

UNITED NATIONS

TRUSTEESHIP  
COUNCIL



PROVISIONAL

T/PV.661

17 February 1956

ENGLISH

Seventeenth Session

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIX HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Friday, 17 February 1956, at 10.30 a.m.

President:

Mr. SEARS

(United States of America)

Examination of conditions in Ruanda-Urundi [3b, 4] (continued)

Note: The Official Record of this meeting, i.e., the summary record, will appear in mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.661. Delegations may submit corrections to the summary record for incorporation in the final version which will appear in a printed volume.

56-04314

## EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN RUANDA-URUNDI:

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY FOR 1954 (T/1197, 1201 and 1223) [Agenda item 3 b]
- (b) PETITIONS CIRCULATED UNDER RULE 85, PARA. 2, OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL (T/PET.3/L.5 and 6) [Agenda item 4] (continued)

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Leroy, special representative for Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration, took a place at the Trusteeship Council table.

General debate

Mr. RIFAI (Syria): Before I make my observations on the progress of Ruanda-Urundi towards the objectives of the Trusteeship System, I should like to draw the attention of the Council to a point relating to its procedure.

I must confess that I am not very happy about our method of work. The last few days, during which this organ has witnessed a rather dreary and, to a large extent, superfluous elicitation of information, have increased my worries in this regard. It is no exaggeration to say that most of the questions which were addressed to the special representative by my delegation and others have already been asked at preceding sessions of this council when the conditions in this Territory were under examination. The answers which were furnished by him were no less repititious, due to no fault of his, I would hasten to add, but to the nature of these questions since, when one asks the same question of the same person, it is only natural that he should receive the same answer.

It is my view that such a situation cannot be allowed to continue without harm. I should not, perhaps, be too concerned about the element of time, although it becomes a little perturbing when the questioning period far exceeds that which we devote to consideration of other aspects of our work and extends over such a disproportionate number of days.

The main problem, however, stems from the almost insignificant addition to our knowledge of conditions in the Trust Territory concerned over what is usually contained in the Administering Authority's report and the supplementary statement of its special representative. In this way the Council fails, in my opinion, to appreciate the yearly progress in the Trust Territories and, except in a very

(Mr. Rifai, Syria)

small degree, one is unable to gauge the development of these areas towards the objectives of the Trusteeship System unless one attempts a careful review covering many years past. This appears to be well nigh impossible for many delegations represented on this body which happens to have a limited staff. Hence, it is necessary to look into this problem and attempt to find a reasonable solution, be it through a different approach to our work, or with the aid of the Administering Authority, or a combination of both.

It seems to me that, as long as the reports of the Administering Authorities continue to reflect the past more than the present and to appear in this voluminous form, we shall not be able to solve this problem.

Obviously, every Territory has a set of serious problems which have existed since it was first placed under the supervision of the United Nations. Such problems will continue to take our attention and to call for the same questions as long as they are dealt with in a general way in the reports of the Administering Authorities.

Regardless of the repeated recommendations of the Council on these matters, it is at times difficult to discern the yearly progress towards their solution, or, for that matter, to find out specifically to what extent these recommendations have been implemented by the Administering Authorities. The special representative for Ruanda-Urundi will recall, I am sure, my question about the lack of specific reference in the report to the effect given to the recommendations of the Trusteeship Council and the resolutions of the General Assembly.

To put my thoughts in a nutshell, I would say that, in view of the form of the reports of the Administering Authorities and the lack of more up to date data on the conditions in the Trust Territories and the measures taken to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the recommendations of the Trusteeship Council, the questioning period, which is an important part of our method of work, is decreasing in value and becoming increasingly a sheer waste of time.

(Mr. Rifai, Syria)

My delegation cannot view this situation with equanimity. We have attempted in the past to rectify this state of affairs, but our efforts have proved of no avail. It seems to us that, in view of the greater awareness on the part of the Council of the issues at stake, a fresh effort to solve this problem may not prove as futile. I concede that we cannot expect an easy and peremptory solution of our difficulty, but with a show of good will we may not feel so pessimistic about the results. In a constructive spirit, my delegation offers the following suggestions for the consideration of the Council.

In the first place, we believe that the Secretariat should be asked to prepare a study embodying a number of possible suggestions, including a revision of our rules of procedure. In the second place, we believe that the Administering Authorities could greatly aid us in this endeavour if they were to agree to submit shortly before the Council convenes supplementary reports containing detailed information on the implementation of the recommendations of the Council and of the General Assembly. In our view, the opening statements of the special representatives, valuable as they are, cannot be a satisfactory substitute for such a supplementary report.

I crave your indulgence, Mr. President, and that of my colleagues on this Council for these rather lengthy digressive remarks. I offer them with the deepest sense of the importance of this question in the effective discharge of our duties.

I turn now to Ruanda-Urundi. In view of what I said earlier, I wish to state sincerely that I have failed to grasp the full picture of the Territory's development towards the objectives of the Trusteeship System during the course of the past year. May I be forgiven, then, if I deal with the problems which still beset the Territory generally, or, at least, as I could comprehend them from the Administering Authority's report, which does not go beyond 1953, the Visiting Mission's report of last year which, though more up to date, was examined by this Council during its fifteenth session, and from whatever additional information I could elicit from the special representative? I would have preferred, instead of expressing views that have already been expressed by my delegation, to deal with the most recent strides of the Territory towards the aims set for it in the United Nations Charter. I do not wish for a moment to imply by these words that

Ruanda-Urundi has not experienced a steady progress towards these ultimate objectives. There are signs in many fields of discernible advancement, and loyalty to the high principle that praise should be given when praise is due and blame when blame is due must dictate our congratulations for the good things that have been achieved as well as our criticisms for what we honestly believe to be wrong. I shall be guided by this principle in my dissertation.

It is still difficult for us to subscribe to what seems to be the policy on which the Belgian Administration of the Territory is predicated. We believe that progress must proceed simultaneously in all fields and that special emphasis on economic development alone is not conducive to the realization of the objectives of the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement in a reasonable span of time. Recently, the Administering Authority has begun to show some interest in political development, and that in response to the constant urgings of the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly. The outlook, however, still betrays a lack of balance between the efforts of the Administration in the political field and in the other fields. The reforms that were initiated in 1952 can at best be considered as rudimentary, for, while reorganizing the political structure of the Territory on a seemingly more modern basis, it gives the people of Ruanda-Urundi little beyond a consultative role in the conduct of their affairs. It is indeed gratifying to note from the representative of Belgium that only in the rarest of cases are the wishes of the indigenous people, as expressed by their representatives in the various representative bodies existing in the Territory, ignored by the Administration, but the fact remains that the Territory is undergoing a very slow political evolution.

