of Bantu origin, who till the soil and who were probably established in the country before the Batutsi, their accepted overlords, arrived; there are also a few Batwa, a pygmoid strain of bush hunters or potters who account for less than 1 per cent of the population.⁵ These different racial groups live in a symbiotic relationship: The Batutsi, who have a remarkable political and social sense, have brought under subjection—almost, incidentally, without violence—the mass of Bahutu peasantry, introducing alongside the latter's agricultural economy the breeding of long-horned cattle, nomadism and the ascetic habit of those who keep watch over large herds. This civilization has become highly complex, with a system of pastoral serfdom or patronage contracts which are based on the cow and determine the whole property system and social organization of the Territory. It must also be borne in mind that Urundi and Ruanda are two entirely separate entities but have, with some differences in detail, similar ethnic, political and social structures. The two entities are alike; their inhabitants—whether Batutsi, Bahutu or Batwa—are Barundi or Banyaruanda, and all speak Kirundi or Kinyaruanda. Over each of the two States, Ruanda and Urundi, reigns a king called the *Mwami*.

23. As the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi pointed out in an address delivered on 29 July 1957 at the opening of the first session of the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi, this has confronted the Administering Authority with a well-established political and social structure that may have been suited to conditions in bygone centuries but is basically incompatible with the democratic principles which it was Belgium's mission gradually to implant in the country. Hitherto, he explained, the old institutions have served either as they were or in an adapted form, for the purposes of

⁵ The words Batutsi, Bahutu and Batwa are the plurals of Mututsi, Muhutu and Mutwa respectively. When these words appear in English it may perhaps be preferable to use the roots without the prefixes—"Tutsi", "Hutu" and "Twa". These are certainly the more appropriate forms when the words are used as adjectives: a Tutsi shepherd, a Hutu farmer or a Twa potter.

the executive machinery as a means of translating into measures suited to the country the directives prepared by the Administering Authority. Under this system the *Bami*, chiefs and sub-chiefs on the one hand, and the judges, secretaries, assistants or monitors on the other, have had to make use of forms of authority derived from custom in order to induce the inhabitants to follow the instructions issued by the Europeans for the general good. But the people, finding that the authority exercised over them took a form superficially reminiscent of past tyranny, often had difficulty in understanding, even over a long period, that these new instructions, which were communicated or applied to them with varying degrees of success—and sometimes, it must be admitted, with varying degrees of impartiality—were designed solely to serve their interests.

24. Measures adopted to prevent abuses, together with political reforms, social and economic progress, changes in custom and the growth of education, have all helped to break down and change the nature of the distinction between the Batutsi and the Bahutu, so that the terms have come to denote social rather than racial or political groups. The High Council of Ruanda, espousing an argument advanced by *Mwami* Mutara, has even expressed a formal hope that the use of the words "Tutsi" and "Hutu" will henceforth be abandoned in official documents. But a current of opinion which has recently sprung up among the educated Bahutu of the Ruanda central plateau has opposed this idea and refuses to regard it as a panacea for the country's ills. This element does not consider the use of racial terms among the inhabitants of Ruanda to be in any way offensive; on the contrary, it uses them as a sensitive thermometer which, by means of statistics, for example, allows of an exact diagnosis of the degree of social evolution of the populations.

25. When the matter was referred to the High Council of Urundi it held that a change in terminology would not solve any difficulties which might exist, and that it was more important to deal with facts, which might have marked social repercussions, than with a term which had no important effect on development.

26. The fact is that, despite all appearances of respect for tradition, loyalty to the *Bami*—as witnessed by the Mission when it attended the celebrations of the "*Joyeuse Entrée*" of the *Mwami* of Ruanda into Kigali on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession—obedience to the chiefs and sub-chiefs, and cow worship, the most advanced elements among the Bahutu are stirring, and beginning to make overt demands.

27. These ideas, which some individuals had already cherished in one form or another—the arguments advanced in the literary works of a Ruandan writer spring to mind as an example⁶—have found expression more recently in a document entitled: "Manifesto of the Bahutu: note on the social aspect of the indigenous racial problem in Ruanda".⁷ When the Mission asked the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi whether he considered that this document truly represented the views of an appreciable number of Bahutu or merely of a few

individuals he replied that, in his opinion, the Manifesto expressed the views of a still limited group of Bahutu but reflected a tendency which in a confused form was already part of the consciousness of a great many members of that social group.

28. The Administration has given the document a sympathetic reception and some publicity. At the July 1957 session of the General Council three members expressed the hope that the Government would study the note thoroughly and state its views at the General Council's next session. The Government agreed to this but reminded the General Council that it was a very delicate question, difficult to tackle with equanimity.

29. The Manifesto of the Bahutu states that the main causes of the present situation are to be found in the old political and social structure of Ruanda, the application of the policy of indirect administration, and the fact that some of the old social institutions have disappeared and have not been replaced by modern institutions. Those are "surviving relics of the feudal system", and it will serve no purpose to solve the difficulties between the Belgians and the Batutsi without first settling those between the Batutsi and the Bahutu. The problem as set forth in the Manifesto is primarily the political monopoly in the hands of one race, the Batutsi, and in present conditions that also means an economic, social and cultural monopoly. This monopoly is at the bottom of all manner of abuses, for the abolition of which the Manifesto proposes a series of measures:

(a) Abandonment of the misuse of "respect for the culture and customs of the country".

(b) A series of economic and social reforms:

- (1) The abolition of the customary *corvées*;
- (2) The recognition of individual land ownership;
- (3) The establishment of a rural credit fund;
- (4) Economic union between Belgian Africa and the metropolis;
- (5) The development of freedom of expression.

(c) Political reforms:

- (1) The codification of laws and customs;
- (2) The actual promotion of Bahutu to public office, in particular through the election of sub-chiefs, chiefs and judges;
- (3) The abolition of offices held for life;
- (4) Withdrawal of the provincial chiefs from the councils at the chiefdom level;
- (5) Modification of the composition of the High Council of the State, which should henceforth consist of delegations from the chiefdoms in proportion to the number of taxpayers, including Europeans.

(d) Educational reforms:

- (1) Abandonment of the selection which means in practice that secondary education is confined to Batutsi;
- (2) Supervision of the award of scholarships to ensure that the Bahutu receive equal opportunities;
- (3) The admission of more students to higher educational institutions in the Belgian Congo, Ruanda-Urundi and Belgium;

⁶ "L'optimiste", a play by Xavier Naigiziti, 1954. The preface by Mrs. Maquet explains quite correctly that this play is rather a statement of a contemporary social problem than a literary exercise, and thus represents an initial expression of public opinion which deserves respect and encouragement. The playwright's theme is drawn from the deepest concerns of contemporary Ruanda society.

⁷ Reproduced in full in annex I.

- (4) The improvement of handicraft, vocational and technical training;
- (5) An increase in the number of social centres in the rural areas.

30. In short, concludes the Manifesto, the Bahutu agree that the Mututsi Administration should participate progressively and more effectively in the affairs of the State, but at the same time they urge that the Belgian Administration and the Batutsi should take positive action to bring about the economic and political emancipation of the Muhutu, who should no longer be obliged always to "take second place to the Mututsi". The Manifesto warns the Government "against a method which, while tending to eliminate white-black colonialism, would leave a worse colonialism, that of the Hamite over the Muhutu". The Manifesto closes with a declaration that the writers are in no sense revolutionaries, but that it is out of a constructive desire to co-operate that they have sought to throw more light on this serious question.

31. At the same time a document entitled "Statement of Views" (*"Mise au point"*), prepared by the High Council of Ruanda,⁸ was laid before the Ruanda-Urundi authorities. The situation in Ruanda is here considered from a very different angle; not that of emancipating the Bahutu from the Batutsi—the High Council of Ruanda is composed solely of Batutsi—but that of preparing Ruanda as a whole for self-government by making full use of its *élite*. The "Statement of Views" begins by paying a tribute to the civilizing efforts of the Administering Authority and observes that self-government is the normal culmination of trusteeship. The very idea arouses apprehensions in some and leads them to mistrust those who voice such aspirations. But those who take that view show a faulty understanding of the matter, for emancipation, while inevitable, is not necessarily catastrophic; on the contrary, it can be a source of mutual advantage from various points of view. It is difficult at the present stage to specify when it will be possible to grant self-government, but Ruanda should be trained for self-government now, and such training requires measures of the following kinds:

(a) *Education*: Mass education alone has been developed; but until recently secondary education had been relegated to the background, and the promise of establishing the university at Astrida has not been fulfilled. Education should be directed, as a matter of urgency, towards the training of an *élite* technically capable of participating, as soon as possible, in the direction of the State's affairs.

(b) *Greater participation in the government of the country*: The time has come for members of the *élite* to be trained to manage their own affairs. The *Mwami* who is at the head of the indigenous Government has no established services to help him in administering the State. Reforms are needed to ensure that functions now performed by agents of the Belgian Administration can in the end be transferred to indigenous officials. At the present time the High Council of the State has only very limited powers and is merely an advisory body. It is a mistake not to recognize the political rights of an *élite* which has sufficient political maturity but has not yet developed sufficient administrative skill. The only way for the country to advance towards emancipation is by transitional stages; only

thus can those difficulties be avoided which would be inevitable if the country were to pass suddenly from trusteeship to freedom. Frank collaboration should be established between the indigenous political institutions and the corresponding organizations of the Belgian Government, which at present seem merely to have been placed side by side. All services should be co-ordinated.

(c) *A better directed economic and social policy*: Economic conditions in the country are generally represented as so discouraging as to give the impression that Ruanda is on the brink of disaster. Federation with the Belgian Congo would perhaps be beneficial, but the question requires careful study. The country must be industrialized and needs foreign capital investment.

(d) *Reducing colour prejudice*: There are still Europeans in Ruanda who have not understood the appeal launched by King Baudouin in 1955 when he visited the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi and called upon the whites and the native population to give proof in their daily contacts of the broadest possible mutual understanding. Some people still behave as if they were in a conquered country. There is still political discrimination whereby indigenous and white officials have different status. There is also an economic barrier which the natives cannot cross. Lastly, the Statement stresses the importance of the Press: it appears that the local and sometimes the metropolitan Press echo a disruptive policy which may lead to division, or set against each other people who have chosen to live together. A free and representative indigenous Press should be encouraged. The Statement concludes by saying that it is essential that a plan of organization should be prepared jointly by Ruanda and Belgium, its guardian; that plan would have to be drafted by an inter-racial body; it would dispel mistrust and enable Ruanda to make known its desires regarding the country's future.

32. These very interesting documents both originate in Ruanda. There is a similar situation in Urundi, but less acute, since for historical and traditional reasons the distinction between the races has always been less clear-cut in that country; the evolution of institutions in Urundi, from the *Mwami* to the chiefs, sub-chiefs and councils has always been more conducive to a better integration of groups. The High Council of Urundi contains three Bahutu, while there are no Bahutu in the High Council of Ruanda, and the *Mwami* of Urundi has proudly reminded the Mission that Urundi can now boast of possessing the only Muhutu chief of the Trust Territory. He has affirmed that he will continue to take into full consideration the aspirations of the people in appointing members of the political administration. Yet in so brief a summary, the problems may be generalized and regarded without fear of grave error as common to Ruanda and Urundi.

33. In his discussions with the Mission, the Governor said that the relationships between the Batutsi and the Bahutu were the key problem in the country. The whole history of Ruanda and Urundi, he said, lay in the political, social and economic domination by the minority group of the Batutsi of a majority group of the Bahutu—and to a lesser degree of the Batwa—in a social system that was solid and worked out to the last detail and it was only fair to recognize that the dominant class had at one time contributed to the well-being of the dominated class (principally by

⁸ Reproduced in full in annex II.

ensuring security, order and protection) in exchange for services of every kind which the latter had to provide.

34. Contemporary evolution, said the Governor, had virtually deprived the Batutsi's role as protector of the Bahutu of any significance; owing, however, to the influence of tradition, the Mututsi continued to feel entitled to expect certain services from the Bahutu, because the latter had in fact continued to provide such services despite administrative measures such as the *rachat de corvée* and the direct intervention of the Government. Although the influence of the Batutsi was still great, it was declining every day. The once impassive Bahutu were gaining in education and economic power and were accordingly beginning to protest more and more vehemently against the last vestiges of the past which enabled the Batutsi to make unwarranted demands on them for certain types of service. In the old days such protests had been rare and prudent. A first sign of the growing emancipation of the Bahutu was the fact that their protests were beginning to increase and what was more significant, to be expressed freely in certain circumstances.

35. The two sides of the question were set out in the "Statement of Views" of the High Council of Ruanda and the "Manifesto of the Bahutu". The High Council of Ruanda, composed of Batutsi, called for the rapid advancement of the intellectual *élite* of the country (in effect the Batutsi), by means of ample higher education, and simultaneously the granting of increasing political power to the High Councils (in effect the Batutsi).

36. As against this, the Manifesto of the Bahutu placed political reform after economic and social reform. It expressed the desire of the peasant masses to be assisted in their process of emancipation and in their efforts to gain control of the key political posts of every rank, to which their numerical superiority entitled them.

37. The Administering Authority, continued the Governor, was thus torn between two contradictory courses of action in that it had to satisfy simultaneously the demands of both parties. To give the High Councils very extensive powers before the Bahutu had managed to win for themselves their rightful place in those Councils was to risk jeopardizing once and for all their chances of ever occupying such a place. The Belgian authorities must do everything within their power to hasten the Bahutu's emancipation so as to be able to accelerate still further the current transfer of power to the constituted indigenous authorities without endangering democratic principles.

38. The Administration's support of the emancipation of the Bahutu took three main forms: the severe punishment of abuses committed by the Batutsi as soon as such abuses were legally established, the economic development of the country, and the introduction of democratic institutions at the lower level, the balloting to appoint the electoral college at the sub-chiefdom level, for instance, so as to render the Bahutu both able and willing to play their part in public affairs.

39. It would be an over-simplification to condemn *en bloc* all the Batutsi, who are accused without exception of being opposed, in the interests of their class, to any emancipation of the Bahutu and any spread of the democratic ideas about which everyone is

now talking and writing. The task of the Administration, concluded the Governor, was a delicate one, particularly in view of the eminent part played by the Batutsi in the existing structure of the country; it could not follow a policy which would set the Batutsi and the Bahutu against each other. The Administration was helping the Bahutu to consolidate their position and to win the places to which they were entitled, but it did not want to harm the legitimate interests of the Batutsi, whose qualities entitled them to very high positions in the harmonious community that the Administration was seeking to build. Every effort must therefore be made to avoid unnecessary friction and to induce the Batutsi to understand and realize that the emancipation of the Bahutu was not only acceptable from their point of view, but also desirable because a dissatisfied majority social group was always a source of disquiet, if not trouble, in a State and rendered the task of the governing classes more complex and less likely to succeed.

40. Generally speaking, the Mission is disposed to agree with the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi on this important and delicate question. Nevertheless, it would wish to underline the danger of placing undue stress upon the opposition between Bahutu and Batutsi, and would remark that as far as the future of the Territory is concerned, other important factors must be taken into account, namely in the cultural, social and economic fields.

41. One should not take at face value the statements of some Europeans, who in all good faith, but without any administrative responsibilities, exaggerate beyond measure the danger to the Bahutu of a rapid evolution of the Territory towards a wider measure of self-government. It may be feared that they are looking for arguments in order to bolster—even unconsciously—their personal attitudes.

42. Some indigenous inhabitants exaggerate in the other direction, and accuse the Europeans of taking advantage of this disharmony between Batutsi and Bahutu in order to retard the Territory's evolution. In a signed note handed to the Mission a Munyarunda speaks of the policy of divide and rule which has been followed by the Europeans in the case of the Bahutu/Batutsi ever since the Batutsi were accused—wrongly, the author asserts—of having asked for independence, "a word that has become taboo in our country". The same note, and here it reiterates a point made in the "Statement of Views", but far more explicitly and immoderately, vehemently accuses the European press of engaging in a blatant campaign about the abuses committed by the Batutsi and the "terrible" fate awaiting the Bahutu when the Batutsi have obtained from the international Organization independence, that is to say, the legal right to exploit them.

43. One observation to which the Mission attaches far more weight is that, although there is every likelihood that the Bahutu/Batutsi problem will grow worse in the near future, it is none the less true that it carries in itself the seed of its solution or more exactly of its transformation into a different problem.

44. Under the influence of secondary and university education and of contact with the outside world, traditional conceptions are giving way and the *élite* of the old régime, are coming up against a new *élite*. It will not be long—and indeed there are already indications of this—before the traditional political structure and

the respect for feudal institutions will be as irksome to the rising generation of young educated Batutsi as to the new Bahutu *élite*. In time, and perhaps in the fairly near future, the new generation of Batutsi or Bahutu will have more in common than will the young generation of Batutsi with the old. In the same way the Bahutu *élite* will become increasingly interested in ensuring that all enlightened elements of the population as a whole participate in the direction of the country's affairs, whether Batutsi or Bahutu.

45. This will to a great extent mark the end of the danger of the exploitation of the Bantu cultivators by the Hamitic herdsmen, but it will raise other and equally acute problems. Will the *Bami* be able to transform their régime of a divine monarchy—to use a naive and inaccurate but telling phrase drawn from other civilizations—into a constitutional monarchy? Will the chiefs and other Batutsi aristocrats of the old generation be wise enough to yield to the march of events before it is too late? These are questions to which it is difficult to give a categorical answer but the outlook is not unfavourable, for some understanding of the need for evolution has apparently already penetrated the ruling classes in Ruanda-Urundi. The "Statement of Views" of the High Council of Ruanda would indicate at least as much an awareness of the inevitability of a far-reaching change in the social structure of the State as a desire to provoke a race in order to consolidate the tottering prerogatives of a dominant class by premature self-government.

46. The discussion of these questions, begun under the understanding and attentive guidance of the Administering Authority, is a very important positive factor. The Administering Authority could also help the situation to take a favourable turn, first by taking good care to see that the Bahutu youth take full advantage of every educational opportunity in Ruanda-Urundi and elsewhere, so that the Bahutu *élite* do not lag behind the young Batutsi *élite* in intellectual development, and secondly, by trying to modify political institutions as rapidly as possible so as to keep the new *élite* on the alert and not to disappoint the enthusiasms and hopes to which their trust in modern democracy may have given rise, for such disappointments could feed the flames of racial conflicts.

INDIGENOUS ADMINISTRATION, ELECTIONS, COUNCILS, DUALITY OF EUROPEAN AND INDIGENOUS ADMINIS- TRATIONS

47. The indigenous system of administration is defined by the Decree of 14 July 1952, which has been described in detail to the Trusteeship Council and which came into force on 1 August 1953.

48. During the debate on that Decree, the Governor-General pointed out that it was not possible to pass from an autocratic régime to full democracy without a transitional period of cautious and gradual change, and for that reason the Decree to some extent represented only one step towards a system which could be achieved only through a series of such steps.

49. In that connexion, the Mission would like briefly to describe and discuss developments in the application of this Decree between 1953 and 1957, the proposed reforms to the system and the question of the duality of the European and indigenous administration.

50. The chief innovation since the application of the Decree in 1953 was the organization of elections in

1956. The Decree of 14 July 1952 had set up four types of councils; sub-chiefdom councils, chiefdom councils, district councils and High Councils of the States. The electoral principle had been introduced very cautiously, as the chiefdom councils, the district councils and even the High Councils of the States consisted partly of members of the traditional ruling class (sub-chiefs or chiefs) who were members *ex officio* or were elected by their peers, and partly of notables appointed by various methods, usually by some form of co-option system.⁹ In the case of the sub-chiefdom council, at the bottom of the hierarchy, the process had been carried a little further, as it had been provided that, apart from the sub-chief, the members (five to nine) were to be chosen by an electoral college consisting of notables, whose names were to be selected from a list prepared by the sub-chief taking into account the preferences of the

⁹ Article 28 of the Decree of 14 July 1952 provides that:

"The councils referred to in article 27 shall be constituted as follows:

"1. *Sub-chiefdom council*: This council shall be presided over by the sub-chief. It shall comprise:

"(a) The sub-chief;

"(b) Not less than five or more than nine members, at the rate of one member for every 500 inhabitants.

"These members shall be chosen by an electoral college. The college shall consist of notables whose names shall be selected from a list prepared by the sub-chief taking into account the preferences of the inhabitants. The number of names on the list of notables shall be at least twice that of the members of the council. The list shall be approved by the chief and accepted by the Administrator of the Territory. After it has been drawn up in this manner, it shall be posted in the chief town of the chiefdom and, after proclamation, in the chief town of the sub-chiefdom.

"2. *Chiefdom council*: This council shall be presided over by the chief. In addition to the chief, it shall comprise not less than ten or more than eighteen members selected as follows:

"(a) Five to nine sub-chiefs elected by their peers;

"(b) Notables to the same number as the sub-chiefs. These notables shall be elected as follows:

"Each sub-chiefdom council shall designate three of its notables;

"Together these notables shall constitute an electoral college which shall elect those of its members who are to be members of the chiefdom council.

"3. *District council*: This council shall consist of the chiefs of the district, an equal number of sub-chiefs elected by their peers and a number of notables equal to the total number of chiefs and sub-chiefs. These notables shall be elected as follows:

"Each chiefdom council shall appoint three notables from among its members;

"Together these notables shall constitute an electoral college which shall elect those of its members who are to be members of the district council.

"The district council shall choose its chairman and vice-chairman from among the chiefs. They shall remain in office for one year and shall be eligible for re-election.

"4. *High Council of the State*: This Council shall be presided over by the *Mwami*. In addition to the *Mwami*, it shall comprise:

"(a) The chairmen of the district councils of the State;

"(b) Six chiefs elected by their peers;

"(c) One representative elected by each district council from among the notables in the council;

"(d) Four persons chosen for their knowledge of the social, economic, spiritual and cultural problems of the State;

"(e) Four indigenous persons who are holders of the civic merit card or are registered, not including chiefs or sub-chiefs who may be holders of that certificate or be registered.

"The members referred to in paragraphs (d) and (e) above shall be co-opted by the other members.

"The Governor shall determine the procedure for preparing the list of notables in each sub-chiefdom, and for the selection, election and co-option to which this article refers. He shall also determine the time limits within which these formalities are to be carried out." (*Bulletin officiel du Congo belge*, 1^{re} partie, 45^e année, No. 8, p. 2007.)

inhabitants. This electoral college might of course be very small, as the only minimum limit set was that it should include at least twice as many notables as there were to be council members, *i.e.*, a minimum of two electors for each elected member.

51. The electoral experiment of 1953, although it represented a turning point in the history of Ruanda-Urundi's institutions, seems still to have been on a small scale.¹⁰

52. In 1956, to quote the words of the Administration, "it became clear both to the customary authorities and to the Administering Authority that the time had come to have the population make its first democratic gesture and that, for that purpose, the preferences of the inhabitants could best be expressed by their votes". Basing itself on that passage of article 28 of the Decree of 14 July 1952 which provides that the electoral college for the sub-chiefdom council shall consist of notables whose names shall be selected from a list prepared by the sub-chief taking into account the preferences of the inhabitants, the Administration simply arranged for the electoral colleges to be elected by the men of the sub-chiefdoms on the basis of universal suffrage. According to the Administration, the experiment was a great success and the Trusteeship Council at its nineteenth session has already congratulated the Administering Authority on it.¹¹ The Governor of Ruanda-Urundi has drawn attention to the large proportion of the electorate that voted (75 per cent of the registered voters), the favourable reception given to the principle of secret ballot, the ingenious procedure which enabled the illiterate to enter several names of their choice on their ballot papers, the great dignity with which the operations were conducted, and the wide distribution of the votes.

The Visiting Mission, which had the opportunity of seeing in the Territory a film of the 1956 elections, wishes to join the Council in offering its congratulations.

53. In support of an argument already advanced several times in the preceding chapters, *i.e.*, that in political reforms boldness and speed often constitute the wisest policy, the Mission would like to quote the following comment on the 1956 elections:

"It is my impression that if the legislator of 1952 who organized the existing councils in Ruanda-Urundi had had faith enough in the inevitable growth of democracy in our Trust Territories and had not been anxious primarily to make a showing to impress on domestic and world opinion, he would from the outset have advocated what Vice-Governor-General Harroy had the courage and boldness to do very recently when he organized elections in Ruanda-Urundi. Whereas the legislator of 1952 thought that development should be very slow, the Government responsible was forced to the conclusion three years later that wisdom lay not in temporizing but in taking action and made use of a loop-hole in the legislation to introduce universal suffrage at the sub-chiefdom level."¹²

54. In view of the increasing interest felt in the country concerning the question of the Bahutu and the Batutsi, the Mission looked into some details of the election results. The table below gives the percentages of the Batutsi, the Bahutu and Batwa in the sub-chiefdom electoral colleges,¹³ in the sub-chiefdom councils, and among the elected members (*i.e.*, not including sub-chiefs and chiefs elected by their peers) of the chiefdom and district councils.

	Sub-Chiefdom Electoral College			Sub-Chiefdom Councils			Chiefdom Councils (elected members)			District Councils (elected members)		
	Ruanda	Urundi	Ruanda- Urundi	Ruanda	Urundi	Ruanda- Urundi	Ruanda	Urundi	Ruanda- Urundi	Ruanda	Urundi	Ruanda- Urundi
1953												
Batutsi	41.4	34.6	39	52.3	40	46.3	76	65	71	81	67	75
Bahutu	58.4	65.4	60.9	47.65	60	53.68	24	35	29	19	33	25
Batwa	0.2	—	0.1	0.05	—	0.02	—	—	—	—	—	—
1956												
Batutsi	34.5	22.3	24.6	45.4	42.6	44	70	73	71	77	77	77
Bahutu	65.49	77.69	75.39	54.5	57.4	55.95	30	27	29	23	23	23
Batwa	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.1	—	0.05	—	—	—	—	—	—

55. Although by comparison with the 1953 elections, considerable progress has been made with regard to the participation of the Bahutu in the electoral colleges of the sub-chiefdom councils (60.9 per cent in 1953, 73.39 per cent in 1956), that progress is reflected but little in the sub-chiefdom councils themselves (53.68 per cent and 55.95 per cent) and not at all among the

elected members of the chiefdom and district councils (29 and 29 per cent; 25 and 23 per cent). The 1956 annual report comments on this as follows:

"This effacement of the Bahutu was inevitable in a country which until our coming lived under a system of personal protection, and where the mass of the population passively obeyed a ruling oligarchy. The contract of pastoral suzerainty is gradually being abolished, but its spirit will continue to influence the ideas of the present generation for a long time to come. It is understandable, therefore, that whereas in the elections to the lowest elective bodies, the Bahutu generally chose their representatives to the

¹⁰ In 1953, the sub-chiefs had themselves drawn up the lists of notables constituting the electoral colleges; these lists, according to the 1953 annual report, had been prepared in such a manner as to ensure all shades of opinion; occupational interests, and social or religious aspirations of the population were represented as fairly as possible. The Mission has no information as to the number of notables constituting these electoral colleges in 1953. See *Rapport soumis par le Gouvernement belge à l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies au sujet de l'administration du Ruanda-Urundi pendant l'année 1953*, Brussels, Etablissements généraux d'imprimerie, 1954.

