

to the Belgian Senate on the results of his studies. He told in detail how he thought it advisable to create a native peasantry and gave his ideas on the subject. Due to his keen initiative there was created the Ineac, *Institut National des Brudes Agricoles du Congo*, of which he became the first president. It should be mentioned in passing that the Belgian sovereigns have always taken a deep interest in the work of colonization.

What Ineac has already done for the agricultural economy of the Congo is immeasurable. This institute is one of the most fertile fruits of colonial Belgium.

The policy of native agriculture is in full swing in the Congo. The natives in Ruanda-Urundi now produce coffee and efficiently manage their huge herds of cattle. They also raise cattle in Kivu, and here also is a superb plantation of cinchona trees (quinine bark) belonging to a local tribe. Both in the north and south of the Congo, which has the advantage of two seasons because of its equatorial position, the natives produce a large amount of cotton. In the plantation programs, begun before the war, it was foreseen that, next to the European plantations where they learned the culture of rubber trees, the natives would start their own plantations. The rubber tree yields only seven years after planting and the Congo natives would not undertake growing the trees on their own until they had seen the results for themselves.

The Belgians successfully introduced cattle into parts of the Congo where it had never been raised before. Now there are splendid herds in the lower Congo, in Kasai and Katanga. Great care must still be exercised; however it will not be long before the natives start this difficult operation for themselves after learning the proper methods of breeding and care.

There is also the task of teaching the natives in the mining districts and elsewhere to grow their own food, an idea which was completely new to them.

This, then, is the trend of Belgian policy, a policy which is of major importance in the civilization of the natives and for the future of the Congo.

Native Participation

The organization of public life, the participation of the native, first in his country's administration and later in his own government is without doubt the first duty of a colonizer. It is the framework necessary to the whole.

How Belgium organized its white administration in the Congo is perhaps of less interest than whether or not, as has been said and written recently, the natives in the Congo are participating in the administration and whether the Belgians are working toward the development of native self-government.

The fact is that the natives are associated with their own administration and with their own laws when they follow their customs of tribal life. And when they leave their ancestral homes to live a more individualistic life in new centers, they are given an appropriate form of self-administration.

Conforming to the conception that colonization must be made in the interest of the natives, the Belgians intend to pursue progressively the emancipation of their native people. By emancipation is meant the chance of conducting themselves independently of the mother country. But the Belgians believe that a durable autonomy must begin from the bottom, that is to say the education of the small cells of colonial territory. The natives have been accustomed to live with their tribes under the complete domination of their chiefs who had their own conception, shared by their subjects, of a sort of "jus fruenti, utendi et abutendi" of their people and possessions, beyond the meaning of the Latin expression as it is known to us.

Throughout the Congo these tribal organizations have been adapted as native administrative cells. Each cell has its chief who has had to be taught—and upon occasion is still being taught—that he exercises authority for the members of the tribe, that these members are not his property and that the possessions of the tribe and its taxes are quite apart from his own property. These were revolutionary ideas for the natives and especially so for ancient chiefs.

workshops, hospitals, veterinary hospitals, etc. In 1941, they allotted to this use more than 8,000,000 francs.

In addition, tasks formerly done by a large number of Europeans, such as the collecting of taxes, draining of marshes, the fight against erosion, reforestation and the maintenance of the cotton and coffee plantations, are all carried out by native assistants. Here also, the administration and application of native law is in the hands of natives.

In the Ruanda-Urundi, all native chiefs are part of one hierarchy under the "Mutara (King) Kudahigwa." The Queen-Mother "Nyira Mavugo" has kept her power over all. She has her own council of ancients, as has the King, who is assisted by a white counsellor.

There are those who think that the Belgian Congo is not pushing forward quickly enough, that the government should attempt to Europeanize the chiefs with all speed so that they could rule after their own fashion which presumably would follow the principles of white civilization.

There is room for serious doubt on the question. There have been notable examples of the kind, and, in spite of the learning and backing given the natives, the results for them were far inferior to those of the Belgian Congo. There is a Flemish proverb which says "That which is destined to live long, grows slowly." To civilize a people takes much time. To civilize does not mean to Europeanize. To civilize the natives of Central Africa is to teach them to live like modern human beings, to provide them with a better material life and to open their intelligence to ideas which they may be able to grasp or which they may turn to suit their nature. To civilize a Negro is not to try to make him a white man; it is to help him become a good and fine Negro for himself and his brothers.