The suffrage is still indirect and very limited, and traditional concepts are still militating against the devolution of any responsibility to the less fortunate sections of these people. Moreover, there is a very small number of indigenous people who are exercising administrative functions of any importance. The Trusteeship Council has already drawn the attention of the Administering Authority to all these points, but there is slight indication that energetic action is being taken to remedy this state of affairs. The special representative has apprised us of the intentions of his Government to broaden the basis of popular consultation. This is indeed an urgent matter, and my delegation welcomes



this development and hopes that the Administering Authority will examine the feasibility of doing that by a better method than that of requesting the sub-chiefs to submit a list of the electors, because to broaden the electorate in this manner would amount to no reform at all of the electoral law.

If I recall correctly, the special representative made it clear, in an answer to a question by the representative of the Soviet Union, that the reforms will eliminate this procedure of arranging the electoral list by the chiefs and the sub-chiefs. The Trusteeship Council, I believe, should urge the Administering Authority to hasten the enactment of this electoral reform in order that the next elections in the Territory may be held on a broader and more sound basis.

Political development in the Territory must further envisage a widening in the scope of activities and responsibilities of the higher State councils and the Council of the Vice-Government General. It is the view of my delegation that these organs should gradually assume a legislative character. With regard to the Council of the Vice-Government General, we consider that its indigenous representation should rapidly be increased.

Much as we appreciate the efforts which the Administering Authority is exerting in leading the Territory towards its political objectives, it remains nonetheless true that these efforts so far have been inadequate. Is it possible that this is due not simply to the great importance which the Belgian Government attaches to economic development, but also to their belief that as long as they are carrying the duty of administration in the Territory, responsibility for the conduct of its affairs must rest principally on their shoulders? Let me confess that I was a little perturbed by the statement of the representative of Belgium a few days ago, when he said:

"There is no doubt that as long as Belgium will exercise trusteeship over Ruanda-Urundi, it will be responsible for its administration."

(Mr. Rifai, Syria)

I hope that this statement does not imply that as long as Belgium is the Administering Authority, responsibility for the administration of the Territory cannot devolve progressively on the indigenous population. In the view of my delegation, it is quite feasible, nay advisable, to have a gradual transfer of political and administrative responsibility to the indigenous people until a day comes -- and we hope very soon -- when the Administering Power will have nothing to transfer but to recognize, with the United Nations, the sovereign authority of the people's government in this area.

I have referred to this matter not because I believe that the Belgian Government holds views different from this Council on the matter, but because doubts have arisen in my mind as to the possibility that such views might exist.

There are two other points relating to the political field which I would like to discuss. The administrative union between Ruanda-Urundi and the Belgian Congo continues to cause us misgivings. It is undeniable that union has many advantages for the Territory, but it is incontrovertible also that it has many drawbacks. The most significant defect of this system is that it is liable to affect adversely the political evolution of the Territory. As I said when I asked the special representative about the further consideration which the Administering Authority promised to give to this question, the example of Togoland under British Administration is still fresh in our minds. Consequently, my delegation would like to express the hope that while retaining certain aspects of the joint administration for economic reasons, it might prove possible progressively to reduce the links between the two areas and that as conditions in Ruanda-Urundi develop, to render that union unnecessary.

The second point which calls for our attention is that relating to the unity of the two parts of this Trust Territory. We are told by the Administering Authority that union between Banyarwanda and the Barundi is in the interest of both and that historical, linguistic, social and religious factors militate in favour of a common destiny for both. It is even stated that these two peoples separately have no possible future. We are also told that since the inception of Belgian rule, the authorities have never relented in fostering the cause of that unity.

In view of all of this, we are puzzled to find that the separatist tendencies seem to rise instead of falling. Contrary to the expectations of the Administering Authority, the political reforms of 1952 have apparently lent support to these tendencies.

This is indeed disquieting. Nevertheless, the Administering Authority should not falter in pursuing more vigorously the objective which, in our opinion, is indubitably in the interest of this Trust Territory. There is no reason to continue to meet with failure in this endeavour when an immeasurably more difficult problem of this nature is meeting with a reasonable degree of success in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

I turn now to the economic situation. Generally, this Territory enjoys a healthy economic development. The Ten-Year Plan has already resulted in commendable achievements. But at the same time it cannot be said that the economic state is without its problems. The economy of the Territory is still basically agricultural. Little attention has been devoted to industrialization. Moreover, an unfavourable balance of trade continues to occur. In view of the density of the population, one cannot view these economic defects with equanimity. It is difficult for us to foresee any real solution to this problem of population pressure without an industrial development in that area. We believe that the Administering Authority should not ignore this aspect of the Territory's economy and that it should thus accord a certain degree of priority to its industrial development.

It is part of the economic evolution of any area that trade union movements be encouraged in it and allowed freely to organize. The Trusteeship Council has already drawn the attention of the Administering Authority to this point, and we wish here to reiterate the hope that this aspect of the Territory's advancement will receive due consideration.

With regard to the question of land tenure, we wish also that the Administering Authority would take more vigorous steps in helping to reduce the amount of land governed by tribal law and thus aid the people in obtaining individual holdings.



(Mr. Rifai, Syria)

While the economic situation in the Territory is generally satisfactory and, all in all, moving in the right direction, one cannot say the same thing about social conditions. The medical services in the Trust Territory are still far short of what could be considered as the required minimum. The number of doctors existing for a population of four million is a point in fact. It is idle to dwell on the reasons that have led to this situation, but I believe that it is the duty of the Council to draw attention to this serious problem and to expect that measures will be taken to rectify it immediately, pending the time when the Territory begins to have a sufficient number of doctors of its own people.

Certainly, I concur with what was said by all the speakers who preceded me and who stressed the importance of intensifying the efforts for the training of more indigenous doctors.

Discrimination in law apparently has not vanished and the Territory still suffers from certain discriminatory practices. I refer to the continuance of the curfew and the restrictions on the movement of the people, to the vestiges of corporal punishment and to detention as a result of breaches of contract. In all of these matters, however, we are assured by the Administering Authority that measures are being taken to relegate them to the past. We welcome this assurance and hope that soon they will no longer figure as items of concern on the agenda of the Council.

Two days ago, I believe, the representative of Belgium asked this Council what should be done with that section of the population which is no more under tribal law. These, I think, are the so-called civilized persons in the present unjustifiable categorization of indigenous people. It seems to me that it is extremely difficult, well nigh impossible, for this organ to give anything beyond a general indication to the Belgian authorities in this regard.

