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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 27 May 1957, at 2.30 p.m.

President:

Mr. HOOD

(Australia)

Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration (continued):

- (a) Annual report on the administration of the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration [10]
- (b) Financing of the economic development plans of the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration: report of the Mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration [11]
- (c) Report of the United Nations Advisory Council for the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration [16]

Note:

The Official Record of this meeting, i.e., the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.800 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

WELCOME TO THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

The PRESIDENT: At this point I extend the welcome of the Council to Sir Andrew Cohen, the new representative of the United Kingdom on the Trusteeship Council. The Council is glad to see Sir Andrew sitting here with us.

Sir Andrew COHEN (United Kingdom): May I thank the President for his welcome and say how happy I am to be here and to have the opportunity of taking part in the work of the Trusteeship Council.

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF SOMALILAND UNDER ITALIAN ADMINISTRATION (T/L.765): (continued)

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TRUST TERRITORY OF SOMALILAND UNDER ITALIAN ADMINISTRATION (T/1315, 1321) [Agenda item 4e]
- (b) FINANCING OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLANS OF THE TRUST TERRITORY OF SOMALILAND UNDER ITALIAN ADMINISTRATION: REPORT OF THE MISSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT TO THE TRUST TERRITORY OF SOMALILAND UNDER ITALIAN ADMINISTRATION [TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1255 (XVI)] (T/1296) [Agenda item 11]
- (c) REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR THE TRUST TERRITORY OF SOMALILAND UNDER ITALIAN ADMINISTRATION (T/1311) [Agenda item 16]

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Holte Castello (Colombia), Mr. El-Zayat (Egypt) and Mr. Baradi (Philippines), members of the Advisory Council for Somaliland under Italian administration, took places at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Zadotti, special representative for Somaliland under Italian administration, took a place at the Council table.

General debate (continued)

Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) (interpretation from French): Before expressing my delegation's views on conditions in Somaliland, I should like to be permitted to associate myself with the President's welcome to the new representative of the United Kingdom. My delegation hopes that it will be able to continue with the new representative of the United Kingdom the excellent relations that we had with Sir Alan Burns.

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

It was with very great interest that my delegation studied the report of the Administering Authority for the year 1956, the report of the United Nations Advisory Council and the report of the International Bank concerning Somaliland under Italian administration. We listened attentively to the important statements made here by the representative of Italy and the Minister of Economic Affairs of Somaliland, and we found equally valuable the explanations given by the special representatives, Mr. Zadotti and Mr. Gasbarri. All of these statements helped us to clarify our views on the situation beyond the period technically covered in the report.

In the political field, we have seen consolidated the powers of the Somali Ministers, who have been meeting and deliberating since last January without the participation of Italian advisers. Without doubt, they have acquired a clearer picture of their responsibilities.

Since May 1957, the first Legislative Assembly of Somaliland has been operating as a sovereign body in almost all fields, and we have been told by the Administering Authority that bills submitted by the Somali Government are now to be debated without interference by the Administering Authority. The new status established by the Administering Authority through the extension of wider powers to the Somali Government cannot but be well received by the Trusteeship Council.

However, a delicate situation has arisen in the relations between the Advisory Council and the Administering Authority concerning the obligation to communicate bills to the Advisory Council for its views and comments. Article 8 of the Trusteeship Agreement cited by the Advisory Council can equally well be used by the Administering Authority to prove that there is no such obligation toward the Advisory Council.

I have said that the situation was delicate. It would be unfortunate if, after so many years of fruitful collaboration, the attitudes in this respect were to harden. We should like to find a solution to our fears in the expressions of esteem and mutual respect which have been exchanged in this Council by the members of the Advisory Council, on the one hand, and the representatives of the Administering Authority, on the other. A new situation requires new arrangements. In our opinion, such new arrangements do not require, in view of the short period of time involved, any formal amendment of the Trusteeship Agreement. I think that it would be sufficient to try to find, in a spirit of good will, the modus operandi which would enable each of the parties concerned -- the Somali Government, the Administering Authority and the Advisory Council -- to derive the greatest benefits from this necessary collaboration. We think that that could usefully be done without hurting anyone's pride or feelings.

Furthermore, one observation by the Advisory Council has particularly attracted my delegation's attention. I refer to the observation concerning the desirability of the Administering Authority's sending information voluntarily and more regularly to the Advisory Council, so that the latter may keep informed of the progress achieved in the implementation of the general development plans. We heard the comments made by the special representative in this connexion. Speaking quite sincerely, the Haitian delegation does not see what inconvenience could be caused by the regular transmission of information to the Advisory Council, in order to enable that Council to form as accurate a picture as possible of the situation. This is particularly true if one keeps in mind the specific obligations which resolution 755 (VIII) confers on the Advisory Council and on which the Council must report.