Open Door Policy

There is one last and important aspect of colonial policy, one which goes beyond the native and concerns the world.

The chief has his own council. He and his counsellors are selected according to their own customs. In principle the white authority does not interfere except in unusual cases where custom could not be applied. The European authority induces the chief in a solemn ceremony during which he is recognized by his people and receives his emblems of office.

The various tribes have their own levies which are used in the general interest of their territory. At one time a number of districts had a considerable excess of income, and it was decided to use this excess to aid the less fortunate tribes—the richer ones lending a hand to the poorer.

The natives also administer their own laws. Justice is meted out by native tribunals according to their tribal law. The designated judges cannot, however, apply customs which are contrary to public order; neither can they enforce customs which contravene legislation brought about in the interest of native welfare. Native tribunals can also sometimes sit on cases where the written law must be applied.

The rapid evolution of a new country like the Congo brings about situations completely strange to the old framework of the tribes. One sees natives of different origin mingling together in the industrial and commercial centers and missions. These gatherings have been organized under a separate form of "extra-custom centers," special native communities and towns where the state selects the chief, picks his council, and these administer the community not according to any one tribal custom but by common tribal principles. A white official assists them with his counsel. Under this system, Leopoldville has an extra-custom center of 50,000 natives, while Elisabethville has an equally important community. There are many more with smaller populations. Each day brings added proof of the success of the venture and gives great hope for the future.

In the Ruanda-Urundi this system has been developed to an even higher degree. The districts have a budget independent from that of the Belgian administration which controls them. With their own resources they can follow their own initiative, build markets,

At the birth of the Independent State of the Congo, its representatives at the Berlin Conference in 1885 were asked to accept, and did accept, the open-door policy as well as other obligations such as the suppression of the slave trade, etc. From that time the policy of the open door, which can also be called commercial liberty, has never ceased in the Belgian Congo. It is the most liberal and the most generous policy, and the one that can most quickly bring about the harmonious development of a colonial country.

This second duty is being executed by an "open-door policy" which has been defined as "the policy of the free development of the material resources of colonies for the common benefit." In other words, it is for the benefit of mankind that the material resources of colonial territories should be freely available to all, and that all should have access to the supplies they furnish and the markets they afford.

In agreement with Lord Lugard on the principle of "Indirect Rule Policy," the Belgian Government also agrees with him on what he calls the second duty of the colonizer, to make the natural resources of his territory available to the entire world.

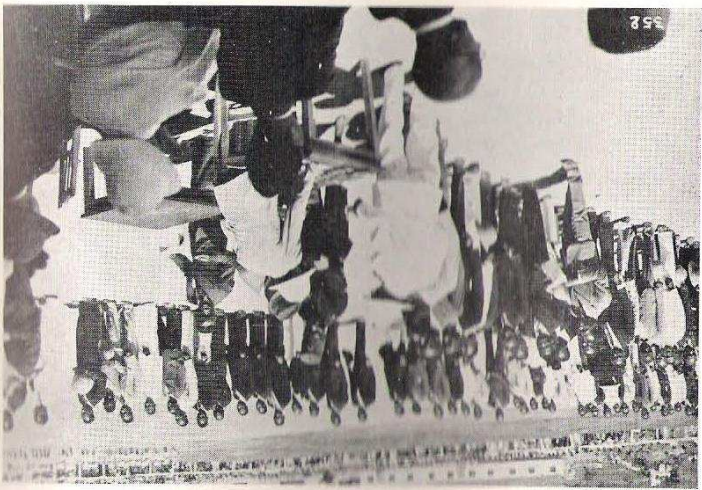
Lord Lugard, that great colonial and co-spirit of the Lyautays and the Van Vollenhovens who made Nigeria into a peaceful, prosperous and civilized territory in the twenty years from 1903 to 1923, expressed himself thus in his book, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*: "The colonial powers have their task as trustees on the one hand for the advancement of the subject races and on the other hand for the development of material resources for the benefit of mankind." This primordial "duty to promote the well-being (economic, social and political) of the native population of a colony" has been carried out in the Congo. "But," Lord Lugard continues, "there is another and second duty, which is that of promoting the well-being of the world at large and humanity in general (because the world at large and humanity in general must be regarded as a beneficiary of the trust), and of doing so by developing the resources of dependencies with a view to their full and free enjoyment by the general comity of mankind."