My delegation, for example, not only abhors the nomenclature but believes that this system cannot assist in the democratization of the social structure of that society. As long as tribal law governs a large section of the population, there is little hope for its rapid evolution towards the objectives of the Charter. We fail to see why a general legal system cannot apply

to all persons who move or can be moved outside of the tribal arena. A legal system governing all people, for example, who dwell in urban or semi-urban areas should be able to obviate the necessity of establishing a special status for a limited number of persons who choose to live or who qualify for living outside the tribal law.

(Mr. Rifai, Syria)

Let me turn now to the state of education in Ruanda-Urundi. In this connexion one is also unable to register complete satisfaction. We wish to recognize the efforts exerted by the Administering Authority in this field. They fall short, however, of the requirements of that land. Secondary education is still very limited, and primary education appears to be rudimentary.

It would not be unwise, I think, if the Administering Authority were to draw up a general plan with the aid of UNESCO for raising the general educational level in the Trust Territory. I was very much impressed the other day by the information which the representative of UNESCO supplied to this Council with regard to experiments being undertaken to promote fundamental education. The Belgian Administration in Ruanda-Urundi may find much to learn by observing these experiments.

My delegation continues to hope that the Administering Authority will soon find it possible to establish a centre for higher learning in the Territory. It is, we believe, educationally unhealthy for a Territory of four million people to remain long without a university. It is our hope also that the educational policy will be directed towards the realization of a common national consciousness among Banyarwanda and Barundi.

As I said at the outset of these remarks, my delegation is not unmindful of the many achievements of the Belgian Administration in Ruanda-Urundi. Under different circumstances and in different times these achievements might well have been considered monumental. But we are labouring under unique circumstances and in the midst of the most dynamic forces that leave no peace for those who choose to move at a slow pace. The representative of India attempted yesterday to lay before our eyes the proper perspective for our work. Africa, that great sleeping giant, is awakening from its slumber, not sluggishly but with strength and vigour. Consequently, we cannot lose sight of the element of time. It is for this reason that my delegation would like to reiterate its hope that a time-limit for the attainment of independence by the Trust Territories would not prove hard to fix.

I should like, before ending, to renew the expression of thanks to the Special representative for the assistance he was so gracious to accord to me in my search for supplementary information about Ruanda-Urundi.

Mr. ARENALES CATALAN (Guatemala) (interpretation from Spanish):

Guatemala wishes to take part in the general debate on the situation in the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration. This is the first statement to be made by my delegation in the Trusteeship Council due to our recent election to this body. Since this is the first time that we are participating in a general debate in the Council, my delegation may have wished to give a general outline of the policy of my Government with regard to the Trusteeship System. However, we are aware of the fact that the pattern of work in the Council is one in which the work is very concrete and, in general, no such general statements are made since statements of this tenor can be made more fittingly in the General Assembly. The position of the Guatemalan delegation with regard to Non-Self-Governing Territories is, moreover, very well known. We have followed a traditional and steadfast policy on this score.

My delegation is well aware of the type of statement which is customarily made in the Council, and possibly justifiably so. But despite this, our statement at this time will necessarily have to depart somewhat from the customary procedure in this type of statement. Today, we wish to contribute directly to the fundamental labours of the Council. We are full of faith in the movement of colonial peoples towards self-government throughout the world. We know that a most effective contribution can derive from our own national experience since after we left colonial status we were faced and we continued to be faced with problems very similar to those which arise in more than one Non-Self-Governing or Trust Territory. The strength and forcefulness of our contribution to the work of the Council can be all the greater since we view the position of the United Nations with a feeling of urgency and with a feeling that the United Nations should tackle this problem of the development of these under developed areas. My delegation will therefore not set a boundary with respect to its contribution to the Council of the actual achievements which we have attained on the national level. We wish to set as our limit only the sincerity of our efforts and of our contribution to the work of the Council.

I go on now to the concrete point before us, the situation in Ruanda-Urundi: the political, economic, social and educational advance of the Territory; the evaluation of the work achieved; and the effort undertaken by the Belgian Government as the Administering Authority. I should like here also to voice a brief reservation. We have listened and read with great care the statements made by the Administering Authority. We have read the supplementary documentation produced either by the United Nations or other sources. We have made an intense effort to secure a comprehensive mental picture of the status of Ruanda-Urundi and its problems, its geographic and historical perspective, its economic, social and educational development and its cultural evolutionary process. But we do not feel that our effort has been fully crowned with success. We do not feel that we are sufficiently acquainted with regard to Ruanda-Urundi, its population, its problems and the Belgian administration of the Territory. We are not sufficiently informed to hand down absolute judgements or even to touch upon all the critical points which arise in the administration of Ruanda-Urundi.

On more than one occasion, in discussing this item, we were inclined to congratulate the Administering Authority; on more than one occasion, however, we were inclined to voice severe criticism. On a few occasions, we were quite clear as to the problems which beset the Administering Authority, problems which in the light of our own experience we know are very difficult of solution. We have always borne in mind the anguishing situation of a people which has not as yet attained a sufficient degree of development to entitle it to complete self-government. This is an anguishing problem not only for the people in question but also for the Belgian Administration which has assumed responsibility for resolving one of the most crucial problems of this second half of the twentieth century.

We will refrain from voicing scathing criticism with regard to the problems which we are beginning to study in Ruanda-Urundi, but we do want to give our impressions and our doubts with regard to the problems and the administration of Ruanda-Urundi. We feel sure that the goodwill of the Administering Authority will enable it to receive these statements in the constructive spirit in which they will be made.



(Mr. Arenales Catalan,  
Guatemala)

I shall now turn to the subject of political advancement in Ruanda-Urundi. It is difficult to give an over-all evaluation of the political development in the Territory without being completely familiar with the social conditions of the population and without also considering the educational, economic, historical and geographical aspects of Ruanda-Urundi. If we are to confine ourselves, however, to what the Council considers the political aspects to be in the development of the Territory, then I should like to say that the interest of my delegation centres on three major problems.

First, there is the existing relationship between the Belgian Congo, Uganda and Tanganyika, and Ruanda-Urundi; the relationship between Ruanda-Urundi and the Administering Authority and outside States; and, for that matter, the relationship between Ruanda and Urundi. Secondly, there is the functioning and evolution of the electoral system and the participation of all the indigenous inhabitants in the operation of a democratic system. Thirdly, there is the question of the political and legal status of the inhabitants.