The declaration made by the Prime Minister, Mr. Abdullahi Issa Mohamud, on 26 September 1956, concerning the programme of the Somali Government, constitutes a remarkable document. That document contains lucid analyses of the various problems faced by the Territory and proposes methods for solving those problems.

It is unnecessary to comment on this document point by point, but we cannot pass over in silence two questions to which the Haitian delegation has always attached importance.

The first is the question of the frontier between Somaliland and Ethiopia. Everyone knows what effect this question has on the economic situation of the Territory, and what effect it will continue to have if the situation remains in the present uncertain state. We had noted that conversations were about to be resumed between the Governments of Italy and Ethiopia. We hope that substantial progress will be achieved between now and the next session of the General Assembly.

The second question is that of Somali nationality. As the Prime Minister himself has emphasized, this question of nationality is not exclusive to independent countries. Nationality has been established in other Trust Territories. We think that the principles expounded by the Prime Minister in respect of Somali nationality are perfectly sound, and we should like to believe that the deputies who stated that the moment had not yet come to establish this nationality -- these were undoubtedly members of foreign minorities -- will remove all obstacles in the way of the adoption of Somali nationality by voluntarily withdrawing from the Assembly if they do not wish to adopt Somaliland as their new country.

The forthcoming elections should give Somaliland a constituent assembly. It is to be hoped that a legal status of Somali citizen will be established before these elections, in order to avoid, in the words of the Advisory Council, the creation of "an anomalous situation" which would result if "representatives of foreign minorities were to be included among the members of the constituent assembly" (T/1311, paragraph 47). The Haitian delegation wholeheartedly adopts the view of the Advisory Council, particularly since, at the Trusteeship Council's eighteenth session, we expressed our regret that "on this point the Administering Authority has followed the general practice of granting political rights to foreign groups living in the Trust Territory" (T/PV.708, page 8-10).

Having said that, I should like now to turn to other subjects, but without giving the impression that my delegation does not attach all the necessary importance to other achievements in the political field. I hope that I shall not give that impression if I merely congratulate the Administering Authority and the Somali Government on the progress achieved in the taking over of the country's administrative structure: prefects, district councils, and so forth. We have noted that excellent results have been obtained.

We wish to concentrate on certain particular points. Thus, we now turn to the economic position and to the imperious needs of the Soudan Government for financial assistance.

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

The report of the International Bank is a strong document in which facts are reviewed coldly, as if they had been studied by a clinician examining a case. A diagnosis has been made, and the remedy must be found and properly applied. Although the Bank's report may not have told us a great deal more than we already learned from the Administering Authority -- we have been informed that Somaliland will require financial assistance for a number of years after 1960 -- it has evaluated the present resources and prospects for the future, and it has been rather severe regarding the question of banana production, the development of other sources of income, the use of soil and land, etc.

We have heard the representative of Italy, the special representative and the Minister for Economic Affairs state that they have not fully shared the pessimistic conclusions appearing in the report of the Bank and that they had reason to believe that a programme resolutely and sensibly undertaken could give satisfactory results. The representative of the Bank himself has stated that the report has not taken into consideration other factors than those which reflected hard realities; but these other factors do exist, and one of the first of these is the desire of the Somali people to live their own lives as an independent nation, which implies that they have faith in themselves, faith in their future, and that they are prepared to undertake the necessary sacrifices.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Isa, has said to the Legislative Assembly: "it must always be remembered by everyone that the grandeur and well-being of a country are not gifts, but the fruit of sacrifices, of labour, and of the savings of a whole nation." What the Somali Government desires is that it should be granted the means to face the realities of life as an independent people.

Although we may agree with those who say that these are hard facts, we shall not agree if they contend that these people, who aspire to achieve independence, would do better to remain attached to the Administering Authority. Are we going to punish these people because they desire their emancipation? Is it proposed to rejoice in eventual disaster? That would scarcely be altruistic.

The International Bank, then, was called upon for consultation. Unfortunately, its terms of reference did not go beyond "the study of the existing situation and of the possibilities of economic development, and not a study of any proposal involving financial assistance on the part of the Bank," as the representative of Italy has reminded us. But it happens that financial assistance is the crux of the

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

problem. We have heard it suggested that we should now send a United Nations technical assistance mission to Somaliland. This is a second body of experts that, it has been suggested, should be called into consultation. The Haitian delegation fears that we shall not register any real progress in the matter of financial assistance, which is the obvious necessity in this case.