¹¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 4*, pp. 61-62.

¹² A. A. J. Van Bilsen: "La question congolaise; plaidoyer pour un plan de trente ans" (*La Revue Nouvelle*, février 1957, p. 136).

¹³ The Mission unfortunately does not possess the full figures for the membership of the sub-chiefdom electoral colleges.

electoral college from amongst themselves, those representatives refused to elect persons with no social standing and abandoned the responsibility for public affairs to the Batutsi. In some areas this trend has been intensified by a better electoral discipline among the Batutsi."¹⁴

56. The Mission considers that it should also mention that the general structure of the Decree of 14 July 1952 does not favour a representation of the ethnic groups that is in proportion to their numerical size. As the pyramid of councils rises, the Batutsi are automatically in the majority. In the chiefdom council, the presiding officer is a chief, and there are at least as many sub-chiefs elected by their peers as there are notables elected indirectly by the sub-chiefdom councils; in the district council, there are at least as many chiefs and sub-chiefs as elected notables, and these notables are elected indirectly by the chiefdom councils, in which, as has just been pointed out, the Batutsi are necessarily in the majority; moreover, the president and vice-president of the district council are chosen from among the chiefs. In the case of the High Council of each State, the situation is self-evident, for in consequence of the co-option system, no Muhutu has a seat in the High Council of Ruanda (which has a total of thirty-three members) and only three have seats in the High Council of Urundi (out of a total of thirty-one members).

57. But other more general problems must already be considered with regard to the formation and the composition of the indigenous councils. The Governor of Ruanda-Urundi drew the attention of the General Council to the fact that the 1956 elections were still incomplete since, even on the sub-chiefdom level, councillors had not yet themselves been chosen, and only the electoral colleges had been constituted. He added that further progress might be expected; the day would come when sub-chiefdom councillors would be elected by direct suffrage. And he even indicated to the Mission that he hoped that such a direct election would be authorized by law in 1959.

58. The Mission fully endorses this hope and recalls in this connexion the recommendations of the Trusteeship Council to the Administering Authority inviting it to set up as soon as possible a system of direct elections on the basis of universal suffrage to be applied progressively to all councils in the Territory.

59. That there is a possibility of further progress in this field seems to be confirmed by the rapid progress made in the last five years. One need only compare the situation in 1956 with that existing in 1951. The 1951 United Nations Visiting Mission reported that the Administration had made a first attempt in the extra-customary centres of Usumbura, in 1948, and Rumonge, in 1950, to hold elections for councillors; this attempt had been unsuccessful owing to the inability of the inhabitants to understand the electoral machinery.¹⁵ The annual report for 1950¹⁶ added that a further attempt to choose councillors by means of

elections was made at Rumonge; unfortunately, the fact that many voters were illiterate made it impossible to guarantee a secret ballot and that circumstance accounts for the absenteeism of the voters. The annual report for 1951¹⁷ described in detail the results of another election in the extra-customary centre of Usumbura, which was unsatisfactory despite detailed and thorough preparations. It mentioned a letter bearing six signatures which had strongly criticized the principle of elections, labelling the Government's intentions as childish, and stating that most of the inhabitants of the centres were not yet sufficiently mature to participate in elections; the letter concluded with the statement that councillors should simply be appointed by the Administration. The Administering Authority added that the letter seemed to reflect the feelings of the majority of inhabitants with a fair degree of accuracy. What conveys an even better picture of the progress is the reflexion that the extra-customary centre is, in general, more advanced and more receptive to new ideas than is the case in tribal circles.

60. Another aspect of the 1956 elections upon which the Mission wishes to comment is the fact that in some sub-chiefdoms, the inhabitants spontaneously elected some Europeans to sit with them in the councils. These elections had not been validated because article 29 of the Decree of 14 July 1952 stipulates that only persons under the jurisdiction of the State (*ressortissants du pays*) may be members of the indigenous councils. The Governor of Ruanda-Urundi expressed the hope that the letter of the law could be modified so as to permit the admission of non-indigenous persons to these elected councils if the voters wished them to do so because of their technical knowledge or sense of social awareness. The Bahutu Manifesto also adopts this point of view. Many Europeans are also favourable to it.

61. The Mission takes note with satisfaction of this evidence of amicable inter-racial relations. Nevertheless, it considers that a modification of this kind would have to be accompanied by a complete reorganization of the system which would transform the indigenous councils into local councils whose competence would go beyond the scope of indigenous affairs and the problems of the indigenous inhabitants. Such a radical reform would mean the termination of the dual system of indigenous administration and European administration and would realize a conception which at present is accepted in the case of the General Council only. As a transitional measure, it would perhaps be possible forthwith, by means of amendments to some clauses of the existing Decree, to introduce elected non-indigenous persons to sub-chiefdom councils, chiefdom councils, district councils, and the High Council of each State as "advisory members".

62. The indigenous councils, and the High Council of each State in particular, wield great influence. The High Councils of both States have proved themselves to be active and constructive bodies. The Council of Ruanda has had eleven sessions since its formation, and the Council of Urundi has had seven sessions. These Councils have during that time made about 300 recommendations (*vœux*), which the Administration considers it has fulfilled as far as possible and which it declares to have been most informative. These

¹⁴ *Rapport soumis par le Gouvernement belge à l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies au sujet de l'administration du Ruanda-Urundi pendant l'année 1956*, Brussels, Imprimerie Fr. Van Muysewinkel, 1957, p. 33.

¹⁵ *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 2*, paras. 58 and 59.

¹⁶ *Rapport soumis par le Gouvernement belge à l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies au sujet de l'administration du Ruanda-Urundi pendant l'année 1950*, Brussels, Etablissements généraux d'imprimerie, 1951.

¹⁷ *Rapport soumis par le Gouvernement belge à l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies au sujet de l'administration du Ruanda-Urundi pendant l'année 1951*, Brussels, Etablissements généraux d'imprimerie, 1952.

Councils have taken up the question of abolishing livestock contracts (*ubuhake* in Ruanda, *ubugabire* in Urundi) and the reform of the system of land tenure. The Visiting Mission had an opportunity to meet some of their members and to see the Councils in action. The Mission was very favourably impressed both by the capacities of the councillors and by their seriousness, courtesy and conscientiousness.

63. A certain amount of expectancy already exists, however, for more extensive reform of the indigenous structure. First, the "Statement of Views" of the High Council of Ruanda (see annex II) demands fuller participation of indigenous persons in the government of the State and real responsibilities for the indigenous authorities. That document states that at the moment the functions of the High Council of the State are very narrowly circumscribed and that even its advisory capacity is sometimes merely illusory. This idea reappears in many communications received by the Mission, and was expressed in talks in various ways. The reasons for this demand vary from general solicitude for the country's development to dislike of a particular detail; as examples of the latter it seems that some Barundi are annoyed that the recommendation of the High Council of Urundi concerning a State holiday has not been fulfilled and that, on the other hand, they are very anxious that the Usumbura region should not be placed outside the jurisdiction of the authorities of Urundi (see paras. 89-95 below). Others are convinced that the Belgian policy is simply a dark plot to reduce the indigenous authorities to the status of figureheads.

64. However, the general view is beginning to be expressed in all quarters that indigenous persons should be allowed to participate more fully in the administration of the country, and the Mission recommends that the Administering Authority make fullest allowance for this sentiment.

65. The Mission was told that two experiments were being carried out on the chiefdom level with a view to entrusting to the tribal authorities responsibilities previously exercised by agents of the Administration. First, the leading chiefs have been made responsible for administering the budget and for the day-by-day management of chiefdom funds. Secondly, in a number of chiefdoms, the food crop planting programmes have been entrusted entirely to the local authorities. The Administration says that it is attempting on the chiefdom level to place more and more power in the hands of the lower councils, which are in contact with typically peasant concerns, that is to say, a sphere with which the people are well acquainted and where it is of the greatest advantage for the Administration to know the reactions of the people and to receive their aid and support. Thus, it has been decided in Ruanda to grant councils at the sub-chiefdom level exclusive power to assign holdings of less than two hectares in area.

66. The Mission was also informed that the High Council of Ruanda had considered the establishment of four central services: general administration, justice, finance and natural resources which, together with the *Mwami*, are intended to constitute the first administrative machinery separate from the central secretariat of the State. These services, which under the Decree of 14 July 1952 were to be established at the initiative of the *Mwami*, subject to the approval of the High Council of the State, have been described, wrongly,

as "ministries". They will create staff recruitment problems. However, the local administration is convinced that this machinery, which the Administering Authority is preparing to promote in every useful way by giving it the proper responsibilities, will mark a very important stage in the participation of the Banyaruanda in the management of their public affairs. It is expected that Urundi will also embark upon the same course in the near future.

67. With respect to the political organization of Ruanda-Urundi, there are ideas which are even more specific, more original and more radical. Shortly before their departure, the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi delivered to the members of the Mission a "memorandum on the political aspect of the dual European-indigenous administration in Ruanda-Urundi", drafted by Mr. Joseph Habyarimana Gitera, a business-man from Astrida and a member of the General Council.¹⁸ It was at the request of the author that the Governor transmitted the memorandum to the members of the General Council and to the members of the Visiting Mission. In his letter to the Governor dated 26 September 1957, Mr. Habyarimana pointed out that he had drafted the memorandum in collaboration with a number of Bahutu, most of whom belonged to the group which had written the "Manifesto of the Bahutu" (see annex I). He said that this memorandum, like its predecessor, had been dictated not by a spirit of fanciful innovation or insurrection or by a foolish ideology aiming at premature and unilateral self-government, but by a feeling of frank confidence in the Belgian Administering Authority. The memorandum expressed the hope that the Administering Authority would concern itself in a more positive and immediate manner with the social education of the people of Ruanda, with a view to bringing about their complete emancipation, and for this purpose made the following recommendations:

(a) Discontinuance of the dual, European-indigenous, administration of Ruanda-Urundi. There can be no hope of democratizing Ruanda-Urundi while maintaining the existing structure of the indigenous administration, "which approximates so closely our ancestral feudal system". Indirect rule is harmful because all decisions of the central authority have to pass through "organs which are narrow in scope or narrow in outlook". The appointment of Bahutu chiefs or sub-chiefs would not change this problem at all;

(b) Thorough reform of the existing structure of chiefs and sub-chiefs. Mr. Habyarimana proposes that the sub-chiefs should be replaced by "communal chiefs" or burgomasters, elected by the taxpayers of the commune or canton, under a system of universal suffrage. The function of such a chief would be to "supervise certain specific and separate services supplied in his canton: e.g., agriculture, communal projects, notarial services, census taking". The existing system of chiefs would be eliminated. Above the communal level would come the provincial authority (i.e., the present "Territory"), the residency and the central

¹⁸ In 1953, Mr. Joseph Habyarimana Gitera had sent a petition to the United Nations (T/PET.3/69, T/OBS.3/6 and resolution 872 (XIII)). In 1954, he had sent a further communication (T/COM.3/L.12). The Administration cited his case to the Visiting Mission as evidence that no penalties or reprisals had ever been applied against inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi who made use of the right of petition; this erstwhile petitioner is now a member of the General Council and has made a trip to Belgium at the expense of the Government.

government. Each service would be reinforced with a staff of indigenous personnel, the members of which would no longer be subordinate intermediaries but indigenous assistants. This arrangement would end "the juxtaposed functioning of two administrations, one European and one indigenous".

68. From the foregoing the Mission feels justified in concluding that although the present political organization of Ruanda-Urundi is of recent date and has been in operation for no more than a few years and although some changes have already taken place or are contemplated, it is not too early to consider a gradual but complete recasting of the Government. This is, moreover, what the Administration is doing and the only purpose of the Visiting Mission is to emphasize that there should be no relaxation of the efforts in this sphere.

69. With respect to the substance of the reforms to be introduced, the Mission has confidence equally in the Administering Authority, which is both experienced and progressive, and in the people of Ruanda-Urundi, who are beginning to give evidence of their capacity to express and discuss general ideas concerned with modern political organization. The Mission trusts there will be universal support for its recommendation that the reforms to be introduced should continue along the following lines: increased resort to elections by universal suffrage; an increase in the granting of responsibilities to local authorities and councils; gradual integration of the European and indigenous administration.

70. The Mission notes with interest the statement of the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi to the effect that the natural development which should lead the Banyarwanda and the Barundi, with the help of institutions which are truly democratic in structure, to assume increasingly heavy and numerous responsibilities in managing the affairs of their country, is expected to be accompanied by political and social changes as decisive as those required in the economic field. Many of these changes are already in progress; still others, he said, are the subject of preparatory legal study which is being carried on actively at Usumbura, Léopoldville and Brussels.

THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF RUANDA-URUNDI

71. Under the Royal Order of 26 March 1957 the Council of the Vice-Government-General, the highest advisory body of Ruanda-Urundi, was replaced by a General Council of forty-five members:

(a) Seven senior officials are *ex officio* members (the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi, the *Procureur du roi*, the Provincial Commissioners, the Provincial Secretary, and the Residents of Ruanda and Urundi);

(b) The two *Bami* are *ex officio* members;

(c) Two members are chosen by the High Council of Ruanda from among its membership and two others by the High Council of Urundi;

(d) Thirty-two members are appointed by the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi as follows:

(i) Six representatives of industrial and commercial companies, appointed on the nomination of industrial associations and chambers of commerce (in 1957 all were European directors of trading or mining companies);

(ii) Six representatives of the independent middle classes, appointed on the nomination of middle-class groups, including the chambers of commerce repre-

sented individual undertakings (in 1957 all were Europeans: lawyers, colonists, owners of undertakings);

(iii) Six representatives of labour, five appointed on the nomination of occupational associations of workers and employees in the public and private sectors, and one appointed on the nomination of the workers' members of the Commissions on Labour and Indigenous Social Progress (in 1957 they were four European officials and two indigenous clerks);

(iv) Six notables, chosen on the basis of their general ability and independence of mind (in 1957 they were an indigenous chief, a European colonist, a European merchant, a European vicar apostolic, an Asian merchant and an indigenous abbot);

(v) Four representatives of extra-rural communities (in 1957 they were a European company manager and three indigenous inhabitants: the chief of the Usumbura extra-customary centre, a medical assistant and a clerk);

(vi) Four persons belonging to neither the general nor the indigenous administrations (in 1957 they were an indigenous vicar apostolic, a European Protestant missionary, an indigenous manufacturer and an indigenous business employee).

72. The *Bami*'s advisors also sit in the General Council, but are not entitled to vote.

73. In July 1957, twenty-six of the forty-three members present were Europeans, sixteen Africans and one Asian. The number of members of the various racial groups is not, however, fixed as members are appointed because of their functions and not because of their race. Moreover, changes may occur in the course of a session; thus in July 1957, when the place of the European apostolic vicar was taken by his alternate, an indigenous chief, the proportion became 25-17-1.

74. The composition of the General Council is an advance on that of the former Council of the Vice-Government-General, which had only twenty-two members, only five of whom were Africans in 1956.¹⁹ However, the Council is still not an elected body, and its representative character is thus not yet complete.

75. Like the former Council of the Vice-Government-General, the General Council is exclusively advisory. It examines draft budgets, considers all questions submitted to it by the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi, and may submit recommendations (*vœux*) to the Administration.

76. The General Council met for the first time from 29 July to 3 August 1957. Judging from the records of its meetings it was extremely active and its African members seem to have participated fully in its work. There were six items on the agenda for the session: (1) examination of the draft code on judicial organization and jurisdiction; (2) examination of the draft decree on indigenous courts; (3) examination of the application to Ruanda-Urundi of the decree on the status of towns; (4) examination of the budgets for 1958; (5) examination of the action taken on the recommendations of the 1956 session of the Council of the Vice-Government-General; and (6) examination of any recommendations proposed at the current session of the General Council. On the first day, members

¹⁹ In 1956 the Council of the Vice-Government-General was consulted concerning this reorganization.

proposed the addition of some twenty-five additional items, some of which dealt with very general questions. The Council decided to hold a second session of a few days in November, and to appoint a committee to decide the order of priority of the items to be included in the agenda.

77. The Mission was informed that there had been some opposition to the establishment of the General Council in certain European circles. These circles had always favoured closer union between Ruanda-Urundi and the Belgian Congo and thought that Ruanda-Urundi should be represented in the Government Council at Léopoldville and in the Permanent Delegation, where general questions were dealt with, local questions being dealt with by the Council of the Vice-Government-General of Ruanda-Urundi and by the Provincial Councils of the Belgian Congo.²⁰ In the opinion of these circles, the establishment of the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi tended to make the separation of the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi final. Therefore they now take the view that the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi should deal with general questions concerning Ruanda-Urundi, that it should be given a Permanent Delegation, and be given the right to be consulted on any new legislation. They also regret that although the Government Council at Léopoldville, an advisory body, has received the power to establish the Colony's budget, the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi does not have the same power in respect of the Trust Territory and can only examine draft budgets.

78. During its first session in July 1957, various recommendations were presented concerning the working of the General Council. One recommendation submitted by two European and three African councillors proposed the establishment within the Council of a Permanent Delegation which the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi would consult before issuing any ordinances or instructions of a general character and in the preparation of any plans, studies or negotiations. It was proposed that the Permanent Delegation should consist of three African members (two nominated by the High Councils of the States, and one by the Governor) and three European members (two nominated by the General Council, and one by the Governor) and that the Permanent Delegation should elect its own chairman. When this recommendation was discussed in the General Council, the Governor suggested that the Council should wait until the next session before discussing the possible establishment of a Permanent Delegation, and undertook to have the question studied in the meantime, and to discuss it with some members in the light of experience obtained from the functioning of the recently established education committee. His suggestion was accepted.

²⁰ At its 1956 session, the Council of the Vice-Government-General had recommended that Ruanda-Urundi should send observers to the Government Council at Léopoldville and to its Permanent Delegation. The observers, who would have the right to speak but not to vote and would be able to attend all meetings, would receive full documentation and occupy a special place in the Council or Delegation. The Administration pointed out that the Governor-General of the Belgian Congo may call on any officials or heads of public establishments he desires whenever questions within their jurisdiction are considered by the Government Council or the Permanent Delegation. It is thus left to the Governor-General to decide whether or not to call officials or the head of public establishments of Ruanda-Urundi to the Government Council. Subsequently the Mission was informed that the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi would attend the next session of the Government Council of the Belgian Congo.

79. During his discussions with the Mission, the Governor pointed out, however, that it would be dangerous to establish a Permanent Delegation which might make burdensome demands on the government services and ask them to undertake a series of tasks. The fundamental function of an executive organ was to act, and it could not reasonably be expected to devote nearly a quarter of its time to submitting to controls. He added, however, that he had agreed to the establishment of new machinery that would permit the General Council to have fuller information on a number of important points.

80. Another recommendation submitted by three European members and adopted by the General Council was that—inasmuch as the people of Ruanda-Urundi should participate in the drafting of the laws that govern them, at least to the same extent as the people of the Belgian Congo—the provision in article 58 of the Royal Order of 1 July 1947, as amended by the Royal Order of 21 January 1957 concerning the Belgian Congo, to the effect that "Except in cases of urgency, the Council shall be consulted in the last resort before the Colonial Council on all draft decrees constituting general and permanent legislation", should be added to the Royal Order of 26 March 1957 establishing the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi.

81. To appreciate the scope of this recommendation, it must be remembered that normal and ordinary legislation for the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi—apart from laws enacted by the Belgian Parliament—takes the form of decrees issued by the King, after consulting the Colonial Council, which is a body sitting in Belgium. These decrees, as well as legislative ordinances issued in cases of urgency by the Governor-General of the Belgian Congo, may specify that they are applicable to the Belgian Congo *and* Ruanda-Urundi, in which case they automatically apply to the Trust Territory, unless the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi for urgent reasons suspends their execution for six months.²¹ If they do not mention Ruanda-Urundi they are not applicable to the Trust Territory until the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi expressly declares them to be applicable. In general, decrees applicable to Ruanda-Urundi are not issued except after consultation either of the General Council (formerly the Council of the Vice-Government-General) or of the Administration of Ruanda-Urundi. There have, however, been cases in which neither was consulted;²² but according to the Governor, such cases are exceptional.

82. The Governor explained to the General Council that the situation implied a certain flexibility. The important thing was that the Ruanda-Urundi authorities should be kept informed of drafts in preparation. In some cases, examination by the administrative services of Ruanda-Urundi would be enough; in others the Governor might consult for purposes of information some members of the Council who had special knowledge of the matters dealt with in the draft and whose

²¹ This procedure has permitted the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi to suspend for successive periods of six months, since 1953, the execution of the decree on family allocations for indigenous workers, which is applicable to the Belgian Congo and to Ruanda-Urundi, but is considered not to be appropriate to conditions in Ruanda-Urundi.

²² Thus, in spite of a 1956 recommendation of the Council of the Vice-Government-General asking that the draft decree on the pensions of indigenous workers should be submitted to it before its application to Ruanda-Urundi, the Council was not consulted upon the Decree of 6 June 1956 which entered into force on 1 January 1957.

opinion seemed to him to be representative of that of the Council. Finally, in the most important cases, he would take the initiative of convening the General Council in special session, or of asking the Ministry of Colonies to suspend the draft until the General Council had considered it.

83. The Mission notes with interest the General Council's desire to participate more closely in the drafting of legislation applicable to the Territory. It wishes to recall that the Trusteeship Council, at its nineteenth session, had noted with satisfaction the steps taken by the Administering Authority to increase the African membership of the Council of the Vice-Government-General (now the General Council) and had expressed the hope that the African membership would be progressively increased so that the powers of the Council might be extended in such a way as to transform it within a short period into a legislative organ for the Territory.²³ The Mission hopes that the Administering Authority will not lose sight of this objective.

RELATIONS BETWEEN RUANDA AND URUNDI

84. The Trusteeship Council has frequently expressed a desire to see closer relations established between Ruanda and Urundi. It is undeniably true that the association between the two States is less close than the expression "Ruanda-Urundi" might seem to indicate.

85. The matter must be viewed in historical perspective. A series of Hamitic kingdoms, including Ruanda and Urundi, were established in Central Africa, probably in the eighteenth century. These kingdoms, despite their common origins, were constantly at war with one another. The kings of Ruanda and Urundi were almost always enemies, and continually vied for possession of the provinces bounded by the river Akanyaru. There was scarcely a reign during which Barundi and Banyaruanda did not come to blows. When the Europeans occupied the country they found two absolute monarchies, separate and distinct, each headed by a king, each with its own organization and its own language. Under German rule the *circonscriptions* of Ruanda and Urundi were governed by different policies; the occupation of Urundi was marked by constant warfare and an inconsistent policy, in contrast with the peaceful and pleasant state of affairs in Ruanda.

86. The system of indirect administration introduced by the Belgians left unchanged, as was quite natural, the division of Ruanda-Urundi into two kingdoms, on which it superimposed a European administration organized in two Residences. Since that time the following factors have tended to bring the two States together: many institutions in common, the same Trusteeship System, a common administrative capital, common general services, a single European language and a single system of education. There is still, however, very little contact between the indigenous authorities of Ruanda and Urundi, and their respective populations are still kept apart by their traditional particularism. Thus, the Administration had to abandon in 1951-1952, because of the opposition of the people, a scheme to standardize the spelling of Kirundi and Kinyaruanda, languages which are so closely related as to call for assimilation if not complete fusion.

87. The organization of the General Council in its new form, with increased African representation, is regarded by the Administration as an important step towards creating an organic bond between the two States. Furthermore, the Governor informed the Mission that arrangements were being made to hold technical meetings on limited subjects between representatives of Ruanda and of Urundi; such meetings would provide an opportunity of studying differences and similarities in the problems of the two States and would lead to fresh contacts through which experts might get to know one another better and form personal ties.

88. The Mission agrees with previous Missions, the Trusteeship Council and the Administering Authority that from the political and economic viewpoint Ruanda and Urundi have a common future; that, in the interest of the Trust Territory as a whole, efforts to strengthen the relationships between the two States must continue; and that one way to do this is to encourage the establishment and development of common institutions. The Mission, however, appreciates the point made by the Administering Authority in its observations on the report of the 1954 United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, that this common future need not necessarily take the form of simple unification.²⁴ The Mission would point out that Ruanda and Urundi form homogeneous population groups, with 2 to 2.5 million inhabitants each and a high rate of population increase. This might well justify the adoption of a federal system in the future, or some other form of decentralization under which each region would be able to retain as many of its own institutions as possible and to continue developing along its own individual lines without prejudice to the more general interests of the Territory as a whole.

89. The Mission indirectly discovered a curious aspect of the problem of particularism in Ruanda-Urundi when it came to consider the situation at Usumbura.

90. Usumbura, the capital, administrative centre and, with its port on Lake Tanganyika, trading centre of Ruanda-Urundi, is in Urundi. Despite its "federal" character and the fact that much of its African population is neither Murundi nor Munyaruanda, Usumbura is regarded by the Barundi as an integral part of Urundi, and any attempt to loosen this tie is vigorously rejected.

91. At its July 1957 session the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi had before it a Decree of 26 March 1957 on municipal organization in the Belgian Congo. This Decree empowers the Governor-General of the Belgian Congo to confer the status of "town" (*ville*) on any centre of population whose size makes it eligible. Each town would be composed of communes. The town and the communes would have partially elected councils and appointed mayors, who would not necessarily be civil servants; each town and commune would have its own budget and be able to levy taxes.

92. The purpose of the discussion was to obtain the General Council's views on the desirability of making this Decree applicable to Ruanda-Urundi, so that Usumbura could be given municipal status. During the debate

²³ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 4, p. 58.

²⁴ See Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 2, p. 53.

the Council recognized the progressive and democratic nature of such a municipal system; but it opposed the application to Ruanda-Urundi of the system instituted by the Decree promulgated for the Belgian Congo on 26 March 1957, and recommended that a special municipal system should be drawn up for the Trust Territory. In the course of a long debate the Council endeavoured to outline a system which might be appropriate for Ruanda-Urundi. The debate is to be resumed at the Council's next session at the end of 1957.