As regards the first problem, the relationship between Ruanda-Urundi and the Belgian Congo and the external world, we should like to suggest that the Administering Authority might possibly give closer attention to the political destiny of the people of Ruanda-Urundi in their attainment of self-government. I think that a definition of objectives along these lines would be useful. These need not necessarily be fixed objectives; they could be altered in line with the evolutionary process of the Territory. Meanwhile, the isolation of Ruanda-Urundi, its historical perspective of a Territory in the eastern part of Africa, its present dependence upon a State which also administers territories in the western part of Africa, its administrative and customs union with the Belgian Congo, its problem of overpopulation which results in emigration currents towards neighbouring territories and the difficult relationship between the populations of Ruanda-Urundi, are all circumstances which make it difficult to define the ultimate political destiny of the Territory in a community of independent nations.

(Mr. Arenales Catalan,  
Guatemala)

But it is because of these difficulties, which are not insurmountable, that the political development of Ruanda-Urundi as a unit in the international scene may suffer various deviations which may result in its arriving at a future situation which would be inadequate. The Territory should be led to a future situation in which it would be administered in the best interests of the population of the Territory and possibly in the best interests of the population of neighbouring territories.

I come now to the question of the operation of the electoral system and the participation of all the inhabitants in the democratic political processes. With the elements at hand, we are inclined to congratulate the Administering Authority for its bold experiment in legislation, which marks a milestone in the development of the people of Ruanda-Urundi toward the administration of their own affairs. These congratulations can be given only if the experiment, with the new institutions is a transitory experiment and represents merely a brief stage in the political development of the Territory. My delegation will await with interest the broadening of the functions which have been given.

We await with interest the steps which are to be taken by the Administering Authority to establish universal suffrage. We feel confident that through an adequate educational system, the functioning of all the councils in the Territory will improve.

The third problem relates to the political and legal status of the inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi. This problem is still a matter of concern to us, despite the clarifications given by the representative of Belgium and the special representative. Although it is possible to define certain personal and general categories of the population, such as a residence status and its political consequences, the qualification which makes someone an able-bodied man and a taxpayer but not necessarily a voter and the various cards and papers which are given to the inhabitant, these points do not reflect any standard whereby the indigenous inhabitant himself could define his own legal and political status in a manner which would give him a feeling of equality with all the other inhabitants of the Territory. He should have gradually a more clearly defined view of his rights and duties as a citizen. Thus, the indigenous inhabitants should develop a consciousness in order that, in getting together, public opinion could be developed.

(Mr. Arenales Catalan,  
Guatemala)

I do not think it is necessary to stress the need and the desire to exert every effort to bring about the participation of the indigenous inhabitants, including the women, in ever-increasing degrees in the political administration of the Territory.

As regards the economic development of the Territory, we find that our appraisal of the situation suffers from a large number of gaps. We also have some gaps in our knowledge of the work carried out by the Administering Authority under the ten-year plan and outside the ten-year plan. We have encountered this difficulty not only in the economic field but also in the political, social and educational fields. This is so despite the fact that the documentation supplied and the replies given by the Administering Authority have contributed to a great extent to our understanding of the problems.

There are four major problems to which we have given particular attention in our survey of the economic situation. First, there is the ten-year plan. It is perhaps difficult in 1956 to reflect upon the difficulties which may be encountered in developing economic programmes designed to cover a certain number of years. There are various technical reasons which might make it advisable to develop plans in Ruanda-Urundi for four, five or six years. One such reason is the price fluctuations, which are particularly apparent in connexion with the export commodities of Ruanda-Urundi. Our doubts have been confirmed by the fact that the Administering Authority has felt it necessary to revise the ten-year plan.

We do not propose to elaborate on this aspect of the ten-year plan or to go into the specific parts of the plan. But we do want to state that the difficulty encountered by the Administering Authority in properly implementing this plan may possibly be due to the fact that a ten-year period may be too long.

Another aspect of the situation which has been carefully studied by our delegation is the unification of the banking and monetary system of Ruanda-Urundi with that of the Belgian Congo. It appears to us that this is a serious problem in the development of Ruanda-Urundi, since the financial needs of the Territory are put on an equal footing with the needs of the Belgian Congo and the facilities extended to that Territory.

(Mr. Arenales Catalan,  
Guatemala)

The third problem relates to industrialization as a fundamental objective in the development of Ruanda-Urundi. Progress in this field would create work opportunities for the population. It is important to provide training for skilled workers in these various fields as well as in the administrative field. It is possible that the existing population pressures in Ruanda-Urundi would be relieved if industrialization were developed, particularly if we consider the demographic repercussions of such a programme in the future.

Finally, the budgetary autonomy of the chiefdoms and sub-chiefdoms of the Territory might contribute to the sound political development of the population and their institutions, since that would lead to some degree of municipal self-government or autonomy, which in turn would make it easier, despite the heterogeneous nature of the population, to bring about the unification of the Territory.

Over and above these economic aspects which we have just touched upon, my delegation remains true to the view that it is not sufficient to have economic development alone. Plans for economic development should ensure the well-being of the Territory and its inhabitants as well as eventual self-government. Economic targets must be conditioned by political objectives. It is possible to conceive of the economic interdependence of sovereign and independent nations; it is even possible to conceive of customs or tariff unions. The economic dependence of a people, however, can ill prepare it for political independence. Political interdependence must never be the result of economic dependence.

Our particular attention, in the social field, has been directed at four problems.

First, we have been told that fundamental human rights and freedoms are safeguarded in Ruanda-Urundi through a decree enacted for the Belgian Congo in 1908 and made applicable to Ruanda-Urundi in 1925. This decree, we have been told, guarantees to all inhabitants of the Trust Territory the rights proclaimed in the Belgian Constitution. But many distinctions are legally sanctioned in Ruanda-Urundi, distinctions which it is attempted to justify on the basis of special circumstances, custom and tradition, or necessities deriving from the lesser degree of development of the population; we are told that these factors require special protection for the population. We believe that the Administering Authority's aims in this respect are laudable, but the same cannot perhaps be said of the implementation of those aims, no matter how honest or good the intentions may be. We feel that, pending a thorough examination of this delicate problem, the Administering Authority might study the possibility of formulating a fundamental statute which would completely cover human rights in the Territory.



The second problem in the field of social development is the following. We should simply like to repeat a concern which has been voiced by the Council in the past, to the effect that any provisions leading to racial discrimination should be eliminated from the legislation of the Territory, as well as any provisions which could even be interpreted as leading to racial discrimination -- particularly those concerning immigration, land tenure, freedom of the indigenous population to move about, and so forth.

A third problem to which we have given particular attention in this field relates to the number of people who were imprisoned during 1952, 1953 and 1954. The figures are: approximately 2,000 in 1952, 2,471 in 1953, and 2,518 in 1954. Whatever consequences may be drawn from them, these figures do leave the impression that delinquency is not decreasing in the Territory. Since the Administering Authority has confined itself to stating that it will apply to the Territory the penal reforms initiated in the Belgian Congo -- depending upon the results achieved in the Congo -- it might be timely to suggest that particular attention should be given to preventive measures, since the measures to repress delinquency and crime in the Territory seem to have proved rather ineffective.