BELGIAN COLONIAL POLICY

THE BELGINS SUCCESSFULLY INTRODUCED CATTLE BREEDING INTO NEW DISTRICTS OF THE CONGO



WHEN WAR BROKE OUT MANY CONGO NATIVES VOLUNTEERED FOR SERVICE IN THE COLONY'S ARMED FORCES, ENABLING THE FORMATION OF A STRONG AND HIGHLY EQUIPPED ARMY



BELGIAN COLONIAL POLICY

Metropolitan Belgium is favored neither by a priority on the Congo's exports or imports nor with any privilege in its trade. This system has greatly profited the Congo and increased its development. And up to the present no better colonial economic theory has been found to replace it. The war obviously prevents its operation because of reasons that need no comment.

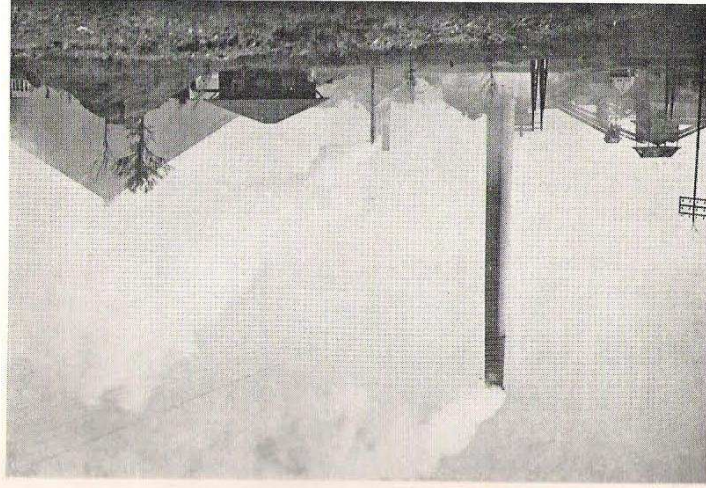
Cooperation with Private Enterprise

The internal economic policy of the Congo is not only concerned with native affairs but also with maintaining a proper relationship with the companies which exploit the resources of the territory. This relationship, which has been much criticized and often envied, is one of the main contributory factors to the Congo's rapid development.

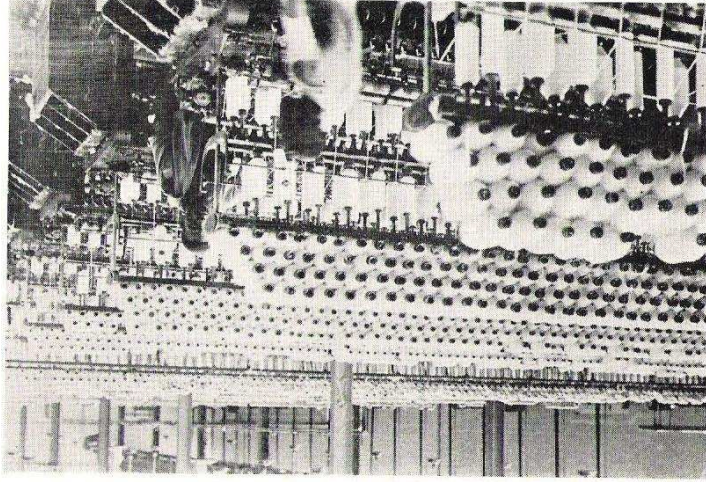
Capital was required to extract the wealth of the Congo. Leopold II obtained this capital by granting large concessions—too large, some say, now that success has crowned the efforts of the colony.

Each time that a renewal of contract presented an opportunity to reduce territorial concessions this reduction was successfully achieved. Such a policy has been particularly applied to those concessions which have not been sufficiently developed within a specified time. There are tremendous sums of money invested in the Belgian Congo. The capital is mainly of Belgian origin; but there are also important British and American investments as well as several others. The Congo has been and is open to all sound initiative.

In return for concessions accorded, the Independent State of the Congo (and after it the Belgian Congo) took a share in the biggest colonial enterprises, that is to say in most of the mining companies and transport companies and also in a few stock-breeding enterprises. Thus the collective enterprise benefits the state to an important degree. If the Belgian Congo has, as some have remarked, a heavy public debt, it also possesses a substantial purse to offset the debt.