We were among the first to request that a United Nations technical assistance mission should be sent to our own country. Therefore, we have had actual experience. Many people have taken a good deal of time to understand that the report of the mission would not be followed by a contribution from the United Nations and that it would not automatically open the doors of any bank. As the representative of Italy has pointed out, the sending of a mission immediately involves a contribution to the costs by the country concerned, which contribution is reflected in its budget. Unavoidable expenditures are involved, and when recommendations have been accepted, programmes and plans worked out, the primary question still remains, namely, the question of financing. That is why my delegation was interested in SUNFED, the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development. We are all aware of the difficulties encountered heretofore in setting up this Fund, and although we retain the hope that the Fund will actually be established, the fact is that it does not exist and cannot be counted upon for assistance either this year or in X number of years.

Therefore, we revert to the question which we had raised in the first place, namely, whether, in view of the concern expressed in financial circles regarding the period following 1960 -- since it is one of the hard facts of life that the accession to independence of a country brings a certain constraint in financial assistance at the time when it may be most necessary -- Funds will be advanced by the bank.

The reason why we asked this question is very simple. The Bank's report does not entitle us to think that the Bank would be anxious to assist, even in those various branches of activity where private enterprise would be able to proceed. As far as the other aspect of the problem is concerned, regarding the period before 1960, there is no question of assistance, since the Bank's report states: "Assistance would have to take the form of gifts; in fact, loans would be absolutely inadvisable, in view of the probable slowness in expansion."

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

Since direct aid to Somaliland by the Bank is out of the question, we have thought, therefore, that some other solution might be found. The representative of Italy has told us that his Government is not prepared, of its own volition, to offer financial assistance to Somaliland unless it is formally requested to do so. We quite understand the scruples of the Italian Government. We can even understand that the Government of Somaliland might have preferred to receive assistance from our Organization or from other exterior source. But if direct assistance by the United Nations cannot be envisaged at the present stage, are we just going to fold our arms? Italy has shown in a remarkable fashion, in its capacity as Administering Authority, that the confidence placed in it was justified and that it is prepared to be a friend to Somaliland and to give it the technical assistance which it would wish to request from it.

We must help Italy to overcome these scruples. The relations between Somaliland and Italy being as they are -- that is to say, of an exceptional quality, strengthened by time -- we do not see why Italy, with its respect for the sovereign rights of the independent State of Somaliland, and Somaliland, in its respect for the obligations which it will freely assume, could not grant and receive the necessary financial assistance.

There are, in our opinion, two possible solutions. If Italy were required to provide this financial assistance and would agree to do it only through the Bank, it would have to pay the interest on the loan and to make reimbursement. If it agreed to provide the assistance directly, the problem of paying interest on the money would not arise.

There is another possibility. An agreement is now in force between Italy and the United States of America. I am speaking of the agreement of 28 June 1954, by which the Somali development fund was set up, consisting, in part, of payments by the Italian and American Governments on an equal basis. If it is difficult to cover the budgetary deficit under this agreement, we would not object to increased assistance or development of economic programmes after 1960. It would only be necessary to change the bilateral agreement into a tripartite agreement.

If the Governments concerned would accept this method, and if the Council were to make a recommendation on these lines, my delegation believes that we would

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

have the double advantage of seeing the burden shared and of being able to make use of an organization already on the spot and familiar with the situation. As far as the problem of the deficit is concerned, it might be possible to avoid it if Italy would agree explicitly, in any new accord reached between the partners, to assume the burden of the amount of the deficit.

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

My delegation has been led to express these considerations because we are convinced that an urgent decision is necessary as regards financial assistance to be given to Somaliland. We have been told both by the Bank and by the Administering Authority that no plan could be validly prepared if one is not sure of being able to count on this assistance. We think that assistance from our Organization would have been the most desirable; but in the present state of affairs we do not see any possibility of aid coming from the United Nations. We therefore have turned to what we thought to be the most practical approach: Italian assistance either direct or indirect, through the International Bank or in association with the United States of America through the Fund for the Development of Somaliland. In making these suggestions, my delegation thought it could contribute to the study of a situation which is of concern to all of us and for which it is preferable to take specific measures rather than to wait for an ideal solution in the uncertain future.

In the social field, my delegation hopes that the problem of the nomads will find, if not a speedy solution -- which is not possible -- at least some sort of considerable improvement by the creation of conditions increasingly favourable to the sedentary life of these people.

We were pleased to note that the Somali women are playing an increasingly active and enlightened role in the social and political life of the country although they still do not have the right to vote. It is to be desired that at the appropriate time the Legislative Assembly will devote its best attention to a proposal of the Government to grant women the right to vote.