Now, my delegation would like to voice a general concern which it feels in this domain, as follows. We are presented in this Territory with an unknown factor concerning the psychology of the inhabitants or groups of inhabitants. What is the exact degree of individual psychological development of the people? This unknown factor leads to an even greater unknown factor: What are the social stratifications in Ruanda-Urundi? Are there social classes? We know that there is a racial minority, but it is so small that one is inclined to feel that there is more than one ruling class. Is there a division of classes on religious, economic or social lines? Is there a general division of the classes? It may be that there is a division on educational lines, as well. All these questions lead to a greater question. We have found it difficult to obtain a real knowledge of the Territory's social picture. That is the unknown factor which makes it difficult for us to address any recommendations to the Administering Authority on the advantages or disadvantages of, for instance, developing an elite, of developing an

economic middle class, of fostering an independent labour or religious movement, and so forth. We think that the social problems of Ruanda-Urundi should be studied with a view to directing the Territory's social development so that that development may not take place haphazardly or accidentally, but, rather, so that it may constitute the natural evolution of the inhabitants as a group, so that there may not be social classes which will hamper the Territory's economic development; so that there may be, nevertheless, elements in the population to guide the development.

We should like to assure the Trusteeship Council and the inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi that, in future, we propose to go more deeply into the abovementioned problem. To the Administering Authority we should simply like to suggest that it should give its close attention to the general ideas which we have brought up.

What I have said is a reflection of the study which my delegation has given to the situation in Ruanda-Urundi.

As regards education, our examination of the position in Ruanda-Urundi has led us to draw conclusions and to consider recommendations so general in nature as not to warrant a statement at this time. My delegation would like to reserve its right to make a statement on general educational matters affecting the Territory at another time, after consultation with the Secretariat and the President of the Council. We hope that it may be possible to find some time in the Council's schedule when we may make such a statement. It is possible that we shall move suggestions or draft resolutions for transmission to the drafting committee.

Meanwhile, I should merely like to say that we have been somewhat surprised at the lack of statistics on illiteracy in the annual report. There are comprehensive statistics on nationality, employment, tax matters, and so forth, but that is not the case for statistics on illiteracy. We should like to express the hope that, in future, the Administering Authority will find it possible to provide equally complete statistics on illiteracy, as well as complete information on new programmes instituted to combat illiteracy.

U THAN HLA (Burma): As a newly-elected member of this Council, Burma is new also to the field of Trusteeship affairs. However, the reports of the Council and of the Administering Authority, together with the observations of the Visiting Mission and of the representatives of ILO, WHO and UNESCO, have indeed been invaluable in the evaluation of this Territory. My delegation is guided not only by what has been said and reported to the Council, but also by past experience in colonialism, and our approach to the whole matter will be constructive.

In examining the political conditions in the Territory I have no doubt that the recent political reforms are designed to develop Ruanda-Urundi towards its ultimate goal of self-government or independence. However, my delegation is concerned with the rate of that development -- whether it is slow or not, how the present policy of the Administration influences it, and how soon the objective of self-government can be achieved without in any way jeopardizing the stability of the Trust Territory. My delegation is conscious of the present reforms introduced by the Administering Authority in the political field. The composition and constitution of the Council of the Vice-Government General and the indigenous council is a matter of concern to us as it is to some of the other delegations, and we join with other delegations in urging the Administering Authority to enlarge the responsibilities and powers of the Council of the Vice-Government General, and to make it more representative of the indigenous population. It seems to my delegation that the present balance of membership in that council is heavily weighted on the side of the non-indigenous inhabitants. In bringing about indigenous representation we would ask the Administering Authority not to omit the factor of equal representation from both Territories.

I shall deal now with the question of relations between the two States of Ruanda and Urundi. Ruanda and Urundi are under a common administrative system of the Belgian Government, having French as their official language. Moreover, the majority of the population is Christian and the social organization of the two States is relatively similar. We have, therefore, some cohesive elements there. Furthermore, neither unit by itself can form a viable state. Although ultimately the question of the merger of the two units will have to be decided by the peoples themselves, and my delegation is not prepared to commit itself in advance on this question, we consider that the Visiting Mission's recommendation to have the two high councils of the two States hold joint meetings on certain subjects and for certain purposes deserves attention.

(U Than Hla, Burma)

The report of the Administering Authority creates in the mind of my delegation the impression that the Administering Authority places greater emphasis on economic progress than on political development. While my delegation is happy to note the economic progress of the Territory, it cannot but view with concern the relative slowness in political development. It is important that political education and development should be given very high priority. This is the only satisfactory way of ensuring a safe transition from a semi-feudal society to a democratic one.

Having made these brief remarks on the political aspect of the matter, I come now to the economic advancement. First, I should like to make some general observations. Generally, the economic situation of the Territory is satisfactory. Developments in the sphere of soil conservation, resettlement, drainage and other agricultural work are proceeding creditably. What seems to be needed in the opinion of my delegation is for the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory to have an increasing part in the economic development of Ruanda-Urundi. At present, for a population of over four million, there are only seven co-operatives -- three consumer and four agricultural -- and ninety-seven indigenous trading centres doing retail business. My delegation trusts that the Administering Authority will continue to take appropriate measures to stimulate and permit further indigenous participation in these fields of economic life in order that Africans may soon take their place in the wider field of the trade and commerce of the Territory.

With regard to land tenure, and coming now to specific matters, my delegation notes that the Administering Authority is studying the ways and means of changing the present customary system of the occupation of land by indigenous populations. My delegation hopes that the Administering Authority will be able before long to introduce the necessary measures enabling Africans to obtain individual holdings.

In the field of the resettlement and utilization of land, the rapid increase of population and its pressure on the land will continue to pose problems to the Administering Authority. My delegation trusts that plans for the resettlement of surplus population in the Ruzizi, Mosso and other regions will be vigorously pursued, and that more acreage will be brought under cash crops as one solution of land shortage in over-populated areas.

(U Than Hla, Burma)

In the field of industry my delegation welcomes the statement of the Administering Authority that the hydro-electric plant in the Fuzizi valley, on which further developments both of manufacturing industry and of mining depend, will be completed in 1957. But in the sphere of the expansion of indigenous industries there is much to be done. My delegation hopes that the Administering Authority will continue to give it its attention and encouragement.