93. One aspect of the problem discussed during the debate was the effect which municipal status would have on Usumbura's relations with Urundi. It had been rumoured that conferment of that status on Usumbura would be tantamount to detaching that district from Urundi. A variety of proposals were presented with a view to preserving, in some degree, the rights of the *Mwami* of Urundi over Usumbura and, in some cases, the rights of the High Council of Urundi. The debate led to no final conclusions, but the anxiety of the indigenous authorities of Urundi was plain. Furthermore, the *Mwami* of Ruanda (who may have feared that municipal status might subsequently be conferred on a centre of population in Ruanda) stated that he saw no necessity to introduce a municipal system in Ruanda-Urundi, and systematically abstained from voting throughout the debate. Another complication resulted from the lack of enthusiasm shown by the *Mwami* of Urundi and the Barundi members of the Council at the prospect that in the future town of Usumbura non-Barundi residents, and especially Banyaruanda, would enjoy equal political rights.

94. On the date of its departure from the Territory the Mission received two anonymous communications indicating, in emphatic terms and with the support of many historical arguments, how strongly the passions of the Barundi were aroused by the possibility that the new system might widen the gap between Usumbura and Urundi. According to these communications, the High Council of Urundi had decided to petition the Trusteeship Council in order that the municipal system not be discussed and, what was more, to put an end to the status of Usumbura, Kitega, Nyanza and Rumonge as extra-customary centres, which weakened national unity and set up "States within the State". It was only, they said, at the Administration's insistence, and after a promise had been given that the question of Usumbura and the extra-customary centres would be settled by the end of 1957 to the entire satisfaction of the High Council of the State and of the Barundi population, that it had been decided not to proceed with the petition.

95. On the one hand, the Mission cannot help feeling that any system under which large centres of population could acquire the status of free communes would be a step in the direction of democracy and the modernization of institutions. Again, it considers that a status which will to some extent "federalize" the life of the capital of Ruanda-Urundi while safeguarding its political and territorial allegiance to Urundi, will ultimately be necessitated by the Territory's development. On the other hand, the Mission cannot fail to give full weight to the vehemence with which such schemes are opposed, and which typifies the particularism and "provincialism" of the Territory. This is a difficult situation, and the Mission has no doubt that the

Administering Authority will do everything in its power to convince the people of the value of these schemes to the Territory as a whole.

96. In this connexion the Mission wonders whether the people of Urundi might not be more willing to accept common institutions for Ruanda-Urundi if it were made clear to them that the question did not affect the Usumbura area alone. For example, an attempt might be made to emphasize the common function performed for the Territory as a whole by Astrida, which is in Ruanda and is more or less certain to become the Territory's intellectual capital (the site of the *centre scolaire*, the future university, the Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa, etc.). This might perhaps be made clearer by holding sessions of the General Council at Astrida from time to time. The Mission puts this suggestion forward, not as a specific or definite proposal, but as an example of the measures which the Administration might adopt in order to broaden the outlook of the inhabitants of Ruanda and Urundi.

97. The Trusteeship Council has several times recommended that the status of the population should be studied, and that consideration should be given to the institution of a Ruanda-Urundi citizenship. When the Mission discussed this subject with the Administration it encountered another instance of particularism. It was told that the indigenous *élites* would have difficulty in accepting "Ruanda-Urundi" nationality and would demand two separate nationalities; for that reason, the Administration was postponing action on the problem.

98. The question of "nationals" and "citizens" was debated when the General Council was considering the municipal system; the complex and difficult nature of the problem was clearly revealed. The question was to decide on the qualifications for the franchise and for election to office in future towns. Terms proposed to distinguish between the different residents of the town included "national of the State" (e.g., Urundi), "national of the adjoining State" (in that case, Ruanda), "Belgian", "Congolese" and "alien". Serious differences of opinion emerged with regard to the rights these different categories of residents should enjoy and the distinctions which should be made with regard to their period of residence. The Barundi members of the General Council advocated a less favourable system for Banyaruanda residents of Usumbura than for Barundi (five years' residence, as compared with three, for franchise and eligibility for office). The Banyaruanda representatives opposed this position, and held that no distinction should be made between Barundi and Banyaruanda. The discussion then turned to questions of nationality and naturalization. A European member of the General Council observed that to speak of Murundi and Munyaruanda nationality was too restrictive; he recommended the Council to consider a federal form of nationality similar to that of the United States, where nationality attaches, not to one of the forty-eight States, but to the federation of those States. A Murundi member of the Council immediately pointed out that a comparison with the United States was hardly valid because the original population of that country, the Indians, had disappeared and the forty-eight States were inhabited by "whites"; whereas in Urundi, on the contrary, the Barundi were still the largest segment of the population. Hence the remainder were foreigners, and a system for their inclusion in

the population had to be found. He pointed out that the Barundi and Banyaruanda were not ordinary communities but two kingdoms, each of which was free to have its own political rights; he referred to the emergence of the idea of nationality in Europe. When it was pointed out to him that such ideas of nationality and sovereignty were now heavily assailed in Europe, he replied that the Barundi and Banyaruanda were at present feeling their way in that respect; it was natural that they should begin at a point which European States had already passed, by trying to clarify their ideas on their political rights.

99. Others, in contrast, asserted that in Ruanda the Barundi enjoyed full political rights, and that naturalization was in fact possible under Ruanda custom. The debate, however, led to no definite conclusions. One of the indigenous members observed that, on reading the record of that meeting of the General Council, Belgian, foreign or international authorities might perhaps consider that the peoples of Ruanda-Urundi lacked maturity. The Mission wishes to reassure this Councillor; far from taking such a view, it was impressed by the serious and intelligent nature of the debate.

100. The Mission wanted to describe these debates at some length, in order to show how delicate is the question, often raised in the Trusteeship Council, of establishing a Ruanda-Urundi citizenship, and how difficult its solution is. It is convinced that if the people of Ruanda and Urundi continue to give these problems careful study under the Administering Authority's guidance, they and residents belonging to other races will eventually find a satisfactory solution.

JUDICIAL ORGANIZATION

101. In Ruanda-Urundi there is a dual system, which has been described in detail elsewhere and which is composed of non-indigenous courts settling disputes in accordance with the written law and indigenous courts dealing with cases in conformity with customary law so far as this is compatible with universal public order.

102. The separation of the executive and judicial powers in these two systems is not complete, although some progress has been made in this direction in recent years.

103. With regard to the non-indigenous courts, the Commission for Judicial Reform of the Ministry for the Colonies, following reforms recently instituted in the Belgian Congo, has drawn up a draft code of judicial organization and jurisdiction for Ruanda-Urundi, which was submitted to the General Council in July 1957 for its comments. The purposes of this proposal were summarized as follows:

- (a) To eliminate racial discrimination;
- (b) To substitute professional magistrates for judges who are administrative officials;
- (c) To increase the safeguards of the independence of the judicial power.

104. With these purposes in view, the proposal provides for the elimination of the residency courts and the courts of the *parquet*, whose jurisdiction extended only to the indigenous population, and the extension of the jurisdiction *ratione materiae* of the courts of first instance, whose jurisdiction *ratione*

personae would include all inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi without distinction as to race. The jurisdiction *ratione materiae* of the police courts would be reduced, but they would be empowered to deal with all persons regardless of race. Lastly, all judges who are administrative officials would so far as possible be replaced by professional magistrates. The Mission believes that these reforms would result in a definite improvement in the administration of justice; the Trusteeship Council will be in a better position to form an opinion when it has received the final text.

105. With regard to the indigenous courts, the Visiting Mission of 1948 had already pointed out that, under the 1943 legislation concerning these courts, the chiefs possessed certain judicial powers,²⁵ which is contrary to the principle of the separation of powers. The Visiting Mission of 1951 noted that some progress towards the separation of powers had been made through administrative practice, which was ahead of the legislation in force; it had become more and more common for the chiefs, who are *ex officio* presidents of the chieftdom courts, to be replaced by deputies appointed for the purpose.²⁶ This was also true of the *Mwami* in relation to the presidency of the *Mwami* Court. In 1954 the Administration of Ruanda-Urundi, after extensive consultation with the European and indigenous authorities, produced a preliminary draft of a decree on the reorganization of the indigenous courts.

106. In July 1957, the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi had before it two preliminary proposals for the reform of the indigenous courts prepared by the Commission for Judicial Reform of the Ministry for the Colonies. The General Council nevertheless preferred to use as its working paper the preliminary proposal of 1954, to which it considered that insufficient attention had been paid. It may be useful to reproduce in detail the conclusions of the General Council's Committee on Indigenous Courts:

(a) The Committee believes that the principle of the separation of powers is both a prerequisite for the harmonious development of institutions and a safeguard for those subject to the law, and it considers that judicial functions should be exercised by professional magistrates. The Committee is, however, fully aware that the application of these principles presents difficulties and believes that this can only be accomplished gradually. In practice, the stage of development of indigenous society, in which legal relationships can be expressed only in terms of customary law, and the present organization of the indigenous courts, would preclude any immediate radical reform, regardless of the funds made available for the purpose.

(b) The Committee's aim is to modify the present organization of the indigenous courts so as to improve their operation, and to secure the separation of powers and the incorporation of the indigenous courts in the judicial system as a whole.

(c) The Committee proposes the following reforms, which would be reproduced in the form of amendments to the articles of the draft decree:

(i) *Chieftdom court*: The chief of the chieftdom should no longer be *ex officio* president of the chieftdom court. The president and the judge should be appointed by the *Mwami* on the nomination of the chieftdom

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Fourth Session, Supplement No. 2, p. 8.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 2, para 81.

council. The candidates nominated by the chiefdom council should be approved by the Resident.

The Committee realizes that although this reform is not likely to encounter difficulties in Ruanda, where in practice the chiefs of the chiefdom no longer personally act as judges, this does not apply to Urundi, where many chiefs are still actively exercising their functions as judges. It therefore wishes to make it clear that the council is free to nominate a chief as a candidate for the post of judge of the chiefdom court.

(ii) *District court*: Its organization would be based on a similar system, candidates for posts of judges being nominated by the District Council and appointments being made by the *Mwami* with the approval of the Resident.

(iii) *Mwami Court*: It is conceded that the elimination of *ex officio* judges would be much more difficult. Several members of the Committee believe that for the time being the *Mwami* should continue to exercise the functions of president of the State Court. The arguments advanced in support of this view are that, according to custom, the *Mwami* remains the supreme judge, and that it is desirable that he should retain the right to bring his influence to bear in any matter of exceptional importance. The Committee has pointed out that there is a great difference between the *Mwami* Court in Ruanda and the *Mwami* Court in Urundi. The tendency in the High Council of the State of Ruanda is for the *Mwami* to refrain from exercising judicial powers (he has not handed down any judgments since 1956), whereas in Urundi, where the first deputy judge was appointed scarcely two months ago, the *Mwami* continues to preside actively over his court.

The Committee heard the two *Bami* on this point.

The *Mwami* of Ruanda said that, speaking as a private individual, he saw no objection to the elimination of *ex officio* judges, since in practice he had not dealt with a case for at least a year. Speaking as *Mwami*, however, he thought that he should first refer the matter to the High Council of the State.

The *Mwami* of Urundi informed the Committee through his counsellor that he had no personal objection to refraining in practice from the exercise of the functions of judge of the State Court, but he considered that this prerogative should not be removed. He based this view on the fact that the Barundi would not understand such a reform, and that it was necessary for the *Mwami* to continue, at least in theory, to act as judge for some time to come.

107. The question was further discussed at a plenary meeting of the General Council. The President asked whether legal action should be taken forthwith to bring about the separation of powers by enacting legislation under which the chiefs would be immediately removed from the presidency of the chiefdom courts, or on the other hand, whether this result should be achieved progressively merely by giving legal and political encouragement to the trend in this direction in each State.

108. The *Mwami* of Urundi believed that it would be dangerous to proceed too hastily, and that it would be wiser to achieve a complete separation of powers by allowing events to take their course unfettered by any time limits prescribed in a legal instrument. Other members of the Council however, both indigenous

and European, expressed the opposite view and favoured an immediate separation of powers. Monsignor Bigirumwami, the indigenous Apostolic Vicar, went so far as to make the following statement: "The articles which have appeared on the Manifesto and the 'Statement of Views', which currently aim at encouraging discord between the Mututsi and Muhutu, have the same significance as those same protests against the simultaneous exercise of administrative and judicial powers; the trend towards democracy, and above all common sense, leave no room for doubt regarding the urgent need to separate the two powers".

109. Lastly, the question whether it was desired immediately to enforce the separation of powers in the chiefdom courts by enacting a Decree prescribing that, from the date of its promulgation, a chief may no longer in any circumstances be nominated as a candidate for judge by the chiefdom council, was put to the vote and answered in the negative by 26 votes to 13, with 5 abstentions.

110. The solution recommended was to include in the draft decree a clause providing that the presidents, deputy presidents and judges of the chiefdom courts should be appointed by the *Mwami* on the nomination of the chiefdom council, but that the candidates must be approved by the Resident. Such a provision would make it possible to remove chiefs from the presidency of the chiefdom courts by administrative action, without excluding them *a priori* by legal means.

111. It is interesting to note that on many occasions during the debate on indigenous courts there were divergencies of opinion among the indigenous members as well as among the European members of the Council.

112. The Mission recognizes that the subject of the indigenous courts in Ruanda-Urundi is both important and delicate. It not only affects the traditional powers of the chiefs and the *Bami*, but raises the whole question of relations between the Batutsi and the Bahutu. It is clear from a number of written and oral communications—both signed and anonymous—received by the Mission that certain inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi do not have full and complete confidence in the judges of the indigenous courts; they believe that justice is in the hands of the chiefs or of men who are their tools, generally the Batutsi, and that many of the judges do not have the training, impartiality and sometimes even the integrity necessary for the exercise of judicial functions. The Mission is aware that some of these complaints are excessive, or even unwarranted, and that a large number of the indigenous judges possess integrity and competence. It is also ready to accept the assurance of the Administering Authority that a change for the better has taken place in the last seven or eight years, and that it is now a frequent occurrence for Bahutu to win actions brought against Batutsi in indigenous courts, which would formerly have been hardly conceivable. Nevertheless the fact remains that the present system does not inspire confidence and opens the door to abuses.

113. The Mission accordingly hopes that the competent Belgian authorities will re-examine this delicate question from all standpoints before adopting the final text of a new decree on the indigenous courts. The Mission recommends that the Trusteeship Council give close attention to this question during its annual examination of conditions in the Territory.

ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT

GENERAL

114. Ruanda-Urundi is essentially a poor and over-populated country. It is self-sufficient where food is concerned, although the irregularity of the rainfall has caused tragic famines in the past. The steady increase of the population is raising a continuous problem owing to lack of land and to the difficulties caused by overstocking with profitable livestock. Coffee is at present the only really important export product.

115. The ordinary budget has yielded a surplus or has been balanced for many years, despite a constant increase of expenditure (1939: 40 million francs;²⁷ 1949: 328 million; 1955: 680 million; estimates for 1958: 1,064 million), but there have been increasing deficits in recent years, particularly since 1956. The estimated increases in receipts for 1958 amount to only 87 million, whereas the expenses have increased by 144 million. The Governor of Ruanda-Urundi has described the situation by pointing out that the needs of a population which is in the process of rapid numerical expansion and whose economic standing is steadily improving as a consequence of more and more exacting social demands, call for public finances of growing abundance; unfortunately, this condition is being realized only with a considerable lag in relation to the increase of needs, as is shown in the dangerously increasing deficits in the ordinary budget. According to the Governor the indispensable increase from public receipts can only come from a thorough and systematic conversion of the present methods of working the natural resources of the country, a conversion which alone can enable the Territory to break out of the vicious circle in which it has been for several years, namely, inadequate economic advancement, a proportionately excessive development of public expenditure on social needs, and, in spite of everything, insufficient social expenditure, owing to the lack of public resources, which an unduly slow advancement does nothing to increase.

116. These considerations are not unknown to certain strata of the indigenous population, which often react with some irritation, pointing out, as in the "Statement of Views" of the High Council of the State of Ruanda (see annex II), that the economy and the material situation of the country were always represented as so discouraging as to give the impression that it was on the brink of disaster.

117. The Mission is fully aware of the gravity of the situation and of the situation facing the Trust Territory in the future. But before examining the methods by which the Administering Authority proposes to deal with the problem, the Mission would like to record the favourable impression it formed in the Territory of the extent of the Administering Authority's efforts, the spectacular achievements of recent years and the work now in progress. The Mission is referring not only to the excellent achievements in the struggle against erosion, the expansion of crops and the reafforestation, which are now taken as it were for granted in Ruanda-Urundi, but above all to the vigorous efforts to equip the country, mainly

through the execution of the Ten-Year Plan prepared in 1951.²⁸

118. Various aspects of this development made a particular impression on the Mission. These were the road construction programmes (including the Usumbura-Astrida-Kigali route, along which a completely modern highway will be built for heavy traffic freight vehicles carrying up to 32 tons; the first forty-kilometre stretch, which will cross the Congo-Nile crest, will cost 132 million francs and will be completed in 1960); the construction of airports (the new Usumbura airport, with an international traffic runway, will cost 142 million francs); the construction of an inland port at Usumbura (the first stage of that work will cost 116 million francs); modern school buildings (such as the Usumbura Inter-Racial College, which will cost 148 million francs); excellent hospitals and sanatoria (such as the sanatoria at Kibumbu and Rwamagana); the Belgian Congo National Institute for Agronomic Studies (INEAC) agricultural and veterinary stations; the Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa (IRSAC) scientific centre, and the works of the Hydrological Mission, the extent and the efficiency of which were particularly appreciated.

119. The financing of these extensive works within the extraordinary budget and the execution of the Ten-Year Plan is carried out mainly by an annual advance from Belgium of 400 million francs, without interest (totalling 4,000 million francs, or \$80 million for the ten-year period) and by subsidies from the Indigenous Welfare Fund (456 million francs in the past five years). Furthermore Ruanda-Urundi recently obtained a loan of 240 million francs (\$4.8 million) from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for the financing of road infrastructure and port works.

120. The Mission congratulates the Administering Authority on the energetic way in which it has undertaken the equipment of the Trust Territory. It fully endorses the statement of the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi that in a new economy and, still more, in an expanding economy, it is necessary to take risks. It considers that developing an under-developed country which is over-populated and poor, like Ruanda-Urundi, needs boldness and courage, and it thinks that the Administering Authority has shown these qualities.

121. Accordingly, the following information, which is provided for purposes of documentation and which relates to the difficulties arising from the budgetary situation of Ruanda-Urundi, should in no way be interpreted as implying criticism; it in no way means that the Mission questions the wisdom of the Administering Authority's plans. On the contrary, the Mission firmly hopes that the Administering Authority will be able to follow up its considerable achievements in all fields and that the budgetary situation will recover of its own momentum, as the productivity of the country increases.

122. The Ten-Year Plan prepared in 1951 apparently underestimated the development of the social expendi-

²⁷ 50 Congolese or Belgian francs = \$US 1.00.

²⁸ *Plan décennal pour le développement économique et social du Ruanda-Urundi*, Editions de Visscher, Brussels, 1951.

tures and of the recurrent expenses for operation and maintenance. In 1951 the planners expressed the optimistic view that the ordinary budget of Ruanda-Urundi would probably show a surplus for many years and would show a surplus of 124 million francs in 1959 (receipts 699 million and expenditure 575 million). However, the budget which is being prepared for 1958 provides for an expenditure of 1,064 million and a deficit of 220 million francs.

123. In order to prevent a permanent imbalance of the budget, it has been decided to give priority to investments which can increase income and thus extend the fiscal basis. On the other hand, in view of the rise in prices and cost of services, the application of the Ten-Year Plan will cost more than was estimated. The deterioration of the budgetary situation has inevitably resulted in the considerable delay and partial disorganization of the application of the Ten-Year Plan. The Administering Authority is following the execution of the Ten-Year Plan very closely, and is trying at least to safeguard its outlines as far as possible. It has been necessary, however, to carry out certain curtailments and to slow down certain programmes. The Administering Authority is also trying to find some additional sources of financing.

124. A loan of \$4.8 million has recently been granted by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to finance the construction of the new port of Usumbura and the construction of a new main road from the town. It is interesting to note, however, that when the Belgian Government informed Ruanda-Urundi that the International Bank wanted the loan to be ratified by the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi, the Council at its session in July 1957 gave it a very cool reception; the majority of the members considered that the loan had been negotiated under unduly onerous conditions (6 per cent interest and reimbursement in seventeen years) and that the necessary funds could have been obtained from Belgium or the Belgian Congo at a lower rate, or even indirectly in Ruanda-Urundi, by using the Coffee Stabilization Fund, which amounts to 400 million francs and part of which is at present invested in Congolese loans. The intervention of the Governor was required before the General Council finally adopted a motion to the effect that it agreed to approve the project which had been submitted to it, but begged the Belgian authorities to consider again whether they, for their part, would not think it better to refuse to ratify the project; in any event, the Council stressed that the terms of financing were not at all appropriate in the case of any subsequent projects for which the assistance of the International Bank might be sought, and expressed the wish that the motion should be transmitted in its entirety and individually to the metropolitan authorities concerned.

125. The need for foreign capital investment—both public and private—has already received attention in some indigenous circles. There have been expressions of distrust on the part of anonymous and obviously misinformed petitioners; yet more reliable sources, the "Statement of Views" in particular, stress the need to obtain capital from Belgium, or if need be, from international organizations. The "Statement of Views" also adds that there is need to attract private capital, but that the fear of the Territory's future emancipation sometimes intimidates those who want to invest capital. The "Statement of Views" concludes, however, that

private companies should have confidence in the country, and that justification for such confidence would be guaranteed them if they in turn inspired confidence by an association of interests with the indigenous population.

126. When the Mission asked whether the status of the Territory and its political prospects had caused any wavering in capital investment in the country, the Governor said that, although there may have been hesitation in some respects as a result of newspaper articles or statements made at international meetings, there was no ground for hesitation and that it was his duty to state clearly that no one need have any fears about investing capital and labour in Ruanda-Urundi; that there was every chance of profit, security and amortization under the best conditions, and substantial amounts of private capital were still being invested in Ruanda-Urundi.

127. The Governor stated that the most important question for the future of Ruanda-Urundi was not that of obtaining foreign capital but rather the thorough and systematic remodelling of present methods for developing the country's natural resources in order that the public finances of Ruanda-Urundi might rest on a sound economic structure. The Administration plans to encourage this change-over. With regard to agriculture, efforts are being directed towards achieving a substantial increase in food crops, maximum production of coffee and of secondary cash crops, and, lastly, the stabilization of livestock prices. With regard to industrialization, which is essential to a country as over-populated as Ruanda-Urundi, but which is only just beginning, efforts will be devoted mainly to a systematic search for mineral deposits and natural sources of hydroelectric power.

128. The Mission fully endorses this plan for the future of the country and has confidence in the Administering Authority's energy and ability. It wishes, however, to point out in short that success or failure depends mainly upon the indigenous population itself, and that the psychological element will play an important part. To what extent will this population participate actively, conscientiously and willingly in the development of Ruanda-Urundi? To what extent will it realize that in the final analysis it is the population itself which stands to gain most from any development? To what extent will it feel itself concerned with and a part of this plan for the future? The standard of living of most of the indigenous population is still very low, and there is still a vast difference between its standard of living and that of the European. But the standard of living is not so low as to cause the Barundi and the Banyaruanda to remain passive or indifferent. They are already beginning to draw their own conclusions regarding what they see and hear around them and the plans being made for the Territory (the same is even more true of the middle and governing classes of the indigenous population, whose standard of living is relatively high).

129. Some authors of communications—mostly anonymous—have expressed very pessimistic views to the Mission: "The Belgians are here to 'devour' the country; the public officials are growing wealthy while the indigenous inhabitants are growing poorer; money is taken from the budget to build houses and roads for the whites". Others have expressed doubt. The "Statement of Views" of the High Council of Ruanda

for example states that "a difficulty of an economic kind which it has not so far been possible to overcome" hinders the *rapprochement* of blacks and Europeans. The Statement adds that this subject of economic discrimination will prove inexhaustible to anyone who ponders it, and that the population has adopted an attitude of resignation, waiting for a possible liberator. The indigenous people, it says, would be more likely to associate themselves with those who offered them a decent deal and prospects for the future and did not remind them at every turn of their debt of gratitude towards Belgium; much could be expected of a *rapprochement* based on a reduction of the difference in incomes between the two groups of the population. On the other hand the Administering Authority remains confident and enthusiastic.

130. The Mission is glad to note that the Administering Authority is aware of the situation. It informed the Mission that there was a glaring need for a system of social advancement; that a policy of "confidence" in the *paysannats* and other agricultural and stock-breeding modernization units had been initiated; that education and the dissemination of information were obviously needed throughout the Territory in order to change yesterday's easy-going and ignorant hillside worker into an active citizen acting with the knowledge of a definite goal and who is also assured that most of the fruits of his labour will remain his.

131. Although the population of Ruanda-Urundi has reached the stage at which it is making strong requests for a thorough-going expansion of social services, especially in education, there can be no hope of a harmonious economic, social and political development in Ruanda-Urundi unless the people themselves realize that their wishes can be fulfilled only if the country achieves further economic development, that the Administration's plans and policies will guarantee economic development in the people's interest, and that these plans and policies therefore deserve their active co-operation.

132. The Mission therefore hopes that the Administering Authority will make intensive efforts to disseminate information to turn the tide of opinion in this direction; failing this, there would be little ground for hopeful expectations regarding the Territory's future.

133. The Mission was also struck by another question. When the 1958 budget was being examined, a member of the Committee on the Budget of the General Council had pointed out that the customs union between the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi prevented the levying of entry duties on goods coming from the Belgian Congo, whereas more and more purchases for Ruanda-Urundi are made in the Belgian Congo.²⁹ He estimated that Ruanda-Urundi was losing 100 million francs of annual revenue in entry duties and taxes on income (industrial profits and wages) levied in the Congo.

²⁹ In 1956, Ruanda-Urundi imported goods valued at 1,165 million francs from the Belgian Congo, out of total imports valued at 2,303 million francs, in other words more than from all other countries, Belgium included; over 60 per cent of these imports from the Belgian Congo are goods which are not produced in the Belgian Congo. On the other hand the value of exports from Ruanda-Urundi to the Belgian Congo amounted to only 297 million francs. In this connexion, see the *Rapport soumis par le Gouvernement belge à l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies au sujet de l'administration du Ruanda-Urundi pendant l'année 1956*, Brussels, Imprimerie Fr. Van Muyssewinkel, 1957, pp. 397 and 405.