Concerning the cost of living, the question of nutrition of the population and its effect on the health of the population, my delegation hopes that the necessary adjustments will be made. While the statement has been made that there is a very limited amount of unemployment and that the Somali Government has as its policy to maintain the cost of basic commodities at a very low level, there are some commodities that are still very high. In this connexion, the Advisory Council has not failed to draw our attention to the fact that it would be well to take steps to prevent an inflationary movement which would lead to an increase in the cost of living if wages are not held at reasonable levels.

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

Finally, my delegation took note of the progress achieved in the field of education. We are familiar with the great difficulties encountered as regards the construction of new buildings, the providing of school equipment and the recruitment of teachers. However, there has been an increase in the number of pupils attending both primary and secondary schools.

The higher Institute of legal, economic and social studies continues to provide for the training of Somalis at a level which allows them to continue their studies in Italian universities. It is to be hoped that the Institute, which already has a legal status, will develop steadily and that it will become a Somali university in the fullest sense of the word and that it will provide courses in other fields, taking account of the fact that there are not as yet Somali engineers and doctors.

It is difficult for my delegation to conclude its remarks without once more referring to the question of the Somali language. In reading paragraph 311 of the report of the Advisory Council, which concerns the publication in the Corriere of last March, of an entire page in Somali as well as the Somali alphabet with the Arabic equivalent I took pleasure in noting this. However, my pleasure was diminished two lines later when I read that the idea of continuing such a publication every week had been abandoned.

The Arabic alphabet for the Somali language appears to my delegation to be a possible solution after the successive failures of other language characters. We have also supported that idea as long as two years ago, and we cannot understand why it did not succeed. This was not a question of inventing an artificial language; it was a question of giving a written form to a language spoken by the greater part of the population. The pertinent opinions of UNESCO concerning the advantages which would accrue from the use of the mother tongue of the people cannot be rejected. It might be a good idea to consult the people themselves on the question, as the Trusteeship Council has recommended at previous sessions. The Somali Government might take advantage of the opportunity to do this at the next elections.

These are the few observations that my delegation wished to make concerning the situation in Somaliland under Italian Administration. It remains for me now to thank the representative of Italy, and the special representatives as well as the members of the Advisory Council who have helped us in our study of these conditions.

Mr. CLAEYS BOUUAERT (Belgium)(interpretation from French): First of all, I should like to associate my delegation to the welcome that the President addressed to Sir Andrew Cohen, the new representative of the United Kingdom in the Trusteeship Council. I do so all the more gladly because I already had the privilege of meeting Sir Andrew both in Brussels and in Africa, and during these meetings I have had ample opportunity to appreciate the loftiness of his thoughts, the depth of his views, the sincerity of his devotion to understanding between the peoples of Europe and Africa.

I also wish to associate the Belgian delegation to the gratitude that has already been expressed to those whose work and studies have again this year been of such basic importance in placing at the disposition of the Council all the information and opinions which could best enable us to gain a clear and complete picture of the situation in Somaliland under Italian administration.

As usual, the report of the Italian Government is a remarkably lucid and clear presentation. The representative of Italy, Ambassador Grillo, and the special representatives, Messrs. Zadotti and Gasbarri, have admirably completed our information with their statements and always frank and complete answers. The presence in the Italian delegation of the Minister for Economic Affairs of the Somali Government, Mr. Hagi Farah Ali Omar and Mr. Mohammed Shek Osman was also very valuable.

I also cannot pass over in silence the report of the Advisory Council of the United Nations nor the effective participation of its members in our discussions.

I also wish to associate myself on this occasion with the earnest regrets that were expressed by the head of the French delegation because of the fact that the French text of this report was not placed at our disposal.

Finally, it would not be an exaggeration to say that our most important concerns have received answers in the very clear and complete report of the Mission that was sent to Somaliland by the International Bank in order to study the existing economic situation and the general possibilities of development in Somaliland.

The opinion has been expressed that certain conclusions in that report were rather pessimistic. In the opinion of the Belgian delegation, this viewpoint is not quite justified. The role played by the experts of the Bank was to give an objective picture of the existing situation, and they would not have fulfilled their mission if they had not pointed clearly and completely to the economic problems

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(Mr. Claeys Bouuaert, Belgium)

in the Territory, with detailed data and figures. These problems are extremely difficult, and no easy solution appears to be at hand. Optimism is justified by the will to succeed and by actions rather than in the analysis and the evaluation of difficulties to be overcome.

There is little to say with respect to the political field. We can only repeat the statement made last year that the Italian Government deserves the commendation of the Council for the skill and efficiency with which it is leading the Somali people towards the termination of Trusteeship. The stages already covered in 1956 are spectacular. Legislative initiative has been transferred, without any restriction, to local government and to the Legislative Assembly. My delegation, above all, wishes to stress the spirit of confidence and co-operation which animates the representatives of the Administering Authority and those of the Somali people in their mutual relationship. They both deserve congratulations. This situation augurs well for the future because such co-operation and confidence will be useful, indeed necessary, not only between now and the date of accession to independence, but even after that date.