Similarly, in the field of commerce and trade, increased participation of the indigenous people is an important need. My delegation hopes that all possible steps will be taken to stimulate and promote the co-operative movement in the Territory and to provide the indigenous people with greater credit facilities, training in accounting and business methods, in order to make possible their active and increased participation in trade.

In the field of social advancement, and particularly with regard to the status of the inhabitants of the Territory, the present practice of classifying the indigenous population into such categories as registered civilized persons and holders of civic merit cards is most objectionable. The argument that the exclusion of Ruanda-Urundi from the operation of this legislation of the Belgian Congo would suggest that its benefits were held back from the people of the Trust Territory does not convince my delegation. There is no demand in Ruanda-Urundi for this legislation. Only 2 per cent have, up to date, registered themselves in the register of civilized persons. The fact that there are some Congolese settlers in the Territory should not affect the situation. It would seem that the inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi would not care if this legislation were made applicable only to the Congolese settlers, although that would, in my opinion, be wrong in principle. I think the view that where the rights and personal status are concerned, they should, in Ruanda-Urundi, derive from its position as a Trust Territory and not from the laws of the Belgian Congo. I would say, therefore, that this law, which does grievous injury to human dignity and brings in social discrimination, should be abolished.

With regard to human rights and fundamental freedoms, the restrictions on freedom of movement imposed by the passport system, and the prohibition of indigenous inhabitants from circulating at night in urban areas are still in existence. The Council has time and again recommended the abolition of those restrictions, and the reasons are well known. It is to be hoped that the Administering Authority will give effect to the Council's recommendations with the least possible delay.

We note that there is no indigenous press up to date. There are, admittedly, publications in the vernacular by religious missions, or articles and letters written by Africans in publications in French; but these cannot meet the need for an indigenous press as a means of formulating public opinion.

My delegation will, therefore, continue to urge that something be done soon that will provide Africans with the necessary training and experience in journalism and prepare the way for the establishment of an indigenous press.

In connexion with information regarding the United Nations, my delegation welcomes the steps taken by the Administering Authority in this direction by giving instruction on the United Nations and the Trusteeship System in the higher courses in Government schools and in Astrida College. The number of students receiving such instruction is, however, very small, and this greatly restricts the dissemination of information on the subject. My delegation, therefore, hopes that consideration will be given to the recommendation of the Council for the wider use of United Nations emblems by the Administering Authority in the Territory and to the suggestion of other appropriate channels for the spreading of such information.

Regarding the status of women, the work done by the Administering Authority in social welfare centres, by providing instruction in housewifery and child care and training African women as monitors is commendable, and my delegation associates itself with the belief of the Visiting Mission that the extension of such centres to other parts of the Territory where they do not exist should prove most valuable.

I should like to make some comments with regard to the labour situation. The average number of indigenous workers employed in 1954 was estimated at approximately 130,000, composed of workers in agriculture, construction, commerce, and services. My delegation notes with gratification the work done so far by the Administering Authority to protect the interests of the workers, but feels that direct representation of African workers on councils is a matter that should not be delayed. Similarly, the formation of trade unions will be a step in the right direction since the process of organizing to protect the workers' interests effectively will be an education and an experience for the Africans in the art of self-government which is ultimately to be theirs.

The Administering Authority continues to do good work in housing and, as a whole, in the provision of medical and health services. What is lacking in the latter service is an adequate number of African doctors, a matter which, it is hoped, will be taken care of before long.

The penal system needs reform in the direction of more effective separation of prisoners and, particularly, in regard to the abolition, without delay, of corporal punishment for breaches of prison discipline. Apart from its undesirability in itself, the fact that corporal punishment is given only to indigenous prisoners turns it further into a discriminatory measure based on colour and race. The whole thing is objectionable, and measures should be taken promptly to do away with it.

In the field of educational advancement, UNESCO has presented an admirable document containing its observations in this respect. It points out areas where attention is needed such as, for example, first, poor holding power of the primary schools and the survival of only about one third of the student population over a three-years' course; second, the preponderance of vocational education over general education at the secondary level and the need for creation of new secondary schools with a complete cycle of studies, in order to make it possible for children to receive higher education; third, lack of adequate higher education opportunity and the need to increase the number of fellowships for study abroad and to concentrate these fellowships on the most urgent fields; fourth, the need of an adequate number of teachers to meet the growing student population and to replace unqualified teachers, who number 72 per cent of the total in mission schools; fifth, the need for the establishment of an adequate school inspection staff; sixth the need to set up a project for fundamental education for illiterate adults.

UNESCO has gone into these and other matters fully in its observations, and I endorse its views and recommendations.

In making these observations, I have no intention of implying that the Administering Authority is not giving its attention to the matter of education. It is devoting a steadily rising sum to education in its budget, which is commendable and which, I feel sure, reflects its awareness of these problems. Its work in building more schools, in turning out more teachers, and in expanding the education of girls is a credit to the Administration. But the deficiencies in the present educational system, pointed out by UNESCO, will have to be faced and remedied if the indigenous population of the Territory are to be prepared for self-government without delay; and I trust that this will be done.

Before concluding, my delegation wishes to acknowledge the contributions made by WHO, ILO and UNESCO, and we are very grateful to them. My delegation also wishes to place on record its appreciation of the assistance given to the Council by the representative of Belgium and the special representative in the examination of the report on Ruanda-Urundi.

Mr. WALKER (Australia) as a newcomer to the Trusteeship Council, I have been very interested -- I might say fascinated -- by the process of the Council's examination of the report on Ruanda-Urundi. I have been impressed in the first place by the quantity of information that has been placed before the Council by the Administering Authority and by the specialized agencies. I have been impressed also by the range of questions that were asked by different representatives around this table and by the replies which the special representative and the representative of Belgium have given to these questions. I do not think that anybody could fail to be impressed by the vast practical knowledge of conditions throughout the Territory which the two representatives have displayed and, further than that, their evident mastery of this new and important science -- or is it an art -- of fostering the development of the economic life and social and political institutions of a relatively primitive people.

I stress that this is a relatively new art. Primitive peoples have evolved towards an advanced state and have gained independence in the past, but it is one of the features of the modern world and of the work of the United Nations that highly developed countries are applying themselves earnestly to this task of fostering the development of territories that are temporarily under their care.

After hearing all this, we have had a number of speeches from the representatives commenting on this examination of conditions in Ruanda-Urundi. We have heard congratulatory speeches, we have heard one condemnatory speech, I suppose one should say, and other speeches that have been more or less critical, and more or less constructively critical. I think an onlooker might well be puzzled in just listening to this if he attempted to make up his mind as to what was the general trend of events in the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi.