He believed that to this loss should be added the loss resulting from the levying, to the benefit of the Belgian Congo, of excise duties on goods bought by Ruanda-Urundi, and the losses resulting for Ruanda-Urundi from investment outside the Territory of savings capital accumulated in Ruanda-Urundi and from the proceeds of the equalization tax on coffee. He believed that it would eventually be possible, by altering these circumstances, to balance the budget for 1958. Ruanda-Urundi's efforts to increase its national product could, he believed, improve the budgetary situation only in so far as an increase in revenue and operations yields a profit for Ruanda-Urundi and not for its neighbour. On the basis of this reasoning the Committee on the Budget concluded that the budgetary separation of Ruanda-Urundi went counter to the principle of the customs and financial union between Ruanda-Urundi and the Belgian Congo and that the unstable character of Ruanda-Urundi's public finances was rooted in that fact. Economic progress would not be capable of overcoming this lack of stability but might, on the contrary, only serve to accentuate it. The Committee suggested ways for alleviating the situation. When the question was discussed in the plenary General Council, the President said that it was not feasible, without making a detailed study, to have a discussion of the important principles raised with regard to a possible increase in sources of public revenue.

134. The Mission hopes that the Administering Authority will transmit to the Trusteeship Council and the Standing Committee on Administrative Unions the conclusions of the study which it will no doubt make on this important subject.

THE LAND PROBLEMS

135. Ruanda-Urundi, with an area of 54,172 square kilometres and a population of 4.5 million, is one of the most densely populated regions of Africa. The average is 81.51 inhabitants per square kilometre for the entire Trust Territory, 90.14 for Ruanda, 73.33 for Urundi; the average for the most densely populated district (Ruhengeri) is 172.51; that for the least densely populated district (Kibungu) 30.66.

136. As the population is primarily engaged in agricultural and pastoral occupations and is increasing rapidly, and the country is not industrialized while the land is infertile and impoverished, the land shortage is one of the most serious difficulties in Ruanda-Urundi. Conditions are described in detail in the annual report of the Administering Authority, and in the "Study of Population, Land Utilization and Land System in Ruanda-Urundi" which was prepared by the Secretariat and submitted in March 1957 to the Committee on Rural Economic Development of the Trust Territories (T/AC.36/L.60).

137. No one is more fully aware of the situation than the Administering Authority, which recently summed it up by saying that Ruanda-Urundi suffers from a growing shortage of fertile arable land, that the increase in population is accentuating that shortage, and that this is further aggravated by the erosion of cultivated land, despite the continual and dangerous transformation of the already scarce and impoverished pasture lands of the country into arable land.

138. The Mission will confine itself to dealing with certain special aspects of the land problem: the indige-

nous agricultural settlements (*paysannats*), the pilot sectors, rural engineering and the land tenure system.

139. The indigenous agricultural settlement is designed to regroup populations primarily in areas not yet occupied and in regions which are not saturated, and to provide agricultural training to improve output. Moreover, the social aspects—hygiene, education, community life—rank equally with the agricultural aspect.

140. The Mission visited various *paysannats*, and first of all the Ruzizi indigenous agricultural settlement in the alluvial plain of the Ruzizi near Usumbura in the Imbo natural region. This development occupies 170,000 hectares. Development of the indigenous agricultural settlement began in 1949. It is occupied by the inhabitants of the Imbo region who have been regrouped, by Barundi immigrants from the neighbouring highlands and by seasonal workers who spend fairly short periods in the settlement. Rotation is on the basis of an eight-year cycle. Each farmer receives four hectares³⁰ (630 metres \times 63 metres) of land: eight forty-*are* parcels are for cultivation, one forty-*are* parcel for a dwelling and one forty-*are* parcel is for reafforestation. In the plot set aside for his dwelling the worker puts up his hut and outhouses, plants a few fruit trees and grows the household crops of his preference. The eight parcels of farm land are cultivated for four years (two years under cotton, with ground-nuts if possible, followed by two years under manioc with beans and maize interplanted), followed by four years fallow. By the end of 1946, about 7,483 plots had been marked out and 5,672 occupied by as many families. Moreover an indigenous agricultural settlement for rice growing had been established on land prepared for the purpose, where 372 families are now settled. Drainage and irrigation work have been carried out and supplies of drinking water ensured. Two co-operatives with a membership of about 5,000 have been established at the indigenous agricultural settlement.

141. In the period from 1949 to 1956, about 21.6 million francs were spent on establishing the Ruzizi indigenous agricultural settlement. The budgets for 1957 and 1958 allocate a further 16.5 million francs for the purpose. The indigenous agricultural settlement was favourably received by the inhabitants of the plain, and they settled there without any objections. From the agricultural point of view, the Administration thinks that the farmers have received a certain amount of training in soil conservation through the use of a rational system of rotation, which provides an effective means of combatting grass burning and soil erosion. Moreover, the farmers no longer have to waste hours reaching their fields; the judicious parcelling of the land may possibly facilitate a future collective mechanization of agriculture; the crops are protected from the ravages of wild animals; individual reafforestation can easily be instituted with a little publicity; finally, the output per hectare has been increased through the improvement of farming methods made possible by easier dissemination of information and, with regard to cotton, by pest control. The indigenous agricultural settlement has increased the farmers' income and improved their standards of living.

142. The Mission was very favourably impressed by the Ruzizi indigenous agricultural settlement. It also

examined with interest plans for agricultural villages like that of Lubirizi, with four blocks of about fifty dwelling lots separated by a public square, a village administrative centre (office, court, dispensary), a sports ground, agricultural buildings and two sites for churches and schools. The Administering Authority thinks that the indigenous agricultural settlement in the Ruzizi plain is an example of what should be done for each of the large under-populated regions, which are to be intensively developed.

143. Encouraged by the results obtained from the indigenous agricultural settlement in the Ruzizi plain, the Administration started a few years ago, with technical assistance from the Belgian Congo National Institute for Agronomic Studies (INEAC), the extension of "alignment-distribution"³¹ in the non-saturated areas (areas where there are at least two hectares of agricultural land for every able-bodied adult male). The thinning out of the population in the over-saturated regions (regions where every able-bodied adult male has less than one and a half hectares of arable land) and its transfer to areas which are not saturated is carried out, according to the distance between the two regions, either by transfer in groups, by individual exchanges or by migration. Thirteen of such alignment-distribution projects are now established in Ruanda and in Urundi, comprising 2,446 occupied parcels two to four hectares in area (sometimes five and a half hectares if the land is used for mixed farming). The Mission visited the indigenous agricultural settlements in the Mosso area (in the south of Urundi) and Ntyazo (in Ruanda, near Nyanza), and was very favourably impressed by them. It considers the indigenous agricultural settlement programmes, whose worth now seems to be fully understood and appreciated by the indigenous inhabitants, as contributing usefully towards a partial solution of the problem of land shortage and towards the improvement of agricultural output, not only as regards food crops, but also industrial crops like coffee. The rational planting of coffee bushes along the trails in compact blocks, which can be systematically fertilized and inspected and treated for plant pests by collective and mechanical means, will make possible a considerable increase in production in future years.

144. While the indigenous agricultural settlement system is concerned more particularly with relatively under-populated areas, the pilot sector experiment is concerned with the over-populated areas. Research is being carried out in those sectors on general rationalization of agriculture and stock-breeding, and all the social, political and land questions related to it. In other words, research is dealing with possibilities of a complete change in the way of life in the hills, so as to secure the best equilibrium between man, soil, water, cultivated plants and livestock, as far as is compatible with the requirements of the populations and the stern and rigid character of their customs. Two experimental pilot sectors have been chosen, one in Ruanda, the other in Urundi, in typical over-populated areas with a surplus of cattle.

145. The test was initiated by a number of measures and surveys. Maps were made on the basis of aerial photographs; a survey was made of occupations and plantings; the use of various lands was established by

³⁰ 40 *ares* = 4,000 square metres = approximately 1 acre; 1 hectare = 2.47 acres.

³¹ "Alignment-distribution" is an operation designed to arrange huts along a trail, each dwelling as far as possible having all the land necessary for cultivation close to it.

pedo-botanic studies; ethnological research established the history of the sub-chiefdoms, the traditions of the families occupying them, the nature and antiquity of the rights which they possess to the soil or to the crops and the feudal-type mortgages on which the political power rests; an economist took an inventory of objects of furniture and computed the income of the indigenous population; and an agricultural anthropologist investigated the methods and activities of farmers and herdsmen.

146. These studies required six months. The first environmental changes were not accomplished till later. With the consent of the indigenous population, land-holdings were redivided as specific allotments, as in the indigenous agricultural settlements, according to an anti-erosion grid, prepared in advance; the redistribution gave to each native family a section of land at least equal to the one which it had held previously; those whose lands had not amounted to a hectare and a half were nevertheless given an allotment of that amount of land. This minimum moreover will be extended to two hectares on hills which are to come under the pilot scheme at a later date. The sub-chiefdom council recognized the principle that plots of land amounting to less than two hectares could not be divided.

147. Dwellings arose along a path which followed the contour lines of the hills. In time, the indigenous population will plant new coffee trees along the path and will replant their banana groves behind their new dwellings. In general these will be improved houses (made of wood and puddled clay, or dry bricks) rectangular in shape, representing considerable progress over the traditional circular hut. Crops are planted in the strips marked by anti-erosion hedges following the principle of alternate strips which allows of equal amounts of land sown to crops and fallow land.

148. For holdings the size of which did not permit all the heads of household to enjoy the minimum amount of land required, the head of the household designated one of his dependants to move away and set up beyond the confines of the experimental hill. During this period of readjustment the transferred farmer enjoys the assistance of his family—besides the help of personnel in charge of the experimental sector who had anticipated this when they distributed the allotments—and continues to enjoy the fruits of his plantings.

149. These projects were accomplished by the indigenous population itself under the direction of the *Office de valorisation des produits indigènes du Ruanda-Urundi* (OVAPIRU). The interesting thing about this experiment was that it was conducted on a very small scale (in the experimental village of Butare which the Mission visited, the experiment included only twenty-eight families), but was carried out in a careful and scientific manner. The people in charge in each of the two sectors are an agronomist-engineer, an agronomist and a zootechnician, in addition to a veterinary doctor for two sectors; to advise them there are the political director attached to the territorial service, Administration agronomists and INEAC specialists. Their function is constantly to observe and study, to obtain the support and confidence of the population and to do nothing without their consent.

150. The first achievements of the experimental sectors involved primarily agricultural matters. But an

experiment is also under way on the hills where the problem concerns the large pasture-lands of the stock-breeders, and an effort is under way to replace them by small farms surrounded by adequate pasture-land.

151. Experienced officials are placing great hopes in these experiments and hope that in time the lesson drawn from the experimental sectors will supply valuable solutions to the problems of the rational use of land in Ruanda-Urundi, of land redistribution and the reduction of unproductive livestock. Although it is too early to draw definitive conclusions, the Mission is of the opinion that the experience of the test-sectors is of the greatest interest and deserves all possible encouragement.

152. Another feature of the land question which was of interest to the Mission was the problem of rural engineering. According to some OVAPIRU surveys, there are still 400,000 hectares of land not in cultivation because it is too dry or too wet, but which could be recovered through the efforts of rural engineering; these projects are important because upon them depends the success of very large and costly programmes, for example the indigenous agricultural settlements which involve economic and political risks. These activities are at the moment distributed among a number of different services and organizations, for example the agriculture service, OVAPIRU, the hydrological mission, etc. At the last session of the General Council, the Governor proposed the establishment of a "Rural Engineering Mission" intended to draw up extensive plans for rural engineering and specifically to guarantee that the six following phases should be carried out:

(a) A summary survey and approximate estimate of costs in an area selected as basically capable of development by rural engineering projects;

(b) Agronomic experiment: the search for plants likely to grow well, experiments in yield;

(c) Survey of rural economy: an analysis of market prospects (marketing, prices, tonnages, transport);

(d) Political survey: examination of pre-existing rights, compensation to be provided, conciliation procedure as between farmers and herdsmen in irrigated areas;

(e) If the studies envisaged under (b), (c) and (d) are favourably concluded, a new survey, this time in detail, of a rural engineering project (to be assigned to a specialized firm, American or other) so as to arrive at precise figures on basic costs;

(f) Final consideration of the possibilities offered by the project for increasing the national income and Treasury receipts and for amortizing the investment.

153. This proposal was received very favourably by the General Council. The Mission, which pays tribute to the spectacular accomplishments of previous years in matters of drainage, the reclamation of marshlands, the struggle against erosion, and reafforestation, among others is delighted to see that the Administering Authority, which in the past had only very modest means at its disposal, is now planning to attack the problems of rural engineering on a far vaster scale and with considerably greater funds.

154. The land tenure system is evidently one of the most important problems requiring solution in Ruanda-Urundi. Non-indigenous land offers no difficulty since it is infinitesimally small in comparison with the Territory as a whole and is scarcely increasing. The total

area of the Territory is approximately 54,172 square kilometres; 163 square kilometres are occupied by the Administration for public purposes and 221 square kilometres by non-indigenous elements, of which 48 square kilometres are in the hands of religious missions for worship or education.

155. On the other hand, the system of land ownership in the area is extremely complex. It appears from studies made by Administration officials that traditionally the *Mwami* was the sole owner of all the lands and all the waters of the country, and this is his permanent attribute since it derives from a relationship with his ancestors who conquered the country. The *Mwami* cannot therefore alienate any part of this land. He can only permit the tenure.

156. There were pasture lands which were either simple land concessions without political rights or, which was more frequently the case, concessions of a political nature conferring administrative rights and the right to collect tribute. It often happened that whole hills were reserved to the cattle of the chief or of the *Mwami*. In the face of the steady growth of population and the vital need to provide land for farmers, the Mututsi political authority was called upon to set farmers up on the pasture lands once received from the *Mwami* by herdsmen. But pasturage rights were retained on fallow lands.

157. Land for cultivation was granted to farmers by the *Mwami*, the chiefs, the sub-chiefs or any other private individual who, by virtue of some title or other, appeared as the landowner. The lessor undertook to grant tenure to the farmers for a definite or indefinite period, subject to a compensation and all kinds of benefits, services and duties.

158. The facts described above show how strong a grip was held by the Batutsi, in terms of both land-holding and politics, over the land and the people.

159. However, rules were introduced with a view to ensuring occupational stability and the indigenous inhabitants, although they are still not the true masters of their land, can no longer be dispossessed arbitrarily.

160. These customs of the feudal type are gradually evolving towards recognition of individual ownership by the indigenous inhabitants of the land which they occupy, cultivate and exploit. Legal recognition of personal land ownership is demanded in the "Manifesto of the Bahutu" (see annex I), as is also a system of registration at the sub-chieftdom level (which is already in existence in the record offices of certain indigenous courts). However, the Manifesto reaches the prudent conclusion that measures with regard to land ownership should not be taken too rapidly, even at the proposal of the High Council, many members of which might be inclined to view the problem unilaterally or might fail to take into account the difficulties or real aspirations of the ordinary worker on the land.

161. The High Council of Ruanda has made the land problem a subject of study because the abolition of the *ubuhake* and the apportionment of cattle has been followed by the appearance of a number of problems relating to the system of pasture-land holding. Among the matters under discussion are means by which pastures should be cultivated, the alternative being a reduction of such land through repurchase at a fixed price. Another subject being discussed is the possibility of strengthening the right of ownership over land cultivated in accordance with certain criteria.

162. The establishment of indigenous agricultural settlements (*paysannats*) and shifts in population also give rise to complex questions of land rights which are difficult to solve.

163. In the opinion of the Governor, the land problem can be solved only with the help of the indigenous authorities. But as long as a majority of the councils will be made up of Batutsi, who are the beneficiaries of the old land system, much persuasion will be necessary to bring them to the realization that it is to the general interest that the customary land system should be adapted to the new conditions. He said that it would be necessary to deal somewhat roughly with custom but that such an authoritative attitude should be based logically on a solid knowledge of conditions and of the type of reaction that it was likely to produce among the people. He expressed the hope that the pilot sections and the rural engineering mission would contribute to the knowledge of the various aspects of these problems and to their solution.

164. The Mission, recognizing the importance and the complexity of the land situation, recommends that the Administering Authority should continue to hasten a solution in every possible way. It also raises the question whether it would be feasible for the Administering Authority to consult foreign experts or to profit by the experience which other countries may have acquired when coping with similar difficult situations. The Mission is nevertheless aware that land questions in Ruanda-Urundi have a very unusual and probably unique character. But it notes that in 1956 a member of the High Council of Ruanda had proposed that a commission should study the land situation in other countries, for example, in Uganda. This proposal was not adopted, but it was suggested that documentary material should be obtained from a Belgian official who had resided in Uganda and who was also particularly well informed concerning land questions in Ruanda.

165. The Governor of the Trust Territory is a former university professor, a former general secretary of the Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa (IRSAC) and a former secretary of the International Union for the Protection of Nature. He has always been particularly interested in combating the dissipation of natural resources. He has the highest qualifications necessary to stimulate these studies which are so vital for the future of the Territory.

AGRICULTURE AND STOCK-BREEDING

166. Agricultural production in Ruanda-Urundi consists chiefly of food crops. In 1956 the area devoted to such crops fell from 13,500 square kilometres to 12,900 square kilometres, a reduction of 4.5 per cent, while production rose from 6,470,000 tons to 6,600,000 tons, an increase of 2 per cent. The Administration feels, however, that it would be unwise to draw any conclusions from these figures. Moreover, while food production increased by 2 per cent, the population increased by 2.8 per cent.

167. The production of food crops, although on a large scale, still accounts for a very small proportion of the farmers' cash income. But that proportion is probably rising constantly. The indigenous agricultural settlements and rural engineering works which are steadily increasing in number will gradually lead to the emergence of larger groups of foodstuff producers and dealers, while a corresponding increase in the

production of industrial crops such as coffee will give many farmers sufficient cash resources to purchase all the food they need. But this system of complementary zones, for which provision is made in the Ten-Year Plan, is only in its early stages and at present the bulk of the farmers' cash income still comes from cash crops and stock-breeding.

168. Regulations are still in force which require the indigenous population to cultivate annually a minimum area of food crops. They are designed to avert the threat of famine and to provide agricultural education along similar lines. They are as important as ever. But from now on nothing more than supervision and hard work will be required as there are no longer any technical problems to be overcome. The Administration has accordingly thought it advisable to delegate responsibility to the chiefs and the sub-chiefs, to whom the agricultural assistants and instructors will henceforth be subordinate; such personnel were previously responsible only to members of the staff of the Department of Agriculture. Thus, at the end of 1956, the conduct of the food crop campaigns was given over entirely to the local indigenous authorities in certain chiefdoms on an experimental basis. The Administration believes that the experiment was successful and can accordingly become the general practice. That would make it possible to release a considerable number of agricultural experts and to devote their technical knowledge wholly to the rural engineering projects and indigenous agricultural settlements which represent the best means of improving the country's agricultural situation.

169. The principal cash crop is still coffee and this, despite the efforts to introduce new profitable cash crops, is still unfortunately almost the only crop exported. There are about 55 million coffee trees in Ruanda-Urundi, 5 million having been planted in 1956. Production in 1956 was lower than in 1955 (17,805 tons of parchment coffee as against 21,400 tons), but production in 1957 will probably exceed 28,000 tons. In September, 21,000 tons had already been exported.

170. The fall in production between 1956 and 1955 was offset by a marked rise in world prices, which made it possible to increase the purchase price of indigenous parchment coffee during the principal buying season. The price at Usumbura then fluctuated around 34 francs per kilogramme, as against 23 francs for the previous year. For the 1957 season, the price has been reduced to a lower level, in the region of 28 francs.

171. The purchasing power acquired by the indigenous coffee producers as a whole was estimated at about 600 million francs in 1956 and will considerably exceed 700 million this year, as the drop in prices has been more than offset by an increase in production.

172. With a view to protecting the interests of the planters, a minimum price for parchment coffee has been fixed for each district. The minimum prices vary according to variations in export prices.

173. Moreover, the planters are showing an increasing tendency towards joint action either in legally constituted co-operatives or in free associations, so that they can pool their output and deal directly with exporters with a view to obtaining better prices. The Mission visited the Nkora co-operative in the Kisenyi district which started operations in 1957 and now has a membership of 4,700. But the greater part of the coffee produced is still collected by the middle-

men in the commercial and in the trading centres in the interior.

174. A semi-official body, the Ruanda-Urundi Indigenous Coffee Bureau (OCIRU) was set up in 1945 to develop markets for the *arabica* coffee produced on indigenous plantations and to assist in and improve production, processing and preparation for sale. All the indigenous *arabica* coffees are classified by the Bureau in various types known on the international markets. Most of the coffee produced in Ruanda-Urundi is exported to the United States.

175. Since mid-September 1957, a further step has been taken towards extending coffee cultivation. A calculated risk was taken despite unfavourable circumstances, because it offered a possibility of considerably increasing local coffee production without enlarging the area under cultivation. A scheme was drawn up for ascertaining which soils in the Territory are particularly suitable for coffee cultivation and for the use of fertilizers. The Ruanda-Urundi Indigenous Coffee Bureau has just decided to subsidize the scheme to the extent of 10 million Belgian francs a year. These funds will enable a team of experts from INEAC and OCIRU to carry out a systematic survey of the country in order to introduce forthwith the use of mineral fertilizers, while INEAC will make a thorough study of the difficult problem of organic fertilizers which will bring about a more comprehensive solution but will require seven to eight years to complete.

176. There is no doubt that at present coffee is still the crop on which attention is being concentrated, despite the uncertainty of markets. Moreover, in this respect, Ruanda-Urundi is in a special position, as its production, like that of Colombia, fortunately by virtue of its quality and its aroma serves as a complement to Brazilian coffee. An increase in the world production of certain types of coffee is not, therefore, necessarily a threat to Ruanda-Urundi.

177. Cotton, which takes second place among the indigenous cash crops, is produced in the low-lying areas in the Ruzizi plain and in the area near Lake Tanganyika. Production of seed cotton has for several years ranged from 5,000 to 7,300 tons and brings the planters an annual income of 30 to 44 million francs. The average income per planter in 1956, which was not a particularly good year, exceeded 1,800 francs.

178. In addition to the two principal cash crops, coffee and cotton, the activities of the indigenous inhabitants yielding a cash income include the exploitation of the palm plantations along the north-east shore of Lake Tanganyika, and the cultivation of tobacco, barley and wheat in the highland areas. The harvesting of the castor oil plant, encouraged by high prices and the recent reduction in export duties, is also a quite considerable source of income. The global income from these secondary agricultural activities may be estimated at a figure varying between 35 and 40 million francs per year.

179. Non-indigenous agricultural production is on a very small scale: a little coffee, tea, sisal, cinchona bark and pyrethrum to a total export value of about 25 million francs.

180. The cattle problem in Ruanda-Urundi arises out of over-stocking with poor quality cattle and no really satisfactory solution has yet been found. The problem exists in all the pastoral areas of "Black" Africa, but it is particularly acute in Ruanda-Urundi.

The Trusteeship Council is aware of the significance assumed by the cow in the political and social organization of Ruanda-Urundi. It has rightly been said that the cow is venerated in the Territory. Anyone who has attended the display of *inyambo*³² before the *Mwami* at a customary or official feast (such as the one which the Mission had an opportunity of attending at Kigali) and has seen the wild enthusiasm excited by the spectacle, will readily admit that in Ruanda-Urundi the cow is not so much an animal as an institution.

181. As ill-disposed persons might suggest, the indigenous inhabitants bear part of the blame on account of their inordinate affection for cattle of no economic value, but the other villain of the piece is the veterinary service. Thirty years of effective veterinary operations against animal disease have brought about an almost tenfold increase in the cattle population. The Ten-Year Plan contains a sentence which requires no comment: "Ruanda-Urundi is a country overburdened with cattle".

182. The cattle problem has been summarized as follows:

(a) An abundance of cattle, including an excessive number of unproductive animals whose output is insufficient to provide a balanced food supply for the population (overstocking);

(b) Cattle whose social role is more important than the economic and which belong, so to speak, to everybody and to nobody (*ubuhake*);

(c) Exploitation of cattle with archaic methods which are governed by religious imperatives and immutable taboos;

(d) Inadequate and mediocre grazing grounds, rendered useless by erosion and without definitive owners;

(e) Considerable economic potential which, if developed, would result in economic equilibrium and social evolution.

183. In the opinion of the experts, a solution to this complex problem might be worked out in three distinct but concurrent phases:

(a) Division of cattle (abolition of *ubuhake*);

(b) Elimination of excess cattle (destocking);

(c) Improvement of remaining livestock

(i) By the introduction of rational stock-raising methods and the improved use of grazing grounds, by the indigenous population;

(ii) By the selection of cattle and improvement of pasture-land;

(iii) By the improvement of sanitary conditions for the cattle.

184. To what extent has this programme already been carried out? *Ubugabire* was abolished in Ruanda in 1954, and *ubuhake* in Urundi in 1955; action to divide the cattle has been taken since. In Ruanda alone, 79,461 divisions, involving 203,591 head of cattle, had taken place by the end of 1956. As noted above, this division of the cattle is now producing a new land tenure problem relating to pasture land.

185. As for destocking, the intensity with which grazing land is used had to be studied. This survey is

being undertaken in government stations and in the indigenous environments by the Veterinary Service in collaboration with INEAC. From their experiments it will become possible to determine exactly how intensive the use of pasture-land should be and the extent of the destocking which is necessary.

186. To eliminate excess cattle, the Ten-Year Plan had provided for the establishment of a State enterprise for cutting up and preserving meat and for the utilization of by-products to meet the requirements of the domestic market. Provision had also been made for the establishment of stock-breeder associations. These two ideas had to be dropped temporarily, and for the time being the Administration has concentrated on stimulating meat consumption to improve the organization of markets. Furthermore, a modern slaughterhouse will be constructed at Usumbura. The value of the cattle slaughtered in 1956 may be estimated at about 220 million francs, of which 168 million were accounted for by bovines.

187. With reference to destocking, it may be recalled that the Ten-Year Plan proposed the reduction of bovine cattle estimated at 973,000 head in 1949 to 530,000 in 1959, by the elimination of approximately 50,000 head of cattle every year over and above the normal increment of cattle estimated at 120,000 head annually. In 1957 it was noted that the cattle population had remained stationary over the previous eight years at a figure between 900,000 and 950,000 head. Sheep and goats are steadily increasing in number, the present figures being approximately 1.5 million goats, one-half million sheep and 60,000 pigs.

188. On the other hand, the quality of the livestock not intended for slaughtering has been improved by the establishment of veterinary centres, experimental farms and pastures where stock-breeders can improve their training; by experiments in the improvement of natural pasture and the development of fodder crops; by the direct improvement of cattle through the castration of males unsuited for reproduction; by the selection and marking of good breeders and the distribution of select bulls among the indigenous stock-breeders; finally, by the improvement of the sanitary conditions of the cattle.

189. In a statement to the General Council, the Governor spoke of efforts made and to be made to assist the indigenous population in better protecting their cattle against disease, in improving selection and feeding, and in understanding the true economic importance of the cattle, whether for dairy or meat. The success of this veritable crusade, the Governor concluded, might mean a decisive advance in the country's economy.