LARGE INDUSTRIES HAVE SPRUNG UP IN THE COLONY TO TREAT ITS GREAT MINERAL AND VEGETABLE RESOURCES. ABOVE: A COPPER MINE



OTHER INDUSTRIES, SUCH AS PALM OIL MILLS, BREWERIES, CEMENT WORKS, CHEMICAL WORKS AND TEXTILE FACTORIES, ARE ACTIVE IN MANY CENTERS.

There has been some criticism of the system. It is said that the influence of the capitalist groups is too great, that four great companies dominate the Congo, etc. But the fact is that there are in the Congo not four companies but about 350. If the government has had a notable success in its policy of protecting the native worker, it is mainly because the big companies have created, in accordance with the government, and conforming to social legislation, social and medical set-ups which have done them honor and have been a boon to the black workers. Not only have fine villages been built for the workers' families in the copper, tin, diamond and gold mines as well as the rubber and palm-oil plantations, but ultra-modern hospitals and maternity centers have been created by private enterprise which are open to the entire region, that is to say also to the people who are not company employees.

There may be objections that the companies act in their own interest. But is it not a fact that for human beings in general and especially in economic matters, interest is the prime motivator? And when interest or will is lacking, the state is on hand to assume its responsibilities and make the employer fulfill his obligations.

It may well be said that when the interest of capital merges with the general interest and the proper interest of the worker very valuable results can be achieved.

This is the formula followed in the Congo. The big companies cooperate with the state and the state with the companies in the general interest. But the state has and must have the last word.

Conclusion

At this moment the Congo is taking part with all its strength in the war effort of Belgium and the United Nations. The Africans are as interested as the Belgians—if not more so—in the final victory of liberty and right in the world. The Congolese would have little to expect from the followers of race ideology, and they know it.

The Congo's part in the war effort is wholehearted and with out reserve.

Full praise is due those colonials both white and black who have shown such devotion and ardor. They have distinguished themselves on the military front by helping the British drive the Italians from Ethiopia and fervently hope to do so again elsewhere. They distinguish themselves daily on the production front under an exacting climate and exhausting living conditions.

Not much has been said of the future and yet it is of the future that all sensible people think and about which too many people not always competent, talk.

Before working out any postwar plans, an examination should be made of some of the ideas which have recently been projected. One formula proposes the autonomy of colonial peoples in the shortest possible time. Reaffirming that colonization is carried out in the interest of the native population and must allow its progressive emancipation, it would nevertheless be dangerous to act against nature by upsetting an evolution which tends to bring the native from the stone age to the contemporary world. Evidence shows that in general the Negroes of Central Africa are far from the political maturity necessary to permit them to take advantage of any proffered independence.

In many colonial countries, peace, justice and medical care are only assured because of the presence of a European authority. A white withdrawal from the Congo would be followed by complete anarchy, and the absence of an organized police force would be the signal for disorders. The role of colonizer carries a responsibility that cannot lightly be cast off.

How would one judge a guardian who, instead of assisting his charge in his personal life as well as in his legacy, would abandon him to his fate with no regard to the future of the child and his property.

A second plan recently advocated is the placement of colonies under an international administration.

BELGIAN COLONIAL POLICY

There is probably no advised colonial who could seek to divide the responsibility of creating a colony. When parents, who form a single unit, educate their child, their love and authority are one and are applied to the best interests of the child. When the father and mother are disunited, the child's upbringing suffers by consequence. The natives are children, something of children whom a parent loves and for whose well-being he strives. Condominium can hardly be a good influence for the native.

Finally, a third formula for the administration of colonies has been put forward, i.e., the establishment of regional colonial councils. It is easy to mention fields of action on which neighboring colonies could agree. In the fight against tropical diseases and against plagues which afflict a particular region, common measures are taken by the various countries concerned and are coordinated with the efforts of their neighbors. Similarly, where transport is concerned, it is natural that an understanding be reached to make communications better and more efficient. Beyond this, it is difficult to imagine any decisions of a wider nature that may exclude the mother country as well as the rest of the outside world.

The African colonies, generally speaking, do not have sufficient economic power or political authority to decide on their own status.

And if the regional *entente* should aspire to isolation from the rest of the world, it would constitute a retrogression from the ideal of healthy internationalism towards which the United Nations are moving.

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