We are, of course, concerned above all with progress towards the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System. The furtherance of international peace and security, as the Charter states, is an objective to be kept in mind in our discussions, and our objective certainly is not unnecessarily to stir up strife or to promote insecurity but the main stress is laid in practice upon the objective of promoting the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Territory and, arising out of that



(Mr. Walker, Australia)

advancement, their progressive development towards self government or independence, as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each Territory.

This order is important. The advancement of the inhabitants is a necessary foundation for the very important event to which we also look in due course, namely, the development towards self-government or independence. But when we consider the advancement of the inhabitants of the Territory, then I think we must recognize that their political, economic, social and educational development are inextricably mixed up together. One reacts upon the other. Sometimes an advance in one of these fields is an essential prerequisite to advances in other fields, and obviously one of the problems in a country such as Ruanda-Urundi is that of priorities and decisions as to how much effort and how much money and other resources must be put into one particular field of development at any time, into one particular field of advancement.

It will be remembered that the Visiting Mission last year thought that the Administering Authority was concentrating perhaps too heavily upon the economic side at the expense of the political advancement of the inhabitants, and the Administering Authority, in reply, stressed the fundamental importance of laying a foundation in the form of economic advancement so that political advancement could naturally follow. I feel there is a great deal of sound sense in that observation. Sometimes there is a danger of concentrating upon less basic factors. Certainly there are some western ideas of political organization to which we are all attached in our own countries which do not necessarily fit the stage of economic, social and educational development of a people which is still at an early stage of development, or a rather primitive state, and the premature adoption of some western forms and methods may actually hamper the progress and the advancement of the people. Therefore, the matter clearly does require very considerable care.

We know that this particular Territory is not a rich country. The standard of living for centuries has not been high. The resources are limited, and inevitably it will be a long and somewhat uphill task to raise the standards of living and to develop the social life of the people, their educational standards and their political consciousness in the western sense.

29

(Mr. Walker, Australia)

My dominant impression from studying the documents and hearing the discussion around this table is not, I might say, one of resistance and obstruction on the part of the Administering Authority, as might have been gathered from the speech, for instance, of the Soviet Representative. My dominant impression is one of movement in the Territory, one of definite progress in a number of fields. Now, we may discuss whether progress should be more rapid in some fields or whether greater efforts should be made. The Council may well, as some members have, offer constructive suggestions as to whether more emphasis should be laid and even greater efforts put forth, but I repeat, my dominant impression, based both on the previous year's examination of the visiting mission's report and on the discussion at this session, is one of movement and progress in the Territory.

I should like to refer to some particular aspects of this, and first of all I should like to take the subject of education. I do so partly because we have this excellent comparative study by UNESCO in document T/1223, which enables us to see the situation in Ruanda-Urundi in relation to the situations in certain other Territories in Africa. Also, I take education first because I am convinced of its fundamental importance in relation to this whole process of political, economic and social development.

We find many evidences of expansion, development and growth. We see it by that universal measuring rod of money. We see that the total expenditure on education has been expanding. We must, of course, take together the expenditure which is incurred by the Administration in its own educational institutions and the aid that is given to the educational work of the missions. On page 27 of the English text of the UNESCO report we find that significant remark that:

"The total sum, 155 million francs, is a considerable advance on the 1953 total of 127 millions (a 22 per cent rise)." (T/1223, para. 6, page 27)

(Mr. Walker, Australia)

Of course very few highly developed countries -- perhaps no highly developed country -- increase their expenditure at that rate, and I think that we should note this significant progress. It is also significant that of this total, almost forty per cent is being devoted to capital works. This is a remarkably high percentage, one that promises further development in the future. And this figure is the important one, much more important than the amusing comparison which the representative of the Soviet Union drew between the number of local gaols that had been built by the Administration and the number of school buildings erected by the Administration. The important thing is the fact that forty per cent of this large and increasing budget is going into capital expenditures, which means facilities and development for the future.

On page 27, paragraph 9, of its observations (T/1223), UNESCO concludes, from the survey of educational finances, that the situation shown in the 1954 report is very favourable. Then, of course, one can look into the situation in more detail. Money is only, as I say, a measuring rod of certain activities, but the picture is much the same. We find a great substantial increase in the number of children at school. It has risen constantly; it has more than doubled in the past five-year period. The 1954 percentage rise of six per cent is still a positive gain because the growth of the population was only about two per cent in that year. UNESCO notes that the proportion of girl pupils is increasing, which is also a significant fact.

The figures that I have quoted are related to primary schools. The same sort of general tendency is found in secondary schools and in general and vocational education. The 1954 aggregate enrolment in general and vocational education, at the secondary level, was 2,000 odd students, which is a rise of twenty per cent from the preceding year. Here again, we find an increase of a very substantial number rather given to girl students.

The problem of higher education is of course a difficult one, but here too there is progress. It is true that the students must go abroad for their studies, but it is an advantage if they do not have to go further abroad than Elizabethville. In due course there will apparently be higher education facilities expanding in the Territory itself.

(Mr. Walker, Australia)

Pre-university courses are now becoming available at Usumbura and Kimuenza. I think also that the increase in the number of teachers undergoing training, which is reported by UNESCO, is significant and in UNESCO's own words, in paragraph 28 of its observations, "the rate of expansion is gratifying".

Of course UNESCO's report draws attention to certain existing problems and difficulties. I am sure that these problems are recognized by the Administration and that in due course they will be tackled, and the assistance of UNESCO will undoubtedly be very considerable.

Turning to the field of economic progress, I have been impressed by what I have learned regarding the Ten-Year Plan of economic and social development, by the contribution that is being made to the economic advancement of the Territory, and by the interest-free advances which the Belgian Government makes available at the rate of 400 million francs per annum.

We think that the Administration is to be congratulated upon its continuous efforts in the field of resettlement and with regard to measures for land reclamation and land preservation. The Administration is evidently fully conscious of the need to preserve the fundamental patrimony of the people of the region, and this is of course a matter not only requiring action but also education.

It will be some time before the inhabitants are as fully seized as we would wish them to be of the immense importance of soil conservation and these other measures. Again, I think we find a record of progress in connexion with this very difficult problem of the excess cattle population. The abolition of the traditional systems of cattle-holding is a very important step forward with far-reaching political consequences as well as economic consequences, and we shall follow with great interest also the development of the indigenous co-operative marketing organizations and other measures for the rationalization of the cattle industry.

The Territory is of course in a weak position in that it is so dependent upon the major export crop of coffee. It is very desirable that the export production of the country should become gradually more diversified, but efforts are being made in this direction. We welcome the developments in the field of cotton and sugar, and there is every evidence that the Administration is fully alive to the importance of this problem.