190. The Mission wishes it could be optimistic; it tends rather to believe that a long road lies ahead before a potential wealth, inherently dangerous because of overstocking, can be transformed into a real and productive wealth. As the 1948 Visiting Mission had remarked, the problem is essentially a social rather than a technical one. "If the associations of value and prestige now attached to cattle could only be transferred to some other object or social manifestation, the technical solution of the problem of rational and economically valuable stock-breeding would be easy."³³

³² Breed of sacred cows of Ruanda, with particularly long horns. They are the personal property of the *Mwami*, who places herds of them in the care of the leading Batutsi chiefs.

³³ *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Fourth Session, Supplement No. 2, p. 28.*

191. Statistics for the mineral output of Ruanda-Urundi are given below:

	1955	1956
	kg.	kg.
Fine gold	137	102
	tons	tons
Tin-bearing ores	2,777	2,208
Tantalite and columbite	130	583
Wolframite	802	795
Amblygonite	1,353	1,811
Bastnasite	324	356
Beryl	137	41

This is therefore a total output of approximately 5,800 tons in 1956 as against 5,500 tons in 1955. After allowance for the drop in the market prices of certain products such as tantalite and columbite, the total value of 1956 production has been estimated at approximately 270 million francs, whereas production in 1955 had been estimated initially at 330 million and later at 228 million francs.

192. The State does not exploit mineral resources directly. This activity is carried on, under concession, by companies and, to a much lesser extent, by mining settlers. But the Administering Authority reserves the right, under the agreements which must be entered into, to supervise these undertakings, to ensure that their activities are in conformity with the general interest and to participate in their management and in their profits.

193. In 1956, the public receipts arising out of mining activities did not exceed 8 per cent of the budget. They continued to decline in 1957 because the lower world market prices reduced the yield of export duties.

194. In 1956, the mines of Ruanda-Urundi accounted for 18 per cent of the country's exports but the percentage is tending downwards because the ores worked often come from marginal deposits and the selling price of ores is definitely on the decline in 1957.

195. The state of the mining industry is therefore not very encouraging. As the Governor said, there are a few marginal mining companies endeavouring to avoid working out the best underground deposits, which have in fact not been fully prospected, and a handful of mining pioneers, most of whom are in difficulty and are scarcely equipped to assist effectively in the country's economic advancement.

196. The life of existing mines could be prolonged by the concentration of operations, greater mechanization and the availability of cheap power. The exploitation of the mineral resources which might be discovered by a systematic geological survey of the country should be organized along more rational lines than has hitherto been the case.

197. The geological survey should cover not only those minerals which have already been mined, but also other substances which have not previously been of economic interest and have not therefore been prospected, but which have now become or may become of interest in the future: various sulphides, iron and titanium ore, radio-active ores, bismuth, rare earth minerals other than bastnasite, phosphates, kaolin, quarry products and other possible sources of fertilizers, motor and other fuels.

198. Prospects for the discovery of mineral deposits in Ruanda-Urundi cannot be considered *a priori* as very promising. As complete a survey as possible of such resources should, nevertheless, be carried out in the interest of all the Territory's inhabitants.

199. The Ten-Year Plan noted, however, that all personnel assigned to geological and hydrological surveys in the Belgian Congo and in Ruanda-Urundi were members of the administrative services of the Belgian Congo, and that the small size of the established staff coupled with recruitment difficulties made it necessary to restrict operation in Ruanda-Urundi to short missions for the purpose of solving limited and urgent problems.

200. As recently as a year ago no geologist was attached to the Government of the Trust Territory. Since then some progress has been made thanks to the assistance given by the services of the Government-General at Léopoldville, and there are now two geologists and a mining consultant at Usumbura.

201. There still seems to be a need, however, to strengthen the geological service of Ruanda-Urundi and to guarantee the continuity of its personnel in the Territory. It might also be interesting to consider the possibility of establishing an organization in Ruanda-Urundi similar to the "Bureau of Mines" in French Overseas Territories, which would be either a State company of a mixed undertaking obtaining the greater part of its funds from the State, but also partly supported by companies already interested or likely to become interested in Ruanda-Urundi. Under such a scheme the geological service would concern itself with general geological research, while the new organization would be concerned more particularly with the search for mineral resources and their future exploitation and would work in close co-operation with the geological service, which would put its records and documents at its disposal. The new organization would similarly transmit any pertinent information to the geological service and the mines service. These projects might be considered in connexion with the measures which the Governor believes essential to stimulate or if necessary modify the development of the Territory's mining economy.

202. Water is another of the Territory's valuable resources, not only because of its importance for agriculture, stock-breeding and human consumption, but also because of the potential hydroelectric power it represents. It therefore became evident that more information should be obtained regarding the true extent of Ruanda-Urundi's water resources as well as their location and distribution. A mission of four experts (a meteorologist, an ecologist-botanist, a pedologist and a geologist-hydrologist) began this basic study early in 1957.

203. There is no doubt that the Territory has large potential sources of hydroelectric power and that its industrial development, and the profitability of mining operations in particular, are bound up with the availability of cheap electrical power. The Ten-Year Plan provided for the construction of a first hydroelectric plant in the Ruzizi valley with a capacity of 20,000 kilowatts. The plan to have a single plant for the entire Territory has been abandoned, and it is believed that the course finally chosen, namely, the construction of several smaller plants, will better meet the Territory's needs.

204. In his most recent statement in the General Council, the Governor opposed a cautious policy in the matter. He said, in particular, that the construction of the indispensable Ruzizi and Taruka plants had long been opposed on improbable grounds, such as that even their limited output would far exceed the country's consumption possibility for many years. The Governor said that those anxious for Ruanda-Urundi's economic progress could only regard such an argument as perverse. The country's salvation depended on the large-scale distribution of cheap hydroelectric power to all areas capable of industrialization.

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

206. In the meantime, the Administration has adopted a policy of reducing electricity prices in order to stimulate the economy. The price reductions have already had substantial effects; in 1956, consumption at Usumbura increased from 4.2 million to 5.9 million kilowatt-hours. As compared with 1952, the consumption of electric current for domestic use at Usumbura increased from 777,000 to 2,680,000 kilowatt-hours, and, for industrial consumption, from 271,000 to 3,210,000 kilowatt-hours.

207. The Mission wishes to mention its interest in the work being carried out on Lake Kivu, where a Belgian concern (*Union chimique belge*) acting as adviser to the Ministry for the Colonies, is investigating the quantity and development possibilities of the methane discovered in the waters of the lake.

208. Methane is a gas produced by the anaerobic decomposition of plankton, a process which takes place in all lakes. But, as a result of an unusual phenomenon (Lake Kivu is the only known case of its kind), the gas dissolved in the water of the lake has accumulated through the centuries, apparently due to the fact that the density of the deeper water is such that the lower layers, in which the gas is produced, are not affected by the motion of the water, which normally occurs in lakes. Reserves are estimated at the thermal equivalent of 50 million tons of coal.

209. Piping the methane should be a fairly simple matter. A small demonstration piping station has been set up and was seen by the Mission. A pilot installation will be built shortly. The exploitation of the gas in Lake Kivu could make an important contribution to the industrial and economic development of the Trust Territory.

210. On the whole, industry in Ruanda-Urundi is still in its early stages. The most noteworthy of the recent developments has been the start of operations by the brewery at Usumbura. The Mission also had an opportunity to observe commercial night fishing on Lake Tanganyika.

211. The Governor of Ruanda-Urundi has said that the Territory should proceed resolutely along the path of industrialization. He added that such a change offered the only chance of transforming an extremely high rate of population increase, which constitutes a threat to the Territory's agricultural future, into a major asset and a source of wealth within an industrialized economy.

212. The Mission fully endorses this opinion and hopes that this industrialization will take place.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT

GENERAL

213. The composition of the population of Ruanda-Urundi was as follows on 31 December 1956 and 31 December 1946:

	1956	1946
Europeans	6,486	1,897
Asians	2,492	1,986
Mulattoes	967	205
Africans not living in chiefdoms	68,996	52,562
Indigenous population living in chiefdoms	4,415,595	3,596,997
TOTAL	4,494,536	3,653,647

214. By far the greatest social problem in Ruanda-Urundi is the demographic pressure. In 1954, the excess of births over deaths was less than 100,000; the figure was 110,000 in 1955, and 119,000 in 1956. The rate of increase was thus 2.6 per 100, which means that the population may double itself in thirty years.

215. This state of affairs is due to a high birth rate to which the periodic famines and high death rate of earlier years no longer act as a counterbalance. Reference has already been made in this report to the scarcity of land, the general poverty of the soil and

the territory's inadequate resources, as well as to the absence of industrialization. It is therefore easy to understand how the demographic evolution of the Trust Territory could become an extremely grave danger for the future. There is, in fact, a chance that progress achieved, at the expense of great effort, in food production, in combating overstocking, in productivity and in raising living levels, might be cancelled by the effects of this population inflation. The Government is thus engaged in a race against time. The aim of the Administration, which has already been set out in this report, is to solve the technical difficulty of enabling a greater number of people to live on the available cultivable land, by augmenting the area available to the limits practicable. Its second aim is to make the population aware of the difficulties which its increase is creating and of the need for harder work to increase its food resources and industrial production.

216. The Administration was in the past very optimistic and the Ten-Year Plan stated that the population of Ruanda-Urundi, unusually dense in the heart of the black continent, could become a vital factor in the development of the Territory because of its productivity and consumption potentials; like Belgium, which is a small, densely populated territory unable to feed its population, Ruanda-Urundi, situated

in central Africa, would specialize in the import and processing of primary products from the vast territories around it where manpower is lacking; it would be able to found its wealth on the labours of its population which would go into the production of manufactured goods for export; these exports would provide it with the means to obtain from outside the country essential foodstuffs in which it was deficient, as also the goods necessary to its progress and well-being. The Mission recalls that since these lines were written (about 1950), the indigenous population has increased from 3,808,191 (at the end of 1949) to 4,415,595 (at the end of 1956), an increase of 607,404, or nearly 16 per cent, whereas industrial progress has been negligible, and the import of primary products for processing from neighbouring territories and the creation of a highly specialized working force are apparently far from becoming realities. The Mission would therefore prefer to be able to base its confidence in the future of the Trust Territory on a less dynamic rate of population growth. It trusts that the Administration's hope that the fundamental problem would be tackled indirectly would be fulfilled. The Administering Authority has indeed reminded the Mission that it is usual for the birth rate to decline slowly as soon as the economic level rises. Additional purchasing power now permits and indeed obliges expenditure associated with a higher standard of living (for instance, the mere fact of having children at school involves expenditure on clothing, board, etc., which is a burden); the result is that an expanding social class is gradually becoming less ready to accept the old axiom that a large family is always a blessing. The Mission hopes that this regulative trend will come into operation in time to ensure continuity in the rise in the standard of living of the indigenous population. Meanwhile it hopes that the Administering Authority will do everything possible to make the population aware of the gravity of the demographic situation, which—as the 1954 Visiting Mission has already pointed out—hardly seems to be the case.

217. There has been no change in the scale of emigration in recent years; a small number of men have been recruited for work in the Belgian Congo (1,435 in 1956) or in the British territories of Uganda and Tanganyika (2,461); a small number have left spontaneously to work in the Belgian Congo (1,689) and a relatively large number have left spontaneously for seasonal work in the British territories (40,631); lastly, a number of families (1,700) have emigrated to the Kivu zone (Belgian Congo) near the Trust Territory for permanent settlement. A study of seasonal emigration to British territories is being made by the Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa (IRSAC). There are in addition relatively large numbers of Banyarunda and Barundi in British East African territories and a senior official from Ruanda-Urundi has just been appointed to a post which has been specially established for that reason in the Belgian Consulate-General in Nairobi (Kenya). He will act as a liaison officer between the Administration of Ruanda-Urundi and the *Bami* on the one hand and nationals of Ruanda-Urundi living in Uganda and Tanganyika on the other. It should also be pointed out that the *Bami* have recently visited their nationals in these two territories.

218. As for living conditions in the Trust Territory, the absence of villages in Ruanda-Urundi has often

been pointed out and the typical dispersion of huts on the hills is rightly regarded by the Administration as a serious obstacle both to material progress and to the development of a communal life of any significance. The Administration has promoted a tendency to regrouping in settlements and in certain places this has taken place spontaneously. The inhabitants are beginning to construct their huts on the edge of tracks, as in the indigenous agricultural communities (*paysannats*), without however shifting their crops for the purpose, and the Administration has studied the question and issued directives.

219. Further, the Mission noted with great interest that in some areas the indigenous inhabitants are beginning spontaneously to build themselves attractive houses of durable materials (stone, brick, tile). At the end of 1956 there were 11,370 houses made of durable materials, of which 5,233 were in the country districts; some of the latter houses (1,050) were built with assistance from a loan fund, but the majority (4,183) were built without such assistance. It is also worth noting that 3,767 of these 5,233 houses did not belong either to chiefs, sub-chiefs, or to persons of standing.

220. As regards housing in extra-customary centres, the Mission visited the projects being carried out by the *Office des cités africaines* (OCA) at Usumbura, particularly the community at Ngagara. Public opinion and the General Council have been somewhat critical of the programmes and methods of OCA. It has been stated, amongst other things, that part of the buildings is already in need of considerable repair, and that another part is at the point of collapse; that OCA has refused to accept any advice from the local authorities or to submit to their control, and that the accounts of OCA have never been scrutinized in the Territory. As a result, the General Council has expressed the wish that a thorough investigation be made, and that the statute of OCA be modified. The Mission agrees, nevertheless, with the Administration that within a few years Ngagara will provide a satisfactory solution to many problems confronting the town of Usumbura. It also hopes that when the trees, which are already in nurseries, have been planted, these quarters of the extra-customary centres of Usumbura will look like garden-cities.

221. The Mission has been very favourably impressed by the achievements of the Indigenous Welfare Fund (*Fonds du bien-être indigène*) in supplying water suitable for drinking to indigenous communities. This is of the greatest importance in Ruanda-Urundi, not only because it affects the population's health, but also because of the permanent lack of an adequate water supply in the over-populated and exceptionally fertile regions of the north-west, and, in the dry season also, in the eastern and southern parts of the country. Plans costing 630 million francs have been drawn up by the Hydrological Mission and by the end of 1956 the sum of 263 million francs had already been spent; 48 million will be spent in 1957 and 45 million in 1958.

222. In regions where the underground water level makes it feasible, water from springs has been impounded or wells sunk. In the Bugoye and Mulera regions (near Kisenyi) the impounding of streams at a high altitude, the purification of the water and piping to the lava plains by means of conduits grappled to the steep mountain sides (59 kilometres completed out of a planned 152 kilometres) is a technical achievement of the first order, which the Mission has been able to see.

The hydrological department has installed distribution points (fountains, wash-houses, showers and watering-troughs for cattle) at well-placed intervals. The population is highly appreciative of the work which has been done in this region where in some places the only water supply available before was Lake Kivu, fifteen kilometres away.

223. The Mission finds that the tributes paid by previous visiting missions to the medical service were fully deserved as regards both curative medicine and preventive and social medicine. That also holds true in respect of training of auxiliary indigenous medical staff. In addition to numerous hospitals, dispensaries and sanatoria, the Mission visited the new Astrida laboratory, where vaccines are produced on a large scale and where scientific research of various kinds is in progress in the medical and veterinary fields.

224. Two recent achievements deserve special mention. In the first place, in the campaign against tuberculosis, following the scientific results obtained by the Medical and Scientific Centre of the Free University of Brussels in Central Africa (CEMUBAC) in detecting and preventing the disease, the medical service prepared in 1957, in co-operation with that centre, a massive BCG vaccination campaign calculated to reach nearly two million persons (150,000 had already been vaccinated at the time of the Mission's visit). In the second place, the campaign against malaria has been marked by the general disinfestation with DDT of all dwellings and their annexes situated at less than 2,000 metres above sea level. Since 1 July 1956, 1,000,000 dwellings had been sprayed at the rate of two sprayings a year and a marked decrease in the number of cases of malaria was registered.

225. The cost of the medical services represented 16 per cent of the ordinary budget for 1956.

226. The Mission unfortunately was not able to devote much time to questions relating to labour and social security. The Decree of 6 June 1956 concerning workers' pensions entered into force on 1 January 1957 in Ruanda-Urundi; until now, workers have apparently shown little interest in the scheme, because the amount of their contributions has in many cases been offset by corresponding salary increases and they do not yet fully understand the benefits of the system. The first few months' experience of the pensions scheme have raised anew the question of the scope of application of that legislation; it has been proposed to broaden the definition of occasional workers who are not covered by the pensions scheme (workers employed fourteen days a month are considered as regularly employed), so as to avoid including in it too many temporary workers who would in any case only receive an insignificant pension, totally out of proportion with the administrative burdens which the law imposes on employers and on the administration. In 1956, the Council of the Vice-Government-General had in fact expressed a wish to be consulted prior to the entering into force of the proposed decree on pensions, but that recommendation was disregarded by Brussels.

227. The introduction into Ruanda-Urundi of the Congo legislation on family allowances has once again been postponed; in the opinion of the Administration and of some employers, that legislation is not suited to the needs of the Territory and would impose upon the economy far too heavy and sudden increases in social expenditures. Certain members of the General Council,

however, have expressed the view that there is nothing to prevent the immediate granting of those allowances to workers in extra-customary centres (Usumbura, Rumonge, Nyanza and Kitega), in indigenous cities (Kigali, Astrida, Nyanza) and workers' housing centres. The General Council decided, at its session of July 1957, to postpone discussion of that question to its following session, pending receipt of a detailed report from the Labour Service.

228. The Administration points out that, when considering the condition of workers in Ruanda-Urundi, it must be remembered that, with the exception of workers in the Usumbura region and of a small minority of those in mining camps, the labour position in Ruanda-Urundi is somewhat unusual; the vast majority of salaried workers, whether employed by the chiefdoms, the central Administration, missions, mining settlers or agricultural settlers, remain agriculturalists first and foremost; they are certain of being able to re-enter their rural environment as soon as they need or wish to do so; more often than not, all they ask from their employer is an amount to supplement in part the agricultural resources which constitute the basic means of subsistence of their family unit. In Ruanda-Urundi, therefore, there are peasant-workers rather than workers pure and simple, and this must be taken into account.

229. The Administration has also drawn the Mission's attention to two new decrees of January 1957 instituting the right of association and the right of officials and workers of the Administration and the private sector to form trade unions, a decree of March 1957 regulating the length of the working day, Sunday rest and holiday rest, and a legislative ordinance putting into force the new procedures for the settlement of labour disputes. Finally in 1957, the Labour Service, which was previously extremely small, has been increased by two inspectors entrusted especially with assisting employers as regards workers' pensions.

230. Finally, the Mission would like to mention that it visited a certain number of social welfare centres and workshops which annually train about 10,000 young women and girls in all branches of housekeeping.

231. In concluding this chapter, the Mission wishes to pay tribute to the private institutions and, in particular, to the religious missions which play such a large part in the social and medical services of Ruanda-Urundi.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND RACIAL RELATIONS

232. If the Mission, after having devoted a somewhat cursory examination to other social questions, now gives more detailed consideration to the problems of racial relations and racial discrimination, or alleged cases of such discrimination, it is not in order to reopen files of cases which are more and more falling into oblivion, or in order to maintain a terminology which is tending to become more and more inaccurate. Apart from the interest which the Trusteeship Council has always shown in these problems, one should note that the elements of these problems have changed. The real issue at present is the study of social relationships between indigenous and non-indigenous inhabitants living in the same country. This new aspect of the problem is obviously a matter of increasing interest to the indigenous inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi: the members of the Mission had numerous occasions to notice it.

233. The Mission would like, in the first place, to note with satisfaction that the policy of the Administration and the attitude of the great majority of the non-Africans of Ruanda-Urundi are resolutely opposed to any form of racial discrimination.

234. In support of that statement, the Mission may quote the recommendation (*vœu*) made by the Council of the Vice-Government-General in 1956 at the time of its transformation into a General Council; in connexion with the representation of various interests in the General Council, its desire was that no racial discrimination should appear in the texts. The Mission may also mention the discussion in the General Council in 1957 concerning the organization of towns. The Council expressed the view that Usumbura should be a single-commune town, instead of being divided into several communes, so as to avoid any suggestion of racial segregation and to group together Europeans and Africans in the same commune and in the same municipal council. It will also be recalled that the General Council noted with satisfaction that the draft decree on judicial reorganization abolished all racial discrimination.

235. Other recent examples could easily be found of categorical pronouncements against any manifestations of racial discrimination by representatives of the Administration and by private individuals. Racial integration in certain schools, a question which will be examined in the following chapter, also represents a great step forward.

236. The Mission is glad to note certain instances in which it was able to see for itself an atmosphere of complete inter-racial harmony. Thus, for example at a dinner organized by the Festival Committee of Kigali on the occasion of the Jubilee of the *Mwami* of Ruanda, not only did Africans and Europeans mix with the utmost cordiality and ease, but—an even more rare occurrence—several African ladies were present and did not seem to be in any way out of their element.

237. It appears to the Mission that many indigenous inhabitants have retained the impression that racial discrimination in one form or another is still very common and that that impression, whether justified or not, is the basis of their judgement of Europeans and their ideas.

238. Before entering into the subject more deeply, the Mission would like to recall that apart from "traditional" racial discrimination as between whites and blacks, the problem of racial discrimination as between the Batutsi and the Bahutu which has already been mentioned in the first chapter (paras. 22-46) also occurs in the Territory.

239. The Mission would review initially cases, or alleged cases, of racial discrimination which have been examined by the Trusteeship Council in the past.

240. The question of the curfew has been brought up on repeated occasions. There is a regulation which governs the movement of the indigenous population at night in urban areas and, in particular, prohibits indigenous inhabitants (defined as persons other than those of European or Asian race) from moving about between the hours of 10 p.m. and 4.30 a.m. unless they are required to do so because of official duties or for certain exceptional reasons. The Administering Authority has explained that the regulation was designed solely as a protection against criminals and

that it would be rescinded when the Territory had an adequate police force and when night lighting of urban centres was introduced. In 1954, the councils of the extra-customary centres, when consulted on this matter, expressed themselves in favour of retaining the curfew but suggested a later starting and earlier ending hour at Usumbura. The regulation was abolished in 1957 for all urban centres with the exception of Usumbura. In Usumbura, the councils of the centres have now been empowered to relax or discontinue this regulation on their own authority. The Mission attended a meeting of one of the councils of the extra-customary centres in the course of which this question was discussed. At the end of the discussion it was decided not to introduce any further modification in the hours of the curfew pending the completion of the public lighting system of the centre, due in one or two months, at which time the council would review the whole question. Accordingly, the Mission feels that this matter, which is primarily considered as a police or security measure, has been practically solved; it received no complaints concerning the curfew.

241. Further, as regards restrictions on freedom of movement, the Trusteeship Council had shown that it favoured the repeal of the measure which requires an indigenous inhabitant to obtain a transfer passport in order to leave his chiefdom for more than thirty days. In justification of this measure, the Administering Authority referred to the necessity of maintaining supervision over long absences, which might interfere with the carrying out of certain compulsory agricultural work. As the special representative explained at the nineteenth session of the Council (754th meeting), the Governor terminated, as from 1 March 1957, the system of passports for all transfers within the country regardless of their duration. An indigenous inhabitant who plans to leave his chiefdom for a continuous period of more than thirty days in order to live in another chiefdom has only to inform the chief before his departure of the particular place to which he intends to go to present his identity certificate for endorsement so as to enable the authorities to record the change for census purposes. The obligation to obtain a transfer passport (which is issued free of charge) continues to exist only in the case of an indigenous inhabitant who spends more than thirty days in a non-customary area (extra-customary centre, indigenous settlement, or a Congo district). This supervision has been retained in order to prevent inhabitants of rural areas from deserting such areas without sufficient reason, for example, in order to avoid compulsory agricultural work, and from moving in with, and living at the expense of, their fellow Africans working in the centres. Some inhabitants of Usumbura complained to the Mission that it took time to obtain a transfer passport and that that fact had in some cases interfered with an urgent journey.

242. A 1924 ordinance provides that any indigenous inhabitant who threatens public order can be obliged by an order stating the reasons to depart from a certain place or to reside in a particular place. This ordinance is very rarely applied but the Mission received the grievances of a petitioner well known to the Council.³⁴ He is a former chief who was dismissed from office and, after a long series of difficulties with the Administration, was ordered to leave his district.

³⁴ Mr. Barnabé Ntunguka. See, for example, T/PET.3/82 and Council resolution 1379 (XVIII).

However, since he persistently refuses to leave his hill unless he wins his case for enormous compensation to which he claims to be entitled as a result of litigation concerning land and cattle, he passes his time in serving successive terms of imprisonment for failing to observe the residential prohibition.

243. Another matter which has been before the Trusteeship Council is the question of the prison system and whipping. Whipping is still applied to indigenous inhabitants as a disciplinary measure in prisons, but is subject to many restrictions. The Council has asked for its abolition on a number of occasions. Such abolition is envisaged by the Administering Authority as part of the reform of the prison system which is presently under study. Meantime, there were experiments at the end of 1956 and in 1957, first in three prisons and later in four others, in which whipping was abolished for a few months as an experiment. The Administration informed the Mission that on the whole the experiments had been successful but that in two prisons some difficulties had been encountered. The cell system in conjunction with restrictions on diet is now being studied as a disciplinary measure.

244. As to penalties for violations of indigenous labour contracts, penal servitude has been banned in Ruanda-Urundi since 1955. The Administration informed the Mission that this change had affected neither the stability nor the efficiency of the labour force.

245. One of the main ideas of the proposed reform of the judicial system was the elimination of racial discrimination. A member of the General Council observed that the new proposal was still discriminatory in many respects, if only on account of the terminology used. Another member suggested that the proposed reform should be more far-reaching, even to the extent of enabling Africans to judge Europeans in certain cases. Such symbolic evidence of the progressive elimination of all racial discrimination, he said, would make a big impression. Another member added that in the existing judicial system the refusal to extend to indigenous inhabitants the benefit of the suspension of the execution of sentence was interpreted by them as a discriminatory measure. Various communications received by the Mission mentioned the fact that there are big differences in the way in which whites and blacks are treated by the courts. One of the points emphasized is that often the European magistrate does not know the indigenous language and the indigenous inhabitant is at a disadvantage by having to use an interpreter and is often treated in an uncivil manner. It would appear from other information, however, that on the whole many indigenous inhabitants have more confidence in the European magistrates than in the indigenous judges, most of whom are Batutsi.