With regard to the economic situation, the report of the Bank's experts and the data furnished by the Administering Authority point to two main series of facts. First, a conservative analysis of the economic position of the Territory does not allow us to hope for speedy progress. Possibilities of development exist in several fields. The main field seems to be the more rational and more methodical exploitation of the livestock which is possessed, almost in its entirety, by the nomads.

In the agricultural field, the extension and diversification of production is possible, and the Administering Authority is energetically and competently trying to achieve this aim. Certain industries, such as the processing of products, may also generate new resources. However, all these various possibilities require long and patient work and, in the foreseeable future, will furnish only limited results. There is no short-cut that will surely and rapidly lead to success and prosperity.

In the past, the Belgian delegation has repeatedly drawn the attention of the Administering Authority and the Council to the necessity of envisaging a method of taxation on livestock, with the double aim of increasing the public revenue of the Territory and of inducing more methodical commercialization of animal husbandry. We are very glad to see that the government of Somaliland has resolutely followed in this direction and is endeavouring to integrate the nomad or semi-nomad breeders in the cycle of economic life.

The special representative has shown us clearly, and with conviction, how the increase in the number of water holes, which allows for better rotation of pastures, combined with the extension of veterinary services and the diffusion of better zootechnic methods will lead to constant and considerable progress.

The future of banana-growing is a crucial problem which has been analysed at length in the Bank's report. On this question, the opinion of the Belgian delegation is very close to the one expressed last Friday by the representative of the United Kingdom. Whatever the difficulties may be -- and they are certainly impressive -- no responsible government would, without trying to resolve them, decide to relinquish an activity which at present furnishes two thirds of the foreign exchange value and the disappearance of which, according to the report of the Bank, could not be compensated in any foreseeable future by any other export crop.

The second series of facts which have been shown in the process of examining the situation in the Territory has been outlined in the Bank's report as follows:

"Without continuing financial aid after the end of the Trusteeship, not merely for capital investment but also on current account, there would be a drastic reduction in present standards of administration, education and the social services, the abandonment of much of the pioneer work already carried out and the frustration of hopes for higher living standards in the future." (T/1926, page 91)

The financial assistance envisaged would reach a total of 32 to 34 million somalos, as shown by the estimate of the Administering Authority and as stated in the Bank's report. The Minister for Economic Affairs of Somaliland hopes that it will be possible to drop this figure to 27 million somalos. The two estimates provide only 10 million for public investment purposes. The duration of such financial assistance, or any financial assistance, will probably be very long. It will probably last for another twenty years after termination of Trusteeship.

If it is possible to isolate the forecasts with regard to investments, it is far more difficult to distribute, rationally, the assessments for technical assistance purposes and those of the ordinary budget expenditure. These two fields overlap. Somaliland is indeed choice ground for implementation of technical assistance programmes, that is, for the utilization of international

experts and for scholarships to Somali students for studies abroad. But this is not the real and main problem. Somaliland will need not merely consultative advice by experts, but it will mainly need actual specialists and qualified technicians to work in various branches of its administration: medicine, technical services, veterinary service, agriculture, public works etc. Somaliland will need civil servants who will co-operate with the government and who will not be consultants but executives.

This point has been stressed by the representative of Italy and by the Minister of Economic Affairs of Somaliland. In my opinion, it is necessary to consider that the subsidies which are envisaged to cover budgetary needs will be spent for salaries of such specialists. Those items cannot be dissassociated; it is only a matter of distribution.

As to the funds necessary for public investments, the representative of India stressed, quite correctly, as did the experts of the Bank, that the Somaliland situation requires grants rather than loans. The financial problem thus exists. Its nature is well known. But it is not possible for my delegation or for any other delegation to suggest a solution at this stage, for we are in the presence of an important positive element. In his preliminary statement, the representative of Italy declared that bearing in mind the close relationship between Somaliland and Italy, his Government was resolved to continue to furnish assistance if the Somalis will be prepared to accept it.

I believe that we must note this statement and congratulate the Italian Government for this step, which is most important for the solution of the financial problems of an independent Somalia.

Up to 1960 the situation is quite clear; such assistance will be furnished under the existing Trusteeship regime. After the termination of Trusteeship, the Somali Government will have to take the necessary decisions.

The General Assembly wisely decided that on 2 December 1960, Somalia will become a sovereign State and will be admitted in its own right to membership in the United Nations. Its relations with the other Member States will be of a sovereign nature and therefore we cannot prejudge the position of the Somali Government after that date.