(Mr. Walker, Australia)

The country is still under-developed industrially. How could it be otherwise? Of course, the fact that a country grows cotton and still imports cotton textiles does not necessarily mean that it is not an independent country or that its economy is not being well directed. I refer, in passing, to some remarks of the representative of the Soviet Union regarding the fact that Ruanda-Urundi grows cotton but imports textiles, and that it has a large cattle industry but imports shoes. We have a very large wool-growing industry and we still import a certain amount of wool and textiles in Australia. We have many cattle and we still import a certain amount of leather. There are some grounds for expecting that for a very long time to come many countries will produce certain raw materials and do better by selling them on the world markets than trying to do all the processing at home. But in due course we would expect this country, like others, to develop skills and the necessary industrial equipment for the processing of parts, at any rate, of their production of raw materials, and there are evidences of small beginnings in this direction. We expect and hope to see gradual progress, but it will undoubtedly take time. It is all linked up with the problem of the social and educational advancement of the people.

Turning to social conditions, we noted the reference by the Council last year to the improvement in the housing situation, the activities of the Administration in the field of public housing. We note the continued progress in this field.



(Mr. Walker, Australia)

The health record is undoubtedly one where progress is also to be noted. We were interested in the useful information of the World Health Organization and the comments by its representative. Several speakers have drawn attention to the need for more trained personnel, especially for more African doctors. Undoubtedly, that is highly desirable. But there is a basic educational problem. On the one hand, the Administering Authority must provide educational facilities so that Africans can acquire the necessary knowledge to become medical practitioners. On the other hand, the Africans must embrace this career. There is a tendency in many countries, of course, for those who receive secondary and higher education to turn to occupations other than those that might be most urgently required for the benefit of their own fellow countrymen. That undoubtedly is part and parcel of this problem, and it is closely linked with the whole problem of education in such countries.

In this field of social advancement, we find that the conditions of employment of contractual workers were improved in 1955. I am sure that the Council is interested in the detailed information now available on the new legislation covering this subject. There have also been very important modifications in the penalties imposed for breach of labour contracts.

We have also noted that there is a beginning of workers' organizations in the Territory. I think the special representative mentioned that in 1955 one trade union was actually established.

In the course of this discussion, there have been many references to some features of the law and administration of the Territory which some representatives here felt to be rather offensive to human dignity. One that has been mentioned is the curfew or restriction upon movement at night in certain specified areas. There was also the necessity of obtaining a permit. The Administering Authority has assured us that this measure was taken in the interest of maintaining order and for the protection of the civilian population. So far as I understand, it is not a discriminatory measure with any sort of racial basis. It applies in these areas both to indigenous and non-indigenous inhabitants, which would seem to me to be a rather significant point, if my information is correct. While it may be true, as the Indian representative

(Mr. Walker, Australia)

suggested yesterday, that the real answer to this problem of security in these areas is improved policing and street lighting, for the time being our information from the Administering Authority is that the people themselves rather appreciate the maintenance of this particular form of regulation. One has to consider the wishes of inhabitants of these Territories even if a particular arrangement may sometimes seem to be superficially a little offensive to our ideas of human dignity.

Another matter that has been mentioned is this list of civilized persons. It seems to me that the Administering Authority has explained very clearly the particular problem which this arrangement attempts to solve. Persons who have come from the Congo or who have lost their customary status in the more primitive community must be afforded the protection and the personal status of some system of law. You must have some process by which they can acquire that degree of protection. I suppose it is a little unfortunate that this process has been described as inscription on the list of civilized persons, which might seem to suggest drawing a class distinction concerning the very few persons who have to seek this form of protection and legal status because they are no longer in a position to benefit from the customary status and the protection that that confers. After all, what the Council has asked the Administering Authority to do is to study the possibility of meeting this problem in some other way. But I cannot help feeling that the references made around this table to the problem perhaps overlook to some extent the nature of the problem and concentrate perhaps a little excessively on what is regarded as offensive or discriminatory terminology. I do not know what the feeling in the Territory is on this matter. Sometimes we are more sensitive here than the people who are actually operating under a particular system, who enjoy its benefits and who suffer any disadvantages that it may conceivably confer.

Turning to the question of political organization, let me note briefly that there have been very important and fundamental changes effected in recent years. I think that the Council should recognize the Administering Authority's efforts in this field and the skill with which this has been done. It is good to note that the traditional indigenous leaders are accepting these reforms, as

(Mr. Walker, Australia)

we call them, which are certainly very substantial changes from the point of view of their traditional system. The fact that they are accepting these reforms so well is, I think, a tribute to the Administering Authority.

The indigenous councils are also showing very great progress. We would expect them to develop in the future both in the range of their responsibilities and in their general representativeness.

With regard to the well known but nevertheless somewhat speculative question about the future unification of the two Territories, Ruanda and Urundi, my delegation was very interested in the further clarifications that were presented to the Council by the representatives of the Administering Authority. This problem is clearly intricately related with questions of sentiment and tradition. It will not be solved just by the multiplication of external admonitions, however benevolent they may be. It has been explained to us that the special fields in which unification is advantageous and is welcomed are those in which there are problems which did not arise in the old days in these Territories, and that in the attempt to solve those particular problems by common agreement of the two pays, one cannot hope that at the same time one automatically surmounts the old differences of viewpoint and sources of suspicion and distrust between the inhabitants of the two regions.

The Administering Authority is giving continued encouragement to the peoples concerned to co-exist, if I may coin a phrase, in a spirit of mutual tolerance and progressively increasing co-operation. We believe this will undoubtedly exert a beneficial interest upon the ultimate solution of this problem, which problem, in the long run, will have to be solved by the people themselves.

In summing up, the Australian delegation, while recognizing the existence of many difficulties and uncertainties, and while acknowledging the magnitude of the political, social, economic and educational changes which still remain to be promoted, would wish to express our satisfaction at the considerable evolution which has been engineered by the Administering Authority with patience, industry and skill, in an atmosphere of peace and mutual trust, which reflects the greatest credit on the Belgian Government and its officers.

What period of time it would take to complete the work that was originally undertaken at the beginning of the mandate, can be the subject of speculation. But we feel that at the present time it would be rather unprofitable speculation. The dominant impression which we have gained from this examination is one of progress and of movement in the right direction.

I only wish to express my gratitude to the representative of Belgium and to the special representative for their unfailing courtesy in clarifying for my delegation and for the Council as a whole the many matters which were made the subject of special interest.

The PRESIDENT: Our examination of conditions in Ruanda-Urundi is now concluded, except that on Monday we shall hear the final statement of the special representative. This afternoon we shall begin with our examination of conditions in Togoland under French administration.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.