246. Other observations made to the Mission pointed out that in the matter of freedom of association the indigenous inhabitants do not have the same facilities as the Europeans. It was alleged that the Administration refused to approve the organization of a group which desired to call itself "*Association progressive du lac Tanganyika*" and which was said to be a branch of TANU (Tanganyika African National Union—an organization in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika). An anonymous communication reports that an attempt to organize a movement called "*Parti progressiste démocrate du Ruanda-Urundi*" had failed because the Administration had done everything it could to

convince the *Bami* that the purpose of this party was to undermine their authority. At the nineteenth session of the Council, the special representative had pointed out that this movement had made a rather bad start because it tried to organize both the Banyaruanda and the Barundi at a time when the inhabitants of the two States had not yet reached the point of desiring to form a single party. The Administering Authority was of the opinion that in the African society of Ruanda-Urundi, which has its traditional customary organization, the population was not yet interested in the formation of political parties but that, as institutions became more democratic and elections were organized, public opinion might find expression in the form of parties in a perhaps not too remote future.

247. The difference in status between European and African officials (the status of Belgian officials and agents on the one hand, the status of the indigenous assistant agents on the other), is also considered by some to be a matter of racial discrimination. The Administering Authority has pointed out in the past that it was in fact their lack of qualifications which prevented Africans from reaching the higher grades in the Administration, and that moreover no Europeans occupied posts, even higher ones, in the indigenous administration. The "Statement of Views" (see annex II) presents the question, nevertheless, as an instance of political discrimination, adding that the difference of status is such that a European at the lowest level, that of Territorial Agent, is far and away above an African of the highest grade, that of Assistant Territorial Agent, a grade which no African under Belgian administration has yet succeeded in reaching. Some of the communications received by the Mission also emphasize differences in salary and housing between European and African officials.

248. The Administering Authority states that there is segregation in the hospitals because of differences in education, diet and habits, and not because of racial considerations; it is also the case that some Africans are admitted to European hospitals because of their way of life; furthermore, there are many joint medical services. Nevertheless, some Africans still think that this is racial discrimination and the question has even been raised in the General Council.

249. An African member of the General Council also pointed to the *carte de mérite civique* (civic merit card) and to registration (*immatriculation*) as two dangerous forms of discrimination, which had no cultural basis. Various communications addressed to the Mission also protest against the fact that certain Africans are classified as "*évolués*".

250. It has been alleged that there is no free African Press, whereas not only is the European Press free but certain European publications tend to misuse this freedom to stir up strife.

251. The existence of "economic discrimination" in the Territory, i.e., the difference of standard of living between Europeans and indigenous inhabitants, is the example most commonly given of racial discrimination. The "Statement of Views" considers that this economic discrimination prevents a *rapprochement* between the indigenous inhabitants and the Europeans. This idea is to be found in a much more vigorous form in some of the communications received by the Mission.

252. Finally, in some of these communications, the Mission finds such statements as "all rights are denied

to the poor Africans groaning under Belgian tyranny, whereas whites can do whatever they please" and "racial discrimination exists in every form—political, legislative, social". According to the "Statement of Views", "Belgian colonial legislation contains no basic laws which are discriminatory unless it be those which are favourable to the African communities. Nevertheless, this spirit (of discrimination) may be found in some of the measures implementing the laws—in more of them than one might imagine".

253. In the light of what is recorded above, the Mission notes that the indigenous inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi who wish to affirm increasingly their place in the community, are sometimes too much inclined to interpret or explain facts and situations in terms of racial discrimination, just at a time when the Administration and the majority of the non-Africans are making an undeniable effort to encourage better human relations between Africans and Europeans.

254. The Mission is pleased to note, however, that a more positive approach towards the betterment of

human relations is attracting the attention of an increasing number of inhabitants of the Territory. Thus at the last session of the General Council one of the African members, an old and highly respected chief, proposed to submit the following question for discussion: to seek out and eliminate all misunderstandings between blacks and whites, as confidence between all the inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi—industrialists, traders and colonists, on the one hand, and the nationals of the country on the other—can be safeguarded only by a sincere striving for union, and progress can be achieved only in an atmosphere of political calm and sanity.

255. The Mission has no doubt that the Administering Authority is fully aware of the danger which a racial discrimination complex might represent for the Territory, and it will prevent such a situation by systematically eliminating all vestiges of real or apparent racial discrimination, and developing to the utmost harmonious relations between the races of the Trust Territory on a basis of confidence, comprehension and collaboration.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENT

256. Education in Ruanda-Urundi has assumed particularly great importance during the last few years. One of the reasons for this has been the pressure exerted by all the indigenous inhabitants to have more schools and more opportunities for educating their children at all levels. A second reason has been the increasing percentage that expenditure on education represents in budgets that are themselves constantly increasing. The percentage of expenditure on education in the ordinary budget was 5.3 per cent (7 million francs) in 1946, 9.6 per cent (33 million) in 1950, 16 per cent (89 million) in 1953, 16.9 per cent (115 million) in 1956, 20 per cent (184 million) in 1957, and probably 22 per cent (more than 230 million) in 1958. Furthermore, the Ten-Year Plan proposed 210 million francs of expenditure on capital works connected with education (or 6.2 per cent of the Plan's budget); these objectives were subsequently raised to 380 million, and the amounts devoted to these capital works programmes connected with education are going to be further increased as the result of the readjustment now being made. Nevertheless, this expenditure already considered by some—and rightly so it seems from the point of view of sound financial management—to be disproportionate and to have been approved to the detriment of public expenditure of an economically profitable nature, is still inadequate to meet the needs of the population.

257. The amount of this expenditure on education has recently raised apprehensions in the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi. At its July 1957 session, one member asked whether this situation was not partly due to the Administration thinking in too grandiose terms and constructing too luxurious buildings; further, as he considered that the organization of education lacked clarity, he proposed the establishment of a permanent committee on education, under the General

Council, with powers sufficient to enable the Council to exercise real supervision over education. That proposal was adopted.

258. A third reason why education has a very great importance in Ruanda-Urundi lies in its potential contribution towards a solution of the problem of the relations between the Batutsi and the Bahutu. According to the "Manifesto of the Bahutu" (see annex I), primary education in recent years has so much favoured the Batutsi because of the system of selection that secondary education has in fact been almost exclusively reserved for that group. The Mission, not being in a position to check whether that assertion is not somewhat exaggerated, wonders whether it would not be wise to see that a minimum percentage of Bahutu children be systematically included in primary and secondary education, even perhaps at the price of relaxing certain admission requirements. That system would have the advantage not only of calming the fears of the Bahutu, but also of assuring in the long run a partial solution of the problem of the Bahutu and the Batutsi through the formation of an ever-increasing class of educated elements of the two groups. In this respect, the Mission calls attention to the views that it presented in its first chapter (see para. 44). Moreover, this suggestion seems to have been favourably received by the local administration in its talks with the Mission.

259. In discussing the organization of primary and secondary education in Ruanda-Urundi, distinction must be made between different categories. In the schools with a European programme (which can be either multiracial or monoracial), in the official schools, all costs are borne by the State, that is, the buildings and equipment, the salaries of teachers, including medical and pharmaceutical costs, lodging and annual leave in Belgium; finally scholarships and students' travel expenses under certain circumstances. The rest—

registration, living expenses and school-books—are paid for by the pupils. For the subsidized free schools (which are schools of the religious congregations, approved by the State), the State participates in the expenditure relating to the buildings and equipment to the extent of 80 per cent for secondary education; for primary education and kindergartens, to the extent of 80 per cent in large towns and 70 per cent outside of those towns. The school and the equipment become the property of the religious congregation. Two-thirds of the qualified teachers in primary education and kindergartens are subsidized 100 per cent (on the basis of official salaries) if they are lay teachers; the others (at least a third) are subsidized at the “religious rate” (generally 75 per cent of the “lay rate”), whether they are lay or religious personnel. The Administration pays for medical and pharmaceutical expenses, reimburses 80 per cent of the lodging costs of lay personnel, pays for leave in Belgium (annual or biennial, as the case may be), and pays for scholarships and travel expenses of pupils as for official education. Moreover, there are special agreements, such as that between the Government and the *Collège du Saint-Esprit* at Usumbura, under which the Government reimburses the difference between the cost of board and school-books (15,400 francs a year per student) and the contribution (still very slight) of the indigenous parents.

260. As far as the schools with African programmes are concerned, in the official schools, all costs are borne by the Government. In the congregational official schools (official schools, like the Astrida school group, that are directed by a religious order) costs are borne by the State, but the qualified religious teachers are paid at the rate of 75,000 francs a year, increased according to an index based on a special agreement.

261. Lastly, with respect to the subsidized private schools of the Christian missions which have subscribed to the school convention, the participation of the State in construction and equipment costs is the same as for the schools offering the metropolitan syllabus (70 or 80 per cent). The operational expenditures of these schools are based on the following principles: (a) primary education is completely free of charge; in the case of secondary education, the students, who generally board, may be required to pay a contribution; maintenance costs are reimbursed by the Government at the rate of 80 per cent of the difference between the normal costs and the contribution of the parents; (b) salaries of teachers are subsidized in full by the Government at the rate prevailing under the subsidy to churches; those of staff members holding African certificates are subsidized at a rate of 80 to 100 per cent, depending on the individual cases; (c) the Government grants lump-sum payments for books and conventional supplies. In addition to the convention, there is a gentlemen's agreement providing that neither the Protestant nor the Catholic missions will establish more schools *per annum* than can be supported by the State budget.

262. It should be borne in mind that, until recently (1954), primary and secondary education for the indige-

nous persons was, so to speak, an actual monopoly of the religious missions, since the only State schools (those of the Astrida group) were administered by a religious congregation. The Trusteeship Council had repeatedly recommended broader direct participation by the Administration in education and in the development of non-denominational schools. During recent years, the development of State and non-denominational schools initially ran into certain difficulties. Some indigenous groups were opposed to them and went so far as to send a petition to the Belgian Parliament. Others favoured the idea. Opinions differ as to the spontaneity of these manifestations and some people believe that the situation must be viewed as a regrettable extension to Ruanda-Urundi of Belgian controversies over school policy. At the present time it appears to be generally recognized that there is room for State non-denominational education alongside subsidized private education by religious missions and that the relatively low cost of missionary education is not the only factor to be considered. The Mission was concerned with the problem only to the extent that certain communications had maintained that the privileged position of the Catholic missions in the teaching field had resulted in unilateral and unfair religious pressure.

263. A convention concluded between the Minister for Colonies and the high clergy provides that the apportionment of funds for education in the Belgian Congo shall be as follows: 45 per cent for Catholic missionary education; 10 per cent for Protestant education; 45 per cent for State non-denominational education. A recommendation (*vœu*) submitted at the last session of the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi urges that the convention should be applied in Ruanda-Urundi. This matter, along with a recommendation calling for the establishment of further State non-denominational schools, has been referred to the new education commission appointed by the General Council.

264. A European member of the General Council has made a plea for understanding by stating that: “A stop should be put to all sectarianism. The missionaries and the clergy should not always think that a non-denominational school is directed against Christianity. Moreover, we should not be given the feeling, in certain areas, of official action which departs suspiciously from the neutrality which it professes”.

265. The Mission believes that the introduction of State non-denominational education—which has, moreover, been of relatively modest proportions, since at the present time it affects only 1 per cent of the African students receiving primary education and 18 per cent of those receiving post-primary education—has improved the organization of education in Ruanda-Urundi. It is convinced that the educational needs of the Territory are so great that there is ample room for the State Schools and the private schools to function side by side without interfering with each other and without entering into unhealthy competition.

266. In 1956, the enrolment figures for African children receiving primary and secondary education were as follows:

	State schools	Subsidized private schools	Total
PRIMARY EDUCATION			
Schools with European syllabus:			
Boys	28	46	74
Girls	2	2	4
Schools with African syllabus:			
Boys	2,337	172,283	174,620
Girls	153	61,342	61,595
	2,520	233,673	236,293
POST-PRIMARY EDUCATION			
<i>General secondary education</i>			
Schools with European syllabus:			
Boys	35	159	194
Girls	—	7	7
Schools with African syllabus:			
Boys	271	—	271
Girls	—	—	—
	306	166	472
<i>Teacher training:</i>			
Boys	96	1,338	1,434
Girls	1	568	569
	97	1,906	2,003
<i>Special schools</i> (technical, agricultural, medical and domestic science):			
Boys	392	816	1,208
Girls	—	653	653
	392	1,469	1,861
TOTAL, post-primary education	795	3,541	4,336
GRAND TOTAL	3,315	237,214	240,529

267. In primary education, which normally covers six years, the Mission notes that in spite of a slight increase in school enrolment (about 10,000 more pupils in 1956 than in 1955), the total number of school-age children is still very much greater than that of the children actually attending school. According to estimates by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), there are about 600,000 children between seven and twelve years of age in Ruanda-Urundi. That means that only a little over one-third of them are now receiving primary education (or a little more than half the boys and about one-fifth of the girls) and nearly 400,000 children do not attend school at all. The situation is made worse by the fact that, of the 236,193 African children attending primary schools, 110,852, or nearly half, are in their first year and only 1,788 in their sixth. There is a considerable wastage during the six years of primary school. For this reason, the Mission cannot but share UNESCO's view that the extension of primary education is still an enormous task and that the figures show how much more must be done to carry it through. The problem is particularly acute as far as the education of girls is concerned.

268. Although it is obvious that secondary education is still very far from adequate the Administration thinks the development over the last two years has been spectacular. Whereas a few years ago, the official congreganist school at Astrida was the only one providing secondary education—and even that had an African syllabus which was definitely below the level of the Belgian syllabus—several new schools have now been added. At Usumbura, mention should be made

of the *Athénée royal* (non-denominational State school for boys and girls; when the Mission visited it, there were 157 pupils, 126 boys and thirty-one girls—seventy-two Europeans, seventy-four Africans, nine Asians and two mulattoes); the *Collège du Saint-Esprit* (Catholic, for boys; in 1957, there were about 250 African boarders and about forty European and Asian day-pupils); and the *Lycée Stella Matutina* (Catholic, for girls). In the interior, the Nyanza (Ruanda) and Kibeta (Urundi) schools provide secondary-level training for boys; the *Collège du Christ-Roi* at Nyakibanda (Catholic, for boys) and the Birambo School (Catholic, for girls) should also be mentioned.

269. All these schools teach the Belgian syllabus and are inter-racial. The only criteria for admission are academic; the candidates are admitted according to their intellectual capacity and their knowledge.

270. The Mission visited the *Collège du Saint-Esprit* at Usumbura, the building of which, now nearly finished, will cost about 148 million francs. The buildings are impressive and compare favourably with the finest school buildings in Europe. There has been some criticism of the size, the luxury and consequently the expense of this building. The Mission also visited the *Athénée* at Usumbura, which is still carrying on in temporary buildings. The construction of a permanent building has been decided on; it should cost about 110 million francs but there may be a reduction in the appropriations. The Mission hopes, nevertheless, that economy measures will not jeopardize the success of this school, which is both inter-racial and co-educational; it obviously is needed at Usumbura and is worthy of encouragement.

271. Although the Mission realizes that the facilities in secondary education are still far from commensurate with the country's needs, it is happy to recognize the considerable progress which has been made in the last few years and the impressive achievements of both the Administration and the religious groups. The number of children now attending school does not give a true idea of the effort which has been made in secondary education. When the schools already established are completed and filled to capacity, a decisive step forward will have been made towards the solution of the secondary education problem in Ruanda-Urundi; however, a long and sustained effort will have to be made in spite of financial difficulties, if the needs of the Territory's people, of which there is an awakening consciousness, are to be met.

272. The Mission also wishes to note with satisfaction that the need of secondary education for girls has been recognized and that there are now three schools providing the beginnings of an answer to this urgent problem, of which the Africans are becoming very much aware.

273. The Mission wishes to draw the attention of the Trusteeship Council to the question of inter-racial education. There are still different types of schools: schools run on European lines, schools for Africans and schools for Asians. The Administering Authority explains that these distinctions are prompted not by racial discrimination but by material necessity arising from profound differences in customs, education and particularly language, which make a system of common education impossible. But the Administering Authority adds that it intends to proceed by stages towards complete freedom from racial discrimination and towards inter-racial education.

274. Secondary education of the European type is now completely inter-racial. At the *Collège du Saint-Esprit*, the majority of the pupils are African, with European and Asian pupils in the minority. At the *Athénée*, the proportions are about equal. Integration has raised no problems among pupils, staff or parents, most of whom are very proud of it. The education provided in these schools is in all respects equal to that provided in Belgium.

275. Moreover, there are now some primary schools, either government schools or private schools subsidized by the State, where the inter-racial principle is applied, and children of all races work and play together. Admission to these inter-racial schools is decided by a board, which bases its decision on the capacity of the children to profit by the education provided. Its judgement is on a basis of social environment; it requires certain minimum standards with regard to clothing, personal cleanliness, and housing, and an inquiry is usually made by a social worker.

276. The Mission was very favourably impressed by the degree to which the inter-racial principle was applied in the secondary schools. It was glad to find that that principle was accepted and enforced throughout the Territory, even though it was done only to a limited extent in the primary schools. It would like to congratulate the Administering Authority very warmly on its decision to introduce the inter-racial principle progressively in education at all stages; it was glad to see how positive, constructive and co-operative was the attitude of the European population, as a whole, in that respect.

277. The Mission has no doubt that the programme for the introduction of the inter-racial principle is proceeding rapidly and smoothly, and recommends that the Administering Authority should take all necessary measures to facilitate the process.

278. The Mission was informed of a complaint from the Bernardine Sisters, who have a group of girls' schools at Kigali, including a primary school, a teacher training college and a school of domestic science. In September 1956, this religious Order opened a primary inter-racial school of the European type, the costs of construction having been borne by the Order. At the end of the 1956-1957 school year, it had ninety-four pupils, eighty-six of whom were Europeans and seven indigenous, and at the opening of the 1957-1958 school year, it had eighty-one pupils, sixty-six European and fifteen indigenous. The Bernardine Sisters requested the Administration to approve their school, and accordingly to subsidize the operation costs. But the Administration could not comply with that request because there was already one government inter-racial primary school at Kigali, and there was as yet no justification for two primary schools of that type in the area. It is in fact the Administration's general policy not to establish an official school or to approve a missionary school in an area already served by a primary school of either type, until that area has developed to a stage where the existence of two schools is justified.

279. In view of the budgetary limitations, which are only too well known, the Mission believes this principle to be wise, but recommends that the Administration interpret it in an especially broad manner in the case of inter-racial schools, where any initiative, even though premature, merits every possible encouragement.

280. The Mission also took up the question of languages of instruction in African primary schools. Instruction is ordinarily given in Kinyaruanda (Ruanda), Kirundi (Urundi) or Kiswahili (urban centres), but the teaching of French begins very early. In schools of the major settlements this instruction begins in nursery schools. In the interior of the country the situation differs according to the knowledge of French which the teachers possess. French is often begun in the first year of primary school, and under the least favourable conditions, in the third year. The Mission approved the principle of initiating the study of French as early as possible and noted with pleasure that a very large number of children and adults know at least the rudiments of French.

281. In instruction of the European type, teaching is conducted in French. On the secondary level, starting with the fourth year, Flemish is included in the curriculum. The latter compulsory subject did not fail to give rise to serious complaints from the indigenous inhabitants. One such appears in the "Statement of Views" (see annex II).

282. The Mission hesitates to express any views on a subject which is so delicate and which affects a specifically Belgian problem. Nevertheless, since the problem concerns education in Ruanda-Urundi, the Mission believes that attention should be paid above all to local needs and to the interests of the population of the Trust Territory.

283. There is no higher educational establishment in Ruanda-Urundi. In 1955-1956 there was a pre-university institute at Astrida (serving Ruanda-Urundi and

the Belgian Congo) and it was intended as a link between secondary education, which often is still qualitatively inadequate, and university education. As in 1956 it was decided to establish the official university of the Belgian Congo and of Ruanda-Urundi at Elisabethville (Belgian Congo) rather than at Astrida, this pre-university institute was transferred to Elisabethville. Most of the students at the institute were from the Congo and not from Ruanda-Urundi. In addition, the need for this institution will soon disappear, for as pupils are graduated from the new secondary schools, which have a programme that in every way resembles the programme of the mother country's schools, this transitional link between secondary and university education will no longer be necessary.

284. The two universities of the Belgian Congo—the Lovanium University at Kimwenza (Léopoldville), a branch of the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium, and the official University of Elisabethville; and their pre-university institutes—are open to qualified students of Ruanda-Urundi. These universities have programmes which resemble the programme of Belgian universities and issue the same diplomas as the official Belgium diplomas. These universities are inter-racial. In 1956-1957, twenty students from Ruanda-Urundi were enrolled at the Lovanium University and a dozen at Elisabethville. The Mission had an opportunity of visiting the University of Lovanium, where the buildings were being completed. The achievement is remarkable, and when construction is finished, the university centre will stand comparison with any other. Two hundred and forty students, including sixty-five Europeans, have been enrolled for 1957-1958. Thirty-six of the Africans concerned are from Ruanda-Urundi.

285. Seventy students from Ruanda-Urundi are studying in Belgium; about twenty of them are receiving higher education and the rest are receiving secondary education.

286. The decision taken in 1956 to establish the official university of the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi at Elisabethville (Belgian Congo), rather than at Astrida (Ruanda-Urundi), was a great disappointment to many of the people of the Trust Territory. In its "Statement of Views", the High Council of the State of Ruanda complains bitterly. It was decided, however, to establish an agronomic and veterinary school at Astrida in 1958, to become a branch of the official University of Elisabethville.

287. In view of the fact that the number of students from Ruanda-Urundi who complete the secondary studies qualifying them for university (or pre-university) study is still limited, and can be increased at only a very slow rate owing to the budgetary situation of Ruanda-Urundi, and in view of the fact that there are now two universities in the Belgian Congo, whose level is very high and which are open to students from Ruanda-Urundi under favourable conditions, the Mission accepts that the Administering Authority is not in a position to establish a university in Ruanda-Urundi in the immediate future. It is certain, however, that the question will arise sooner or later. The agronomic and veterinary school, which is now being established at Astrida, may subsequently become the nucleus of a university.

288. Few students from Ruanda-Urundi study elsewhere than in the Belgian Congo or in Belgium. The

annual report for 1956 states that there are four students at the University Institute of the Vatican at Rome and two students at the El Azhar University at Cairo. One is also studying at Oxford and had spent a short time at Harvard.

289. The "Statement of Views" complains that the Governor-General of the Belgian Congo had prevented the High Council from awarding scholarships to students wishing to study at universities outside the Congo and asks that this interdict should be removed. The prohibition against the Native Treasuries of the States to send scholarship holders to foreign universities is mentioned with disapproval in other communications. The Administration informed the Mission that, in view of the limitation of the budget, it would prefer not to try the experiment of sending students abroad at great expense when they could study nearer home. The Administration is in favour of study in Belgium only when such studies cannot be carried out on the spot, or when the students concerned can enter neither the Lovanium nor the Elisabethville University in the Belgian Congo. The Administration would also take a favourable view of graduate studies abroad for students who have completed their higher education in the Belgian Congo. With regard to the deposit required from students from Ruanda-Urundi, the Mission was informed that it was required from everyone, and thus applied to all students. The maximum amount of the deposit was 50,000 francs, which was needed to cover the return fare, medical expenses and so forth. The Governor could reduce the deposit at his own discretion. Moreover, the deposit could be replaced by a guarantee issued by an institution, such as for example, the one which took the responsibility for sending the student abroad.

290. A problem which must be resolved if the development of education, especially primary education, is to be ensured in Ruanda-Urundi is that of teacher training. This training is offered by the *écoles d'apprentissage pédagogique* (to be later replaced by *écoles de moniteurs*), *écoles de moniteurs* and normal schools. This type of training will have to be greatly expanded to meet the needs of the Trust Territory.

291. A great deal also remains to be done in the field of vocational training, since the Administration gave serious thought to the introduction and development of this type of training only in 1949, when the Ten-Year Plan was drawn up. At present, there are two large modern vocational schools under the official congreganist system, one at Usumbura and the other (whose buildings are now under construction) at Kigali. These schools train about 650 students as carpenters, mechanics, masons and tailors. A course for electricians is planned for 1958. In addition, the Kigali school will soon have a course on "mines and mining" which will train African foremen who will be able to take full charge of the exploitation of small deposits. There are also fourteen trade schools, opened by the missions in the interior, with about 500 students in all.

292. In concluding this chapter on education, the Mission, while paying a tribute to the considerable effort made in the last few years, feels that it must emphasize the enormous task which remains to be done. In 1956, of about 600,000 children between the ages of seven and twelve, 110,000, or 18 per cent, were in the first grade; 126,000, or 21 per cent, were in the higher grades; and about 60 per cent did not attend school at

all. Only 4,300 persons from thirteen to nineteen years of age were attending a post-primary school; assuming the age group to number about 450,000, that made only 1 per cent. The indigenous population has become aware of this inadequacy. The Mission knows and shares the financial anxiety of the Administration. The Administration is aware of the difficulties that exist in increasing further the budgetary expenditures for education. It has the duty to balance its various expenditures in order to ensure a harmonious life in Ruanda-Urundi, and cannot neglect the other needs of the Territory. Therefore there will be a critical period, financially, which, unless extraordinary or external resources are found, will come to an end only when the wealth of the Territory is developed. To maintain that which exists is absolutely imperative. The Administration is aware of it, but it also knows—and the Mission shares its point of view—that it would be difficult to accomplish more, if it is restricted to its own means.

293. The Mission wonders whether the Administering Authority might not study the possibility of establishing a special educational fund for Ruanda-Urundi, to finance certain aspects of the educational programme

of the Territory. This fund would supplement the resources presently available, whether for investment expenditures or for operational expenditures.

294. Various possibilities could be envisaged simultaneously to finance the fund:

(a) Making a fresh appeal to the generosity of the Belgian budget, for a grant or an interest-free loan, in addition to the grants or loans already made;

(b) Making a similar appeal to the budget of the Belgian Congo. Ruanda-Urundi is united to the Belgian Congo by an administrative and customs union, and has enjoyed certain advantages from this union, but on the other hand it seems that the Belgian Congo, a territory which is better endowed by nature with natural resources, has also benefited from this administrative union in some respects;³⁵

(c) Seeking means by which the population of Ruanda-Urundi could be enabled to contribute specifically to this fund.³⁶

295. If this fund could be established, the Mission hopes that it would give priority to assistance to secondary education and teacher training.

CHAPTER V

DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS

296. By its terms of reference, the Mission was requested to examine, in consultation with the Administering Authorities concerned, the measures taken or to be taken in respect of the provision of information about the United Nations to the peoples of the Trust Territories.