In the meantime, the Administering Authority, in co-operation with the present leaders of the Somali Government, should study all the possibilities of assistance that the United Nations, the specialized agencies, the Technical Assistance Administration and the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development can give to the Somali Government if it requests such assistance.

The Council may note with satisfaction that this work of exploration has already commenced, since the representative of Italy stated last Friday that "the presence in New York of the Somali Minister for Economic Affairs, of the special representative -- who is working in close contact with the Somali Government -- and of another representative of the Somali Legislative Assembly has prompted us to request the Secretariat to arrange for informal and preliminary discussions of an over-all programme of technical assistance."
(T/PV.799, page 6)

In the opinion of the Belgian delegation, all we can do at present is to ask the Government of the Administering Authority and the Somali Government to continue along this road and encourage them to do so.

Mr. KIANG (China): In our examination this year of the annual report on Somaliland under Italian administration, we have had with us in the Council the Minister for Economic Affairs of the Somali Government, Mr. Hagi Farah Ali Omar, and the representative of the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Mohamed Shek Osman. Their presence here is most welcome.

My delegation has studied with great care the annual report and the opening statement of the representative of Italy, who has been ably assisted by the special representatives, Mr. Zaddodi and Mr. Gasbarri.

My delegation also wishes to express its appreciation to the members of the United Nations Advisory Council, whose report has been most constructive in our consideration of the various problems concerning the Trust Territory. We are therefore very grateful to the representatives of Colombia, Egypt and the Philippines who, as members of the Advisory Council, came to assist our deliberations on the Territory the development of which has been much benefitted by the efforts of the Advisory Council throughout these years.

Before proceeding to offer the observations of my delegation on the advancement in the various fields of the Territory, I would like to make a very brief comment on the Advisory Council's functions under the changing circumstances. It may be recalled that at its eighteenth session this Council expressed its satisfaction that the Advisory Council and the Administering Authority continued to enjoy a fruitful and co-operative relationship. In the year under review the work of the Advisory Council has not been as fruitful as it should have been. This may be largely due to the important constitutional developments in the Territory which could themselves be taken as a tribute to the exercise of the functions of the Advisory Council. With the replacement of the consultative Territorial Council by the elective Legislative Assembly, the responsibility of enacting legislation in the Territory has largely passed from the Administering Authority to the Somalis themselves. Whether this important phase of political development has rendered impotent some of the original functions of the Advisory Council it is hard to say. My delegation is, however, inclined to give a liberal rather than a restrictive interpretation to article 8 of the Trusteeship Agreement

for the Territory of Somaliland. Under the terms of article 8, the Advisory Council is entitled to be fully informed by the Administering Authority on all matters relating to the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Territory, including legislation appertaining thereto. Even though the Administering Authority has claimed to have no advance knowledge of draft legislation after 1 May 1957, the Advisory Council could still be informed and asked for advice at one stage of the legislative process when bills approved by the Legislative Assembly must be submitted to the Administrator for sanction.

The Advisory Council stated in its report that

"... the Advisory Council's terms of reference, since they were formulated years before the establishment of the Somali legislative bodies contain no provision whereby the Council shall aid and advise the Somali legislative bodies." (T/1311, paragraph 31)

As we all know, the preamble of the Trusteeship Agreement provides that during the period of ten years the Territory shall be placed under the International Trusteeship System with Italy as the Administering Authority, aided and advised by the Advisory Council. In our opinion, it is in accord with both the spirit and intention of the Trusteeship Agreement that the Somali Government in its own interests should find ways and means to seek, through the Administering Authority, the Advisory Council's recommendations which are conducive to the attainment of the objectives of the Trusteeship Agreement.

We are therefore glad to hear from the representative of Italy that "new ways may have to be found in order to make the continuation of the constructive work of the Advisory Council possible." (T/PV.795, page 13-15) Both the Somali Government and the Administering Authority must know how much they can be benefitted by the aid and advice of the Advisory Council. As the General Assembly is expected to review this question, we hope the Administering Authority will, in full consultation with the Advisory Council, examine the possibilities that the Advisory Council can continue to play its useful and effective role.

So much for the Advisory Council. Now let me turn to the political advancement of the Territory. We think the Council should note with much satisfaction that during the year under review the Territory has made great and rapid progress in entrusting Somali officials with responsible political and administrative functions. It is also gratifying to note that with a greater measure of autonomy for the municipal administration the Somalization of the local administrations of all regions and districts of the Territory is now complete.

(Mr. Kiang, China)

When the Council examined the conditions in the Territory last year, my delegation drew the attention of the Council to the importance of the electoral law. We believe that the electoral law should provide for a proper system of registration of qualified voters of the rural and nomadic populations. We are, therefore, happy to learn from the Advisory Council that the draft law concerning the census of the population residing outside the municipal areas has been approved by the Somali Legislative Assembly and has now become law. This is indeed an important step toward the improvement of the electoral system.