297. The situation described by the 1954 Visiting Mission in paragraphs 334 to 336 of its report³⁷ left much to be desired. The Administering Authority had requested that all information about the United Nations should be sent to the Governor, who would be responsible for its distribution. Furthermore, the Administering Authority had formally refused to accept the request contained in paragraph 335 of the report, namely, that copies of the Visiting Mission's report should be sent to persons who had submitted written memoranda to it and to each *Mwami* and to the members of each High Council, if the transmission was not to be effected through the Administration at Usumbura.

298. However in discussing this problem in the Territory, the Mission was pleased to note a helpful and

co-operative attitude on the part of the Administration of Ruanda-Urundi, which said that it had no objection to United Nations documents being sent direct to their recipients. The Administration extended the list of officials and persons to whom official records could be sent, including school principals and inspectors of mission schools, and made out a list of non-governmental organizations and libraries to which United Nations documents could be sent; it also provided information likely to be of interest to the Department of Public Information. The Mission wishes to thank the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi and his colleagues for their co-operation.

299. The Mission was sorry to note, however, that there had been little improvement in the dissemination of information about the United Nations in the Territory and that ignorance concerning the status of the Territory and the objectives of the Trusteeship System was very widespread. As in the past, there was a striking contrast between the situation here and in the two other Trust Territories visited by the Mission, Somaliland under Italian administration and Tanganyika.

300. The Administration reminded the Mission that it had organized courses on this subject in the schools of the Territory, about which it had already given details in its annual report for 1956 (para. 156). It added that the distribution of the documents sent to the Territory was done as well as possible but that only a limited number of inhabitants in Ruanda-Urundi were advanced enough to grasp such ideas in which many of the inhabitants of the most advanced countries are not very interested. The Mission thinks, nevertheless, that the people of Ruanda-Urundi are at least as able to understand the elementary information about the United Nations as those of the neighbouring Trust Territories. It feels that the Administering Au-

³⁵ Ruanda-Urundi has regularly furnished labour for the mines of the Belgian Congo. In addition, as mentioned above in paragraph 133, many members of the General Council feel that the increase in economic activities in Ruanda-Urundi brought about by the mechanism of the customs union has resulted in the accrual of substantial revenues to the Belgian Congo's budget, to the detriment of Ruanda-Urundi.

³⁶ Various documents seem indeed to indicate that the indigenous inhabitants are willing to contribute to educational expenditures. The "Statement of Views" speaks of "selfless efforts by private bodies and by all the Banyaruanda" in the educational field; in the case of university education, it mentions "the profound aspirations of the entire country, which would be prepared to accept any burden in order to obtain a university".

³⁷ *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 2.*

thority should intensify its efforts to spread knowledge of the subject among the inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi.

301. The Mission also noted that, although the right of petition is known, such knowledge is not widespread, compared with the other Trust Territories it visited. Furthermore, many petitioners believe that the Trusteeship Council and its Visiting Missions are courts of appeal for civil cases which have been judged by the competent courts. The same situation existed in other territories but the people are gradually coming to un-

derstand the right of petition better; that, however, does not seem to be the case in Ruanda-Urundi.

302. Finally, when the inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi want to draw the attention of Visiting Missions to general questions they are all too apt to do so by means of anonymous communications.

303. The Mission is convinced that the Administration could make a greater effort to enlighten the inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi and it hopes that the 1960 Visiting Mission will find the situation much improved.

ANNEXES

ANNEX I

"Manifesto of the Bahutu"

NOTE ON THE SOCIAL ASPECT OF THE INDIGENOUS RACIAL PROBLEM IN RUANDA

Government authorities will no doubt have learned from the Press or from reports received by word of mouth about the present state of relations between the Muhutu and the Mututsi in Ruanda. Consciously or not, these relations affect a situation which we regard as serious, one which might mar or even wreck one day the magnificent work which Belgium is accomplishing in Ruanda. The indigenous racial situation is of course a domestic matter, but what can remain purely domestic or local nowadays? How can it remain hidden from view now that the indigenous and European political positions appear to confront each other? Political, social and economic conditions are complicated by a racial conflict which seems to grow increasingly acute. The advantages of modern civilization are, it would appear, being made available through education, predominantly to one recipient—the Mututsi—thus making for more difficulties in the future than are presented by what is often called today "the difficulties which divide us". No solution of the Mututsi-Belgian relations can be durable until the fundamental difficulties between the Mututsi and the Muhutu are settled.

We will endeavour to shed some light on this matter. We thought it would be helpful to give a brief sketch of the painful reality to the Administering Authority which is here to care for the entire population and not for a caste representing barely 14 per cent of the total.

The main causes of the present situation are to be found in the state of affairs resulting from the old political and social structure of Ruanda, in particular the institution of *buhake*, in the thorough and widespread application of indirect administration, and in the disappearance of some old social institutions, which left a gap that has not been filled by corresponding modern institutions on the Western pattern. Thus, we would welcome a rapid growth of the trade-union movement and efforts to assist and encourage the constitution of a strong middle class. The fear, the inferiority complex and the "atavistic" need of a guardian, commonly attributed to the Muhutu, if they exist at all, are but the surviving relics of the feudal system. If they exist, the civilization brought by the Belgians would have been of little effect if no positive effort had been made to remove these obstacles in the way of the emancipation of the whole of Ruanda.

Trumped-up objections to the advancement of the Muhutu

Many the objections being made to the advancement of the Muhutu. Without discounting the weaknesses of the Muhutu, we feel that each race and each class has its own and we believe that some action should be taken to correct them instead of relegating the Bahutu forever to an inferior position. It is claimed specifically:

(a) "That the Bahutu used to be chiefs in the country". This is a subtle anachronism which the present does not fully confirm.

(b) "The social virtues of the Mututsi are such that he was born to rule." The same virtue may take a different form in an Italian than in a German, in an Englishman than in a Japanese, in a Fleming than in a Walloon.

(c) "What have the educated Bahutu done for the advancement of their fellow tribesmen?" The prevailing atmosphere and especially the *buhake* system which often influenced

appointments, the lack of sufficient freedom of initiative within an autocratic structure, the economic inferiority to which the Muhutu are doomed by the social system, and the subordinate functions to which they have been systematically relegated—all these have handicapped the educated Muhutu's efforts on behalf of his fellow tribesmen.

(d) "Let them in Heaven's name come forward as candidates or wait until they have got over their inferiority complex." To become a candidate presupposes a sense of democracy; but in fact this excuse betrays a leaning towards the *buhake*, which the people have abandoned (without, however, losing their respect for authority). In this connexion, we would recall the remark of a Hamite notable: "The Bahutu should be elevated not by the whites, but by the traditional Mututsi method." We do not think that the ancient practice of ennoblement should be revived in the present European-African situation.

(e) "And the crowd will follow." That the *élite* can influence the masses is undeniable, provided that the *élite* belongs to the masses. At the bottom of all this there is a colonialism in two stages: the Muhutu must bear with the Hamite and his domination and with the European and his laws; which always pass through the channel *Mututsi-leta bmligi* and *leta Mututsi*. The method advocated in the formula "White-Hamite-Muhutu" should not be contemplated. There is many an example to show that "the crowd" does not always follow automatically.

(f) "All Bahutu claims should be forgotten in the interest of union, of the presentation of a united front to achieve the country's independence." It is highly doubtful that union of this type—a single party—is really necessary if indeed emancipation is ripe for the plucking.

Let us add that the section of the population which the departure of the Europeans might plunge into worse slavery than before would at least have the right to refuse to co-operate in the efforts to attain independence save by working very hard and drawing attention to the shortcomings which in its opinion should be remedied first.

The essence of the indigenous racial problem

Some people have asked whether this is a social or a racial conflict. We think that that is idle speculation. In reality and in the minds of men it is both. It can, however, be narrowed down for it is primarily a question of a political monopoly held by one race, the Mututsi, and, in view of the social situation as a whole, it has become an economic and social monopoly. In view, also, of the *de facto* selection in education, this political, economic and social monopoly has also become a cultural monopoly, to the great despair of the Bahutu, who see themselves condemned forever to the role of subordinate manual workers, and this, worse still, after achieving an independence which they will have unwittingly helped to obtain. The *buhake* has of course been abolished, but it has been more than replaced by this total monopoly, which is the principal cause of the abuses of which the population complains.

The political monopoly. The so-called ancient Bahutu chiefs were the exception which proved the rule. The conditions which allowed for those exceptions no longer exist; there can obviously be no question of re-establishing the old custom of ennobling the Bahutu. As for the famous cross-breeding or

the "mutation" of Bahutu into Hamites, only statistics, a well-established genealogy, and perhaps medical experts, can give objective and sound information to refute the old wives' tales which are invoked for many purposes.

The economic and social monopoly. The privileges of their brothers who command the hills have always helped to uplift the Mututsi. Certain social functions were even "reserved" for the nobility and the present civilization by indirect administration has served to reinforce and, so to speak, to generalize the "reservation".

The recent distribution of cows clearly illustrated the weakness of ownership, at least where cattle are concerned. The land itself in more than half of Ruanda, that is to say, the most "Hamitized" areas, can hardly be regarded as the property of the occupants. This precarious occupancy is hardly conducive to working the land, and people who have nothing but their own hands with which to increase their wealth are therefore at a disadvantage. We shall not refer to the system of *corvées* of every kind, the only monopoly of the Bahutu, as the Mututsi has always had every chance to improve his domestic finances.

The cultural monopoly. Here again, the true Hamitic nature of certain persons may be disputed, and the *de facto* selection (by chance, perhaps?) practised in secondary schools is obvious. There is no lack of argument to show that the Muhutu is unskilled, that he is poor, and that he is uncouth. The lack of skill remains to be proved; poverty is his lot under the existing social system; and as regards manners a more liberal spirit would be desirable. Soon diplomas will be requested, and rightly so, but they will all go to one side; the Muhutu will not even know the meaning of the word. And if perchance—which God forbid—other forces were to intervene, knowing how to substitute numbers, bitterness and despair for diplomas! The racial element will step in and there will no longer be any need to ask whether the conflict is racial or social.

We believe that this complete monopoly is at the bottom of the abuses of every kind of which the population complains. Some facts and current tendencies will show the real state of affairs today:

(1) The Mahutu young people (and some of the Batutsi who have fallen into complete decay share the same fate), whose motto is "*In itinibus semper*", inside and outside the country, fleeing the *corvée*, are no longer adapted to modern conditions and psychology, and never or seldom accept the discipline of constraint, which, moreover, gives rise to the abuses of which the authorities appear to be ignorant.

(2) Fathers who barely feed their families have perhaps unconsciously adopted a kind of political programme of antipathy towards Europeans. Some of them even think that the Belgian Government is in collusion with the nobility to exploit them utterly.

(3) On the other hand, however, thoughts like the following are still prevalent: "Without the European, we should be condemned to more inhuman exploitation than before and to total destruction". "It is a pity that Europeans do not become chiefs, sub-chiefs or judges." This is not because they believe Europeans to be perfect, but because they must choose the lesser of two evils. Passive resistance to the orders of the sub-chiefs is merely the result of this uncertainty and uneasiness.

(4) The Bahutu deplore the fact that they are systematically relegated to subordinate positions. This policy of relegation no longer escapes notice, except in a few cases. It is but one step from all this to a civil "cold" war and to xenophobia, and from there it is but one further step to the popularity of ideas likely to propagate communism.

Proposal for immediate solutions

Some solutions can be suggested, but cannot become effective unless the political and social system of the country is changed radically and soon.

(1) The first solution is a "state of mind". Let us abandon the thought, the pet method of the Administration in our

country, which is sarcastically called "*Umuco w'Igihugu*", "respect for the culture and customs of the country".

(2) The economic and social situation. We want institutions to be set up to help the Muhutu population, handicapped as it is by a native administration whose aim seems to be to keep the Muhutu in poverty and thus to make it impossible for them to claim the effective exercise of their rights in their own country.

We propose:

(a) The abolition of the *corvées*. The labourers would be replaced by a public works service (public or para-national), engaging really voluntary workers, protected by social legislation, which has advanced considerably. The service might be planned and established in a manner similar to the REGIDESO,^a so far as we know it. The abolition of the *corvées* would give the people some free time for useful individual work. The lazy ones—and they exist even among the castes of the *élite*—would be supervised by a more humane system.

(b) The legal recognition of individual land ownership in the Western sense of the word, each person having an adequate area for planting and stock-raising. The *bikingi* pasture lands in the middle clans would be abolished, at least to the extent that they are customarily countenanced and defended. For such legislation, a competent service should determine what area would suffice for a family of six or eight children in the light of the productive potentialities of the soil of Ruanda-Urundi. All those in effective occupation of such land at present would be registered by the sub-chieftdom as the real owners in the Western sense of the word; the rest would come gradually, with the help of the migratory movement which is taking place in certain parts of the country. Measures with regard to land ownership should not be taken too rapidly, even at the proposal of the High Council, many members of which might be inclined to view the problem unilaterally or might fail to take into account the difficulties or real aspirations of the ordinary worker on the land.

(c) A rural credit fund. The fund would be used to promote rural projects (national farming and various crafts). The fund would make loans to villagers wishing to establish themselves as farmers or artisans. Loans should be made available on terms within the reach of the ordinary Muhutu.

(d) Economic union between Belgian Africa and the metropolis. This union should be organized in accordance with principles to be defined and laid before the public and the responsible leaders before being approved.

(e) Freedom of expression. There has been talk of the disruptive efforts of certain local, indigenous or European or even Belgian publications which tend to divide the races. For our part, we believe that some exaggeration may have occurred, as in all journalism, particularly at the present stage of development of the countries concerned. We also believe that certain expressions may have offended certain people who are unaccustomed to being opposed in covertly doing whatever they wish with the unimportant and the weak. That may have been a shock in a system just emerging from feudalism. We also believe that as freedom of expression in Belgian Africa with regard to specific problems affecting the inhabitants has not really existed for more than three years, some authorities who are not accustomed to democracy and perhaps are not altogether in favour of it have grown alarmed. But we also believe that it would be wrong, on the pretext of avoiding division, to suppress comment on conditions which exist or tend to exist to the detriment of a great many people and to the advantage of the often abusive monopoly of a minority. We are convinced that neither Belgian justice nor the Belgian Government would accept a union achieved over the dead bodies of a population which seeks conditions and an atmosphere in which it can work better and develop. Before perfection is required of the Press, should it not be required of the indigenous courts and administration, which are much more important and all too frequently give occasion for criticism by the Press? Surely freedom of expression, in the proper meaning of the term, is one of the foundations of true democratization.

^a Water and Electricity Supply Organization.

(3) Political situation. While we agree that the current Mututsi administration should participate more and more in the Government of the State, we feel that a warning should be issued against a method which, while tending to eliminate white-black colonialism, would leave a worse Hamitic colonialism over the Muhutu. The difficulties which might arise from the Hamitic monopoly over the other more numerous races which have lived in the State for a longer time, must be eliminated.

To this end we wish:

(a) That laws and customs should be codified. It is true that some customs cannot be abolished by a stroke of the pen but we believe that almost superstitious respect for the fetish of "custom" is a handicap to the integrated and soundly-based advancement of the population. Accordingly, in order to clarify matters, to ensure fuller equality before the law and to reduce confusion and abuses, we ask that the laws enacted by the Belgian authorities and the customs which are still in force and which are useful, reasonable and not an obstacle to the democratization of the State should be embodied in a code which could be regularly revised and amended in the light of the stage of development reached.

The work that has already been done by scholars and legislators in the two fields will facilitate the speedy completion of this urgent task. The indigenous and European courts and administrations and expanding private initiative in all fields need such a guide. The brandishing of the sword of local custom (*umuco w'igihugu*) by the monopolistic interests is not likely to promote the necessary confidence nor to establish justice and peace having regard to the present aspirations of the population. Codification is necessary to determine and correct the deficiencies that exist and to give more encouragement to private initiative which is now often blocked by local exception or interpretations devoid of social meaning.

(b) That Bahutu should in fact be promoted to public office (chiefdom, sub-chiefdom, judges). In particular, we believe that it is high time that the councils concerned or the taxpayers elected their sub-chiefs, chiefs and judges. In areas which are still considered too backward, the authorities might put forward a panel of two or three candidates from which the voters could choose their guide.

(c) That appointments to indigenous public offices should be for a specific term, at the end of which the people may elect a new candidate or re-elect the outgoing office-holder if he has given satisfaction. Such a system, while not racist, would give the Muhutu a better chance and would constitute a warning regarding the abuse of a life-long monopoly.

(d) That the provincial chiefs should withdraw from the councils at the chiefdom level.

(e) That the High Council of the State should consist of delegations from the chiefdoms: each chiefdom would send a delegation in proportion to the number of its taxpayers, including European permanent residents in the chiefdom. We do not think we are begging the question in accepting Europeans who are permanent residents of the area, for once they are settled in this way they have specific interests to defend. Legislation must become increasingly broad and less discriminatory and Europeans are at least as useful as a Mututsi residing in the region.

Measures of the kind we propose are in our view essential if the Government wishes to build work for the future without favouritism. We appreciate the need for caution, but we believe that the experience of nine centuries of Mututsi domination and fifty-six years of European trusteeship is more than enough and that delay may jeopardize what is being built without these foundations.

(4) Educational situation. Tomorrow diplomas will be demanded and rightly so. The selection hitherto effected at the secondary and higher levels has been all too obvious. Naturally pretexts are not lacking and some are not wholly devoid of foundation: they take advantage of a system which systematically favours the political and economic advancement of the Hamitic population. We ask:

(a) That particular attention should be paid to the supervision of education. We ask that a more realistic and modern approach should be adopted and that the selection whose effects are apparent at the secondary level should be abandoned. We ask that attention should be given to this matter from the beginning so the choice will now be virtually confined to Batutsi in the fifth year. There may be no actual intention to effect a selection, but it is necessary to avoid a *de facto* selection, *ceteris paribus*. If there are not enough places, use can be made of the particulars in identity cards to maintain the proportion. Not that we must go to the opposite extreme of favouring the Bantu rather than the Hamite, as in the past. Present social position should have no influence whatsoever on admission to school.

(b) That the awarding of scholarships (much of the cost of which is financed by taxes paid by the predominantly Muhutu population) should be supervised by the Administering Authority, to ensure that the Bahutu are no longer exploited for the benefit of a monopoly which keeps them permanently in an intolerable position of social and political inferiority.

(c) In regard to higher education we believe that the institutions in Belgian Africa are adequate, but that as many students as possible should be admitted, although it may well be desirable that highly capable students should receive specialized training in Belgian universities. With regard to the university in Ruanda, it would be wrong to waste funds from a budget which is said to be unbalanced; vocational and technical instruction, which is almost non-existent in the State, should be improved first, since it is the key to economic emancipation. It would be wrong to prevent the entry into European universities of carefully selected candidates who intend to undertake specialized studies of immediate use to the country.

(d) That handicraft, vocational and technical training in the country should be given priority in the allocation of funds in the coming budget period; that courses should be as rapid as possible, and should be cheap enough to allow the children of ordinary people to take them. We observe more that the few experimental handicraft training centres seem to be destined to accommodate the overflow of Mututsi youth, for whom there is no room in the secondary schools or who lack the ability to enter them. We hope that in the very near future, in connexion with the preparations to develop vocational and technical facilities, each chiefdom will be provided with an elementary rural training centre, offering a course of at least two years, continuing practical primary education and providing training in a manual trade for all children who do not go on to the secondary schools. This, in our view, should be the chief and immediate objective in the field of education of the C.A.C. which are, after all, largely financed by Muhutu taxes. The funds expended for the *biru* (court drummers) and dancers, who are usually recruited from the nobility, suggest that it is more money that is lacking.

(e) That social centres for the ordinary people be established and increased in number for the benefit of young women and girls from the rural areas, who are unable, because of their limited means, to attend the aristocratic domestic science schools and schools for monitors. The provision of basic education of this kind is necessary to ensure the balanced development of the family.

In short, what we desire is the integrated and collective advancement of Muhutu. Those concerned are already working along these lines in the time left to them after their various *corvées*. But we are also calling for positive and more determined action from above. Belgium has, we are bound to admit, done a great deal in this direction but her benevolence must not be allowed to falter halfway. We are not asking for a halt to be called: we agree that the Mututsi High Council should be able to participate progressively more effectively in the affairs of the State. But we urge the Administering Authority and the Mututsi Administration to take more positive and decisive action to bring about the economic and political emancipation of the Muhutu from his traditional subjugation to the Hamites.

In general, we ask Belgium to stop obliging the Muhutu always to take second place to the Mututsi. For instance, in

social relations the Muhutu should no longer be required (tacitly, of course) to agree to follow Mututsi patterns of behaviour. In view of the talk about respect for different cultures, the differentiations of Ruandan culture should also be taken into account. It may be that the Hamite has practices which are pleasing to some of those in authority, but we have yet to learn that all the other black people must copy his ways. It is difficult to demonstrate the need for the permanent subordination of the Muhutu to the Hamite, the need for the indefinite continuance of this political, social, economic and cultural subordination.

People are not unaware of the support the indirect administration gives to the Mututsi monopoly. Therefore, in order to keep a close check on this racial monopoly, we strongly oppose, for the time being at least, the discontinuance of the practice of entering Muhutu, Mututsi, or Mutwa on official or personal identity cards. Its discontinuance would make it even easier to practice selection, by concealing it and making it impossible to establish the true situation statistically. Moreover, it has never been agreed that the Muhutu is ashamed of his name; what he objects to is the privileged position of a favoured monopoly which threatens to reduce the majority of the population to a position of systematic inferiority and to an undeserved sub-existence.

In seeking to throw more light on a problem that is of grave concern to all who genuinely love this country, we are motivated by a healthy desire to make a constructive contribution and to collaborate. These are problems in which the responsibility of Belgium, the Administering Authority, is all too heavily involved. It is not as revolutionaries (in the pejorative sense of the word) but as collaborators, aware of our social duty, that we have sought to warn the authorities of the dangers which will inevitably be created sooner or later by the *de facto* maintenance—even if only in a negative fashion—of a racist monopoly over Ruanda. Some representatives of the people have already drawn attention to this anomaly; passive resistance pending the intervention of the white Administering Power is likely to be strengthened in view of the abuses of a monopoly which is no longer accepted. We trust that it will serve as a warning.

We hope that the authorities will see in this brief note a more or less systematized account of the thinking and specific desires of the people to which we belong, whose life we share and with which we experience the frustrations resulting from an atmosphere which blocks the road to genuine democratization, the goal envisaged by generous Belgium and earnestly desired by the people, which longs for a viable politico-social structure and the integrated and collective advancement of the people.

ANNEX II

"Statement of Views"

DOCUMENT DRAWN UP BY THE HIGH COUNCIL OF RUANDA

On the eve of taking office, the High Council of the State (Ruanda) wishes to make the following statement.

At the present stage of our State's political, economic and social development, there are questions that must be considered frankly and problems that can no longer be passed over in silence, as has unfortunately all so often been the practice in the past.

In accepting trusteeship over our State, Belgium undertook an onerous but noble task which it has always faithfully carried out. The beneficiaries of its civilizing efforts will ever be grateful to Belgium for the care lavished on them. We shall not list the fields in which that care has been manifested; what has been accomplished speaks for itself.

We could go over the road that has been successfully travelled, but we prefer to turn our attention to the future. In that connexion it is apparent to every intelligent observer that the future will require of both guardians and wards, a combination of qualities including steadfast and often selfless determination and a balanced outlook that will permit mutual understanding.

Ruanda has reached the stage which in the case of children is called the awkward age, or in our language "*Ilera libi*". There are signs of a certain restlessness attributable to various increasingly urgent problems which confront us, some of which we wish to clarify. To continue to ignore them when they urgently require solution would jeopardize the interests of Ruanda which must be ultimately linked with those of Belgium.

Self-government is the normal culmination of trusteeship; that is an undeniable truth. The very idea arouses apprehensions in some people which lead them to distrust those who voice such aspirations. Those who take that view show a faulty understanding of the problem, for emancipation, while inevitable, is not necessarily catastrophic; on the contrary, it can be a source of mutual advantage from various points of view.

It would be difficult at the present stage to specify when it will be possible to grant us self-government, but we are anxious that we should be trained for self-government now.

In our view such training requires measures in connexion with the problems of:

- (a) Education;
- (b) Broader participation in the government of our State;
- (c) A better directed economic and social policy;
- (d) The reduction of colour prejudices.

A. Education

Education is of vital importance, for it is the key to all the other problems. Without education, emancipation is a utopian dream and the efforts made in other fields would be fruitless. When we consider the past, we note, not without bitterness, that education has been neglected from certain points of view or rather misdirected. Mass education alone has been developed and we shall therefore not refer to primary schools although in their case there are certain gaps in respect of the programme which is still not complete. The training of *élite* teachers is still unsatisfactory although they are the foundation of mass education. Good teacher training schools staffed by specialists are therefore required and the quality of the existing schools should be improved.

Our remarks are chiefly concerned with secondary and higher education. Until recently, the former was relegated to the background. The transfer of the Gatagara College to Usumbura was justified at the time by the limited funds available. That argument is, in our view, no longer valid for the money invested would have been enough to build two less imposing colleges. That is why the building of the Gatagara college is still an unfulfilled promise.

The programme of the Astrida secondary school should be revised to enable the pupils to obtain a legal certificate placing them on the same footing as the pupils of Belgian secondary schools and entitling them to enter the administration at the *agent* level.

What is the position in regard to higher education? It is still a thing of the future. Again promise has not been fulfilled: the university which, as early as 1952, was to have been built at Astrida was built at Elisabethville. The construction of an

agronomic and veterinary school at Asirida which was promised subsequently is also in the planning stage. Mr. Pétillon, the Governor-General, was anxious, however, to keep his promise and clearly stated that the establishment of a university in Ruanda-Urundi was a powerful means of assuring the perpetuation of Belgian influence. We must frankly recognize that these unfulfilled promises together with the Governor-General's action in preventing the High Council from awarding scholarships to students wishing to study at universities outside the Congo are not such as to maintain an atmosphere of confidence. We are not unaware that in other colonies and Trust Territories the training of an *élite* has advanced farther than in our case. Even the establishment of a faculty of law at Kimwenza was accepted after much hesitation.

But it is not our purpose to dwell on the past. We wish to suggest some conclusions for the future. At its eighth session the High Council dealt with the general question of education and made a number of recommendations, the main points of which we summarize below:

Having regard to the urgent need for directing education towards the training of an *élite* technically capable of participating, as soon as possible, in the direction of the State's affairs, it is sincerely hoped that all services will, in their particular fields, co-operate in sending to Belgium a few indigenous assistants who are already in the service and have given evidence of their ability to develop their knowledge in specified fields. These recommendations of the Council are not in conflict with the authority's instructions prohibiting the State Fund (*Caisse du Pays*) from awarding scholarships to persons wishing to study outside of Africa.

In view, in particular, of the fact that the Banyaruanda have no access to university education in Ruanda, the Council expresses the hope that the Government will rescind the instructions prohibiting the State Fund from awarding scholarships for university study abroad. This is justified for we are aware that Western culture is much more than science and knowledge. It is an education, a way of life, a pattern of behaviour, a sense of the common good and of respect for the human person. That culture can be acquired only by living in the proper environment, as was pointed out at the eighth session.

In addition to the foregoing and in order to promote the State's development we stress the need for much more extensive technical education.

The creation of a university in Ruanda is a problem to which we attach the greatest importance, for it fulfils the profound aspirations of the entire country, which would be prepared to accept any burden in order to attain this goal.

We echo the increasingly strong complaints regarding the language system to be adopted in the educational programme. The requirement concerning Flemish as a second language is understandable in Belgium but we fail to see why this requirement should be imposed in programmes of education for Africans. We consider it an extra burden which is not essential to our training and is of very little practical use in our lives. In our opinion greater stress should be placed on the teaching of our national language. In view of our geographical position, surrounded by English colonies, Flemish and English might be included as optional courses.

We realize the number and the complexity of the problems which arise but the effort required to find a solution in this field is justified.

For, if we share a common concern to make rapid progress towards emancipation, we must use whatever methods are necessary. The Government's interest in the solution of this problem will be a proof of its concern for us and will restore the confidence temporarily shaken by the unfavourable treatment we have received in educational matters.

Better co-ordination of services, classification of activities on the basis of their importance, selfless efforts by private bodies and by all the Banyaruanda will soon enable us to achieve the desired goal. Moreover, it is not unusual for substantial funds to be provided for projects of minor importance. We have only to look around us, there are many examples. All possible means

must be used for the training of the leaders, the State needs, and certain projects, which are for the time being a luxury, should rate second place.

B. Greater participation in the Government of our country

Indirect administration requires two parties, two parties which will co-operate. The time has come to remember this truth stated by our former Governor-General, Mr. Ryckmans; it is more pertinent than ever. There can be co-operation only if the indigenous Government of the State is effective, well-organized and entrusted with real responsibilities. While we agree that the present *élite* is not yet able to guide its political affairs alone as it does not yet have sufficient administrative skill, it must also be admitted that little children must learn to walk on their own feet. The time has come for the members of the *élite* to be trained to manage their own affairs. The indigenous Government should be co-ordinated with the Belgian Government so that the whole does not have, as at present, the appearance of an unfinished pyramid. We say unfinished because the *Mwami* who is at the head of the indigenous Government has no established services to help him in administering the State. This situation is not customary nor is it a Western administrative concept. This gap must be filled without delay by the organization of services in the CAIP as expressed in the recommendation of the High Council at its fifth and ninth sessions. Again it was Mr. Ryckmans who said that responsibility makes the good better while lack of responsibility does not make the bad less bad; the only way of preventing the bad from doing harm is to get rid of them.

Where are we to find the money to pay those who are to head those services and what will their precise functions be? The reply to the first question is that by going ahead with the system of merging chiefdoms and sub-chiefdoms, as is already being done, substantial sums can be recovered for the operation of those services.

There can be no immediate answer to the second question because it implies reforms which can only be effected through genuine co-operation between the two administrations. By means of such co-operation, functions now performed by Agents of the Belgian Administration could be transferred to indigenous officials. Since the granting of rights entails the assumption of responsibilities and duties, they would be provided with technical advice so that their apprenticeship could be completed smoothly.

The policy of small concessions must be abandoned and instead institutions must be established with sufficiently detailed powers of action to ensure broad participation in public affairs.

At the present time, the High Council of the State has only very limited powers. Admittedly, it is an advisory body, but in many cases, even its right to give advice is disputed. A decree governing its basic organization may be issued though it has had no opportunity to express its views, an ordinance directly affecting the interests of the country may be published though it has not been informed and an important decision on education may be taken without its being consulted. We regard the ordinance of the Governor-General specifying that the State Fund (*Caisse du Pays*) cannot grant a subsidy exceeding 100,000 francs without the approval of the Resident as an example of the limitation of the powers of the High Council of the State.

It is a mistake to think that we should refuse to recognize the political rights of an *élite* which has sufficient political maturity, but has not yet developed sufficient administrative skill. Moreover, the only way for the country to advance towards emancipation is by transitional stages; only thus can we avoid the difficulties which would be inevitable if we were to pass suddenly from trusteeship to freedom.

Frank collaboration should be established between the indigenous political institutions and the corresponding organizations of the Belgian Government, as between the two administrations. At the present time they seem merely to have been placed side by side and exchanges of view for the common welfare do not exist.

The Councils are often regarded as organs of recrimination and hotbeds of opposition to the Administering Authority. The

indigenous officials of its local administration often encounter difficulties in their work when they serve on the Council, so that the more prudent among them avoid it.

Our hope is that there will be greater unity expressed in better co-operation between the councils and the Administration to ensure the rapid advancement of the country. Since the decisive factor in this field as in all others is the budget, it is important that the Government's contribution towards the wages of the indigenous administrative personnel should be increased so that the State Fund should not suffer a loss.

This leads to a point which is important for ensuring a proper balance and harmony in the activities of any country, and particularly, of a new country: the co-ordination of services. All services should remain interdependent, those of the Administering Authority and those of the indigenous administration. Yet each sits in its own sealed compartment, and confines itself to its own activities as if the others did not exist and had no part in building the world of tomorrow. Yet they should all have a common purpose, namely to lead the indigenous inhabitants by stages towards self-government within a community of their own choosing.

Thus any conflict between the various services is harmful to the peoples concerned. The activities to be carried out by the services should regularly be classified in order of importance by agreement between the Vice-Government Council and the High Council of the State. The High Council, especially now that it is chosen by the people in free elections, is capable of giving an opinion which should carry weight in this matter. For example, the Council might express its view on the urgency or priority to be given to certain projects.

C. A better directed economic and social policy

The economy and the material situation also have a leading role to play in the Territory's advancement. In Ruanda, they are always represented as so discouraging as to give the impression that we are on the brink of disaster. Admittedly, Ruanda does not possess the natural wealth of the Congo, but it is also true that it has possibilities for subsistence and expansion. In any case, it is in a position which raises difficult economic problems. Some advocate federation with the Belgian Congo as a solution, and some even extol it as our only means of salvation. It cannot be rejected *a priori*; it is a proposal which deserves careful study by both sides. It must be said, however, that thus far the idea of a federation of Ruanda-Urundi and the Congo has been presented to us by the Press in a manner which arouses our worst suspicions on two grounds. We have been told the advantages but the disadvantages have been carefully glossed over. However uninitiated we may be in these questions, it is difficult to imagine that there would be everything to gain and no sacrifices to be made. We do not want to be rushed by the promoters of the federation idea into joining an organization of which we understand neither the scope nor the operation.

We should add that to us so far the Congo has had no political, social or cultural attraction which would induce us to join a federal system of which it was the preponderant part.

In that connexion, we hope that the training of effective chiefs and political advancement, will be rapid enough so that a body of sound opinion may be formed which will better guide our choice of a political and economic future. There is no doubt that the Belgian Congo would be chosen if it could offer the best possible solution to the problem of that future. The matter should therefore be more carefully studied and a free exchange of views on it should be allowed.

Another solution to the economic problem of our country is industrialization. By developing the country, industrialization would absorb a portion of the population which is now forced to go to other territories and would thereby partially solve the problem of overpopulation. But in order to industrialize, we must invest and to invest we must have capital. Our country, like all underdeveloped countries, suffers from an insufficiency of capital which neither its natural resources nor its population can supply. It is practically impossible for us to obtain locally the capital needed for investment except out of income which is already insufficient; we would have to accept fresh sacrifices

in order to achieve that objective, and they would be so painful that they could be imposed successfully only by a dictatorial and totalitarian government.

Consequently, the economic development of our States urgently requires foreign capital investment. That capital should be forthcoming from public and private sources. Public capital is used mainly for investments that yield only long-term and indirect benefits and consequently do not attract private capital. The part played by public capital investments is essential. They actually open the way for private capital investment by establishing a substructure which makes the exploitation and processing of the natural wealth of the country profitable. They are the foundations of the whole edifice. Roads open the way for farms, factories and settlements; they bring them what they need and take away what they produce. With the building of dams and power stations, new undertakings arise and existing ones expand, workshops are provided with modern equipment and industrial activity can proceed uninterruptedly.

The development of land through irrigation and other techniques makes it possible to increase crop yields. Better food for the labour force improves its physical capacity and its work output. Moreover, schools have to be opened to enable workers to acquire the training called for by modern production methods.

Consequently, it is essential that Belgium and, if need be, international organizations of Europe and America should provide us with capital for the development of our country. Belgium has been doing so for five years, but as there is still much to be done in building up a sound industrial system, we should continue to benefit from its generosity for a long time to come.

(1) Private capital seems more difficult to obtain, at least in the immediate future.

(2) It is easily understandable that the status of Trust Territory and the fear of its future emancipation sometimes intimidates those who want to invest capital. Their apprehensions are based on the unfortunate results of recent political instability. The people under colonial rule should not be held solely responsible for that situation; for while in some cases they were wrong not to respect the rights of the settlers, in others, both sides were to blame. The economic domination of the settlers, giving them a monopoly on action, is often the cause of the conflict.

(3) Although we are not sufficiently versed in the question to offer a solution which would reconcile the demands of both sides, we none the less believe such a solution to be possible.

(4) We leave to more competent people the task of finding an adequate solution, but we believe it should be based on the principle of a merging of interests in an atmosphere free of racial discrimination. We ask private companies and firms to have more confidence in making more investments in our country. We are prepared to guarantee that confidence if they will first show their confidence in us by an association of interests with the indigenous population.

(5) In principle, no undertaking should be planned unless the State contributes a share of investment. We are informed, for example, that the electrification of the north of Ruanda is being planned. The High Council of the State hopes that the State Fund (*Caisse du Pays*) will contribute financially to that investment.

D. Reducing colour prejudice

A fundamental problem in our country now is undoubtedly that of human relations between whites and non-whites. The theme is often and widely discussed by all who bear in mind the future of Belgian overseas territories.

The visit of His Majesty, King Baudouin I, to the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi was a wonderful lesson in fraternal human relationships, an admirable appeal for co-operation and understanding between blacks and whites. When he returned to Belgium after making striking contacts with his African subjects, the King at once gave expression to the message which had been forming in his mind during his journey. He

said unequivocally that the relations between blacks and whites were now the crux of the problem in the Congo.

"It is not enough to provide the country with capital, equipment and a wise social legislation and to raise the standard of living of its people; the whites and the Native population should give proof in their daily contacts of the broadest possible mutual understanding. A time will then come—at a date we cannot yet determine—when we must give our African territories a statute which will ensure for the happiness of all, that a real and lasting Belgian-Congolese community is established which will guarantee to everyone, both black and white, the share he deserves, and which his capacities indicate, in the government of the country. But much still remains for us to do, before we can accomplish this great ideal."

The King addressed these wise words to the members of the *Cercle Royal Africain* on 1 July 1955. They bore out the policy initiated or developed by Governor-General Pétillon.

Much, indeed, remains to be done, for there are many whites in our country who are incapable of understanding the lesson given by the King, incapable, too of responding to the appeal he launched.

They think that all that need be done to form a team is to walk side by side and avoid bumping into each other. But collisions are inevitable between those treading the rough road of Eurafrican destinies. Polite tolerance alone is not enough to obliterate the memory of clashes which are all the more frequent as many Europeans have little understanding of African ideas.

Some have thought that the debt of gratitude our country owes to Belgium should be enough to make Belgium's wards accept anything that may occur in the course of this journey together. Nothing could be more mistaken. Gratitude is not a feeling which it is easy to develop, for blacks any more than for whites. Moreover, no creditor has ever won the affections of his debtor by reminding him of his debt.

The indigenous peoples are much more likely to give their affections to those who offer them a decent market and prospects for the future than to those who remind them of their debts at every turn. Such creditors not only reduce the merit of their action but impair their own dignity as well.

Among the dividing forces, Governor-General Pétillon says, "we must condemn in the first place the attitude of indifference, of antipathy, of hostility even, which certain people adopt towards certain others. Nothing is more irreparably harmful than the indiscriminate wounding of self-respect, for such wounds have always and everywhere been those which festered soonest. Here, as time passes, they become more serious. Their frequency, I am glad to say, is declining, but such wounds as are inflicted go deeper. It sometimes happens that they are caused by individuals whose education and training, office and functions make them all the more blameworthy. There are still far too many Europeans with a certain amount of authority, whose relations with the indigenous inhabitants are initiated by their attitude of haughty condescension, of wounding familiarity and, at times, of roughness or even brutality".

There are, again, men and women—we have certain individuals in mind and we hope that they will know we mean them—who, in their words, writings, gestures or attitude, behave as if they were in a conquered country.

The time seems to have come to say to them as Governor-General Eboué said in different circumstances: "If there are some who do not agree with us about the policy we have chosen, we shall not hold it against them; they may go elsewhere. We shall bid them a courteous farewell".

There is, furthermore, a political discrimination whereby indigenous and white officials have different status, the difference being such that a European at the lowest level, that of Territorial Agent, is far and way above an African of the highest grade, that of Assistant Territorial Agent—a grade which, incidentally, no African under Belgian administration has yet succeeded in reaching.

Until recently it would have been objected that the difference was due to the lack of training and the inadequate output of African personnel. But now there are examples which gave the lie to that claim, for there are educated Africans who are better qualified than the Territorial Agents to whom nevertheless they are hierarchically subordinate, and the difference between their salaries would seem no longer justified. Obviously this policy, which shuts all doors in the face of indigenous intellectuals, is incompatible with the objective set by the King—the creation of a Belgian-Congolese, a Belgian-Urundian community, or if it is preferred, a sovereign Belgian Federation, for both community and federation presuppose equality.

The most dangerous form of segregation is legislative discrimination, for it places an insuperable barrier in the way of any endeavour on the part of those with generous hearts—and there are some—and effectively prevents any sort of compromise, even when the public conscience calls for it, for unhappily the law changes less quickly than public opinion. Belgian colonial legislation contains no basic laws which are discriminatory unless it be those which are favourable to the African communities. Nevertheless this spirit may be found in some of the measures implementing the laws—in more of them than one might imagine.

The great problem in our country today in the matter of human relations is that of social justice. Blacks and Europeans must be brought together if there is to be any better understanding, any closer collaboration between them. But it so happens that those among us who are best equipped to bring about this *rapprochement* encounter a difficulty of an economic kind which it has not so far been possible to overcome. I have in mind those who are sufficiently well educated to be able to make genuine contacts but who are unable to achieve that material equality without which relations are confined to official encounters and to purely platonic exchanges of views in study groups or at other intellectual events, which always require a one-sided effort from the representatives of the European contingent. Financial inequality thus makes it impossible for them to extend their relations to the manifold details of everyday life and thereby to create, let alone cement, their friendship.

If salaries are to be equal then it is essential, first and foremost, that the output should be equal. Are there any blacks who are capable of an output equal to that of the Europeans? It can be said with certainty that there are. To them it is only right that justice should be done and that they should be paid according to their output and not according to the colour of their skin. This subject of economic discrimination will prove inexhaustible to anyone who ponders it. The position of the educated class in the country is such that all, without exception, adopt an attitude of resignation, waiting for a possible liberator. If he does not come from Belgium, then he may come from somewhere else, and that is certainly not the solution we would hope for.

Attempts have been made to set up anti-discriminatory institutions in order to remedy this situation, which is one of the most deplorable ones. Mixed religious, cultural, professional and sporting societies have been created, and insurance bodies, household management schools, and needlework classes, study groups and women's charitable organizations have been started. We should not wish to minimize the value of such an effort at improving relations and increasing contact in which genuine good will has been shown on both sides; nevertheless, it must be recognized that these are merely ameliorative measures and that relations formed by these means are somewhat lacking in spontaneity.

Much more could be expected, however, if the *rapprochement* were based on a reduction of the difference in income between the two groups of the population, for normal social relations presuppose at the very least a similarity of means. There is no doubt, however, that the gap between the two income curves is steadily diminishing and that all that is needed is to accelerate a movement which has already begun. The increase in the number of schools and, more especially, the establishment of many secondary schools and of a university will very shortly help to remove the second obstacle to the development of

normal social relations. Considerable efforts must still be made to improve the education of girls, for it is a fact that firm social links can be established only between families. But real comradeship leading to enduring friendships can occur only if young people associate together from their school-days onward.

The encouragement of private enterprise is an effective way of combatting racial discrimination from the legislative and economic points of view. Whether in the industrial or in the commercial spheres the same rights ought to be accorded under the same conditions. Special support should be given to indigenous inhabitants who prove themselves capable of undertaking a successful enterprise even if they do not quite fulfil the conditions required in the matter of skill and capital. The best way would be by means of technical advice and financial help, so far as that was possible.

We must also stress the importance of the Press, which can play a decisive part in the country's development. In his opening address to the last council of the Government-General, Governor-General Pétillon spoke of the delicate mission of the Press. It can strongly influence public opinion, he said, and cannot therefore escape the normal rule that where there are powers there are duties. In a country which is in the process of being formed, the duties of the Press require it to refrain from any action which could lead to division or, worse still,

to set against each other people who have chosen to live together.

It often happens, however, that the local and sometimes the metropolitan Press echo a disruptive policy. The freedom of the Press is very important and should be expressly recognized.

On the other hand a free and representative indigenous Press should be encouraged and should become much more active.

Conclusion

From what has been said, it will be seen that it is absolutely essential that a plan of organization should be prepared jointly by our country and our guardian, Belgium.

The plan would have the double advantage of showing us where we are being taken, and thereby of dispelling mistrust, and of enabling us to make known our own desires regarding our country's future.

The composition of a body to draft and co-ordinate the execution of this plan cannot yet be determined; long preliminary exchanges of views between the competent authorities would be necessary, but the important thing is that it should be inter-racial in order to give concrete form to that union which is the star by which our steps are guided towards the ultimate goal of our efforts, that of progress in the real sense of the word.

ANNEX III

Itinerary of the Visiting Mission

Date (1957)	Place	Remark
18 September	Usumbura	Arrival Usumbura from Tanganyika
19 September	Usumbura	Meetings with the Governor and heads of departments. Briefing on the organization and situation of Ruanda-Urundi Visit of the <i>Office des cafés indigènes du Ruanda-Urundi</i> Visit of Prince Charles Hospital Visit of social centre Visit of vocational school Visit of public works on the new road Usumbura-Astrida Visit of constructions of the <i>Office des cités africaines</i> at Ngagara Visit of exhibition of indigenous pottery art of the Kibeta school Meeting of <i>Conseil de centre</i> of Usumbura
20 September	Usumbura	Visit of <i>Collège interracial du Saint-Esprit</i> Visit of the Ruzizi <i>paysannat</i> and the rice-growing <i>paysannat</i> at Mubone Visit of the veterinary farm of Ruanda Visit of the administrative centre of Kihanga Visit of the construction works of the new Usumbura airport Visit of the new inland port of Usumbura Meeting the members of the General Council of Ruanda-Urundi at a reception given by this Council
21 September	Usumbura-Kitega	Visit of the <i>Institut national pour l'étude agronomique du Congo belge</i> station at Kisozi Visit of Kibumbu sanatorium Visit of Kibumbu hospital and maternity centre Arrival at Kitega
22 September	Kitega	
23 September	Kitega	Visit of Kitega: offices of the <i>Territoire</i> and of the <i>Résidence</i> ; prison; social centre Meeting of the High Council of the <i>Pays</i> Visit of the Museum of Urundi Visit of Urundi administrative centre and reception by the <i>Mwami Group A</i> : visit of the Mosso <i>paysannat</i> <i>Group B</i> : visit of Bihumugani chiefdom; meeting agriculturists members of the Renga co-operative
24 September	Kitega-Astrida	Meeting of the <i>Ngozi Conseil de territoire</i> Visit of Ngozi farm Visit of the Astrida <i>Groupe scolaire</i> and fish hatchery and agricultural centre
25 September	Astrida	Visit of the veterinary laboratory Visit of the <i>Institut pour la recherche scientifique en Afrique centrale</i> and of the Museum of Ruanda Visit of the Arboretum Visit of the social centre Visit of the <i>Cercle des évolués</i>

<i>Date (1957)</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Remark</i>
26 September	Astrida	Visit of the social workers school and the Mission at Gisagara Meeting of sub-chiefdom council Visit of Ntyazo <i>paysannat</i> Films on Ancient Ruanda and on the 1956 elections
27 September	Astrida-Gitarama	Visit of the <i>Institut national pour l'étude agronomique du Congo belge</i> station at Rubona Reception by the <i>Mwami</i> of Ruanda at Nyanza Visit of the administrative centre of the <i>Pays</i> Session of the High Council of the <i>Pays</i> Visit of the North pilot scheme at Butare
28 September	Gitarama-Kigali	Visit of the Vicariate of Kabgayi; museum, schools, hospital, maternity centre, seminary Visit of Shyogwe Protestant mission
29 September	Kigali	Festivities on the occasion of the " <i>Joyeuse Entrée</i> " of the <i>Mwami</i> on the occasion of his 25 years of reign
30 September	Kigali	Visit of the SOMUKI mines at Rutongo Hearings at Kigali Visit of vocational school of Salesian Brothers Visit of the domestic science and primary schools of the Bernardine Sisters
1 October	Kigali-Kisenyi	Visit of ETIRU flour mill at Ruhengeri Visit of Rwankeri veterinary station Visit of waterworks of the Bugoyi
2 October	Kisenyi	Visit of GAZKIVU station (piping of methane gas) Visit of Nkora co-operative Hearings at Kisenyi
3 October	Kisenyi	Visit to the Apostolic Vicar at Nyundo
4 October	Kisenyi-Bukavu	Visit of Kibuye administrative centre
5 October	Bukavu-Usumbura	Visit of the hydro-electric plant of the Ruzizi Hearings at Usumbura
6 October	Usumbura	Commercial night fishing on Lake Tanganyika
7 October	Usumbura	Interview and discussions with the Governor and the Provincial Commissioner Hearings
8 October	Usumbura	Hearings Visit of the <i>Athénée</i> , Asian school, <i>Alliance Protestante</i>
9 October	Usumbura	Hearings
10 October	Usumbura-Léopoldville	
11/12 October	Léopoldville	Meeting with the Governor-General of the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi Visit of Lovanium University
13 October		Departure for Rome

ANNEX IV

List of communications received by the Visiting Mission

- Letters and memorandum from Mr. Kizito Gitambala, dated 12 September and 9 October 1957.
- Letters from Mr. Antoine Bigiraneza, dated 18 and 21 September and 8 October 1957.
- Letters from Mr. Barnabé Ntunguka, dated 18 and 19 September and 9 October 1957.
- Letters from Messrs. Mavungu, Kagimbi and Rusharabiki, dated 16 August, 18 September and 9 October 1957.
- Letter and memorandum from Mr. Masudi Siwatu and seventeen others, dated 17 September 1957.
- Letters from Mr. Shauri Mahamudu, dated 18 September and 6 October 1957 (circulated as document T/PET.3/88 and Add.1).
- Letter from Mr. Antoine Bashahu, dated 14 September 1957.
- Letter from Mr. Mustāfa bin Ali Habashi, dated 16 September 1957.
- Letter from Mr. Abdallah bin Mohamed, dated 13 September 1957.
- Letter from Mr. Mathias Rugurika, dated 18 September 1957 (circulated as document T/PET.3/87).
- Letter from Mr. Joseph Mukendi, dated 8 October 1957.
- Letter from Mr. Maheruka Kihogoma, dated 25 September 1957.
- Memorandum from the Ligue des droits de l'homme du Ruanda-Urundi (Dr. Van Saceghem and Mr. Rabaud), dated 2 October 1957.
- Memorandum from Mr. Augustin Gahuranyi; not dated.
- Letter from Mr. Hussen Nur Mohamed, dated 27 September 1957.
- Letter from Mr. André Mashambert, dated 30 September 1957.
- Letter from Mr. Kabondo, dated 15 September 1957.
- Memorandum from Mr. François Rukeba, dated 29 September 1957.
- Letter from Mr. Jean Kibibiro, dated 27 September 1957 (circulated as document T/PET.3/89).
- Letter from Mr. E. Rutiba, not dated.
- Anonymous memorandum ("Les Barundi"), dated 19 September 1957.
- Anonymous memorandum ("Nous, Barundi"), not dated.
- Anonymous memorandum ("De nombreux Barundi"), not dated.
- Anonymous letter ("Waswahili"), dated 22 September 1957.
- Anonymous letter ("Nous, Banyaruanda"), not dated.
- Anonymous memorandum, dated 23 September 1957.

RESOLUTION 1906 (XXII) ADOPTED BY THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL ON 25 JULY 1958

REPORTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS VISITING MISSION TO TRUST TERRITORIES IN EAST AFRICA, 1957

The Trusteeship Council,

Having examined, at its twenty-first session, the reports of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1957, on Tanganyika¹ and Ruanda-Urundi² and, at its twenty-second session, the report of the Visiting Mission on Somaliland under Italian administration,³

Having also examined the written observations submitted by the Governments of the United Kingdom⁴ and of Italy⁵ concerning the reports on Tanganyika and Somaliland, respectively, and the oral observations made by the representative of Belgium concerning the report on Ruanda-Urundi,

1. *Takes note* of the reports of the Visiting Mission and of the observations of the Administering Authorities thereon;

¹ See *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Twenty-first Session, Supplement No. 2*, document T/1345.

² *Ibid.*, *Twenty-first Session, Supplement No. 3*, document T/1346.

³ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-second Session, Supplement No. 2*, document T/1344.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-first Session, Supplement No. 2*, document T/1362.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-second Session, Supplement No. 2*, document T/1396.

2. *Expresses its appreciation* of the work accomplished by the Visiting Mission on its behalf;

3. *Draws attention* to the fact that, at its twenty-first and twenty-second sessions, in formulating its own conclusions and recommendations on conditions in the Trust Territories concerned, the Council took into account the observations and conclusions of the Visiting Mission and the observations of the Administering Authorities thereon;

4. *Decides* that it will continue to take these observations and conclusions into account in future examinations of matters relating to the Trust Territories concerned;

5. *Invites* the Administering Authorities concerned to give consideration to the conclusions of the Visiting Mission as well as to the comments made thereon by the members of the Trusteeship Council;

6. *Decides*, in accordance with rule 99 of its rules of procedure, that the reports of the Visiting Mission, together with the written observations submitted by the Governments of Italy and of the United Kingdom and the present resolution, shall be printed;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to make arrangements for the printing of these documents at the earliest possible date.