In view of the imminent election of a Constituent Assembly, we are anxious to see that a new electoral law and a law of citizenship is adopted as early as possible. On this score, the representative of Italy has assured the Council that both a new electoral law and a law of citizenship will be promulgated before the election of the Constituent Assembly. The passage of the law defining the national status of the inhabitants of the Territory will undoubtedly rule out the fear of the inclusion of any representatives of foreign minorities among the members of the Constituent Assembly.

With respect to the question of the frontier between Ethiopia and Somaliland, we have noted with interest that an Italian delegation is to leave soon for Addis Ababa to resume direct negotiations with the Ethiopian Government. We hope this time the negotiations will bear fruit. Both Italy and Ethiopia must be fully aware of the recommendations of the General Assembly.

Now let me turn to the economic development of the Territory. The Council may still recall that last year Mr. Anzilotti of the Administering Authority warned us that it was unlikely that the Somali Government could succeed in balancing its ordinary budget by 1960. His warning had brought into focus the dangers inherent in a deficit budgetary operation in all the years since the inception of the Trusteeship Administration. In face of that warning last year, my delegation strongly urged that military expenditures be reduced, that the money thus saved be diverted to capital investments, and that internal revenue be increased by resorting to efficient tax collection and imposing a new cattle tax. We understand that the Advisory Council has suggested that the matter of the reduction of military expenditures be examined by a commission of experts established by and reporting to the Legislative Assembly. However, it is gratifying to note that the reduction of military expenditures is reflected in the 1957 budget. As to the

(Mr. Kiang, China)

cattle tax, we have heard from the special representative, Mr. Gasbarri, that the Somali Government is studying the possibility of introducing a new tax on cattle.

In his statement before this Council, Mr. Omar, the Minister of Economic Affairs, conveyed to us the Somali Government's appeal for the common efforts of the United Nations and the Italian Government to search for the best solution to enable independent Somaliland to attain economic viability after 1960.

In the opinion of my delegation, this appeal of the Somali Government can be best appraised with realism by studying the report of the Mission of the International Bank which is now before this Council. It was at the request of the Italian Government that the International Bank sent a mission to study the possibilities of the economic development of the Territory. My delegation wishes to pay its tribute to the Mission of the International Bank for its most informative report. May I also say that my delegation does not share the view that the findings of the Bank's Mission are in the realm of pessimism.

In its report, the Bank's Mission has impressed us with the fact that in addition to the limitation of the meagre resources and future budgetary deficits, the economy of the Territory has suffered from the continued uncertainty, of which the future position of banana industry is the most serious. During the questioning period much has been revealed as to the intentions of the Somali Government and the Administering Authority with regard to the banana industry and its alternatives.

Whatever may be said with regard to the views of the International Bank's Mission on the question of the industry in the Territory, it would not be wise for us to ignore the finding of the Mission that in the long run the interests of Somaliland may not be best served by keeping indefinitely in existence an industry which is uneconomic. However, we fully understand how difficult it is to cut the Gordian Knot.

The International Bank's Mission has expressed very deep concern over the financial situation in which Somaliland will have to find itself in 1960 and years after. In the opinion of the Mission, without continuing financial aid after the end of the Trusteeship and twenty years after,

"there would be a drastic reduction in present standards of administration, education and the social services, the abandonment of much of the pioneer work already carried out and the frustration of hopes for higher living standards in the future." (T/1295, page 91)

(Mr. Kiang, China)

On this both the Somali Government and the Administering Authority seemed to be in agreement. Somaliland needs both financial aid and technical assistance from outside long after its independence.

As we know, the Bank's Mission had not been asked to study any proposals for financial assistance from the Bank itself. What kind of role the International Bank can play in giving assistance to the Territory seems to be obscure. I need hardly say that the International Bank made most of the loans for specific projects upon the basis of an appraisal of the borrowing country's economic prospects and its probable capacity for repayment and debt servicing.

Technical assistance for the Territory will be needed in public works, public health, education, agriculture and other social services. Such technical assistance should be provided with no difficulties under the programme of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. In this connexion, it is gratifying to hear from the representative of Italy that the Italian Government is firmly resolved to continue to offer technical assistance in so far as the Somalis are willing to accept.

As to financial assistance, Somaliland will have to look to the advanced countries. We believe that the Somali Government will lose no time in entering into consultations with the Italian Government for the purpose of exploring ways and means as to how much external financial aid either in loans or in grants could be forthcoming in time to allow long-range programmes to be launched without much delay. It would, of course, be most advantageous to the Territory if both financial and technical assistance could be administered in common. On the financial aid, we believe Mr. Omar has very good reasons for telling the Council that his Government places great trust in the assistance of the Italian Government.

Of course, another source of capital investment in the Territory will be foreign private capital. In this connexion, it is most encouraging to note that the Minister of Economic Affairs of Somaliland has reaffirmed in this Council the solemn pledge of the Legislative Assembly for the absolute respect of foreign investment. He has also given us to understand that the procedure and terms for foreign investment will be laid down in legislation very shortly. At the same time, we are happy to hear from the representative of Italy that the Italian banks are studying the question of guaranteeing private investment to the extent of So. 22 million.

(Mr. Kiang, China)

In conclusion, my delegation would like to congratulate the Somali Government and the Administering Authority for the increasing progress that has been made in the political, social and educational advancement of the Territory. I am sure the Council will look forward with immense interest and great expectation to the Administering Authority's directing its attention and efforts to the difficult economic situation of the Territory with vision and statesmanship.

U KYAW MIN (Burma): As in so many matters coming before this Council, the question under discussion today, namely, conditions in the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration, could easily remain on our agenda for many days, perhaps even weeks, precisely because the question is so serious and in some ways so complicated. Many of my colleagues seated around this table have, in their respective interventions that preceded mine, dealt in a systematic and thorough manner with the many and varied problems which are before us. I shall therefore, in my present intervention in the general debate, limit my remarks to what I consider and my delegation considers to be the three crucial issues involved in the discussion of the present item.

First, we are absolutely clear that this body, the United Nations Advisory Council, the Administering Authority, the Somali Government -- in short, all the parties concerned -- are absolutely committed to the proposition that the present Trusteeship Agreement affecting Somaliland will cease to be in force on 2 December 1960 and that thereafter, in accordance with the agreement with the Administering Authority, the people of Somaliland shall have become a duly constituted independent Government. The undertakings leading to this momentous event require that the Administering Authority submit to this body before 2 June 1959 a plan for the orderly transfer of all functions of Government to a duly constituted independent Government of Somaliland.

A study of the pertinent reports and documents in respect of this question has convinced my delegation that the agreement with the Administering Authority calling for these provisions will be properly honoured.

We have taken particular note of the relevant sections of the United Nations Advisory Council's report for the Trust Territory, contained in document T/1311, in which it is made clear

- (a) that the Territory has proceeded satisfactorily and at an increased rate towards self-government;
- (b) that the Legislative Assembly has been functioning since April 1956 and has in fact created a Somali Government; and
- (c) that there has been such intensification of political training as to effect the "Somalization" of local administrations of all regions and districts of the Territory as rapidly as possible.

Thus, with as much certainty as anyone may have with respect to the future, we have reason to expect that Somaliland in 1960 will have emerged into independence from the status of a conquered colony, with almost a decade of war-time caretaker Government, and from being a uniquely constituted United Nations Trust Territory. This land, approximately the size of my country's neighbour, Thailand, having a largely homogeneous population approximately one fifteenth that of Thailand -- and I am basing this last comparison on the official population estimates -- will by 1960 be presumably ready to assume the tasks of sovereignty.

Such an event would normally call for approval and even much rejoicing; for the elimination of domination of one people over another, the restoration of freedom to a people, are events which always elicit the approval of most, if not all, Members of the United Nations. Certainly my delegation would wish to be among the rejoicing ones as it is presently among the approving ones.

It would indeed be a comforting thing to my delegation if we could rest the case as we look expectantly forward to the political events of June 1959 and December 1960. True, there are a number of political questions which are still persisting and to which practical solutions must be sought energetically and urgently. The frontier problem between the Trust Territory and Ethiopia; the question of establishing a Somali citizenship; the problem of tribal tensions, which is recognized as existing and not entirely solved as yet; the problem of women and of suffrage; these are some of the few remaining ones to which my delegation attaches concern. There are also a number of socio-cultural questions -- for example, the problem of nomadism, which for one could and should be raised and effectively combatted -- which are in fact implied or stated by the able documentation of the Secretariat as contained in its working paper (document T/L.765). If the political future of Somaliland were the sole issue, we could, as I have indicated, be relatively content with the record of progress achieved thus far and the promises of future progress indicated both by the Administering Authority and by the Advisory Council. We should be confident that a solution to the problem of universal suffrage would be sought and found while a solution to the problem of nomadism would necessarily be a long, drawn-out affair.

But the attainment of political sovereignty in 1960, crucial as it is for the United Nations and for the people of Somaliland, is clouded by other difficulties. Therefore, we cannot rest the case as yet. Hence I shall now raise what we regard as the second crucial issue.

The documentation provided by the Secretariat and especially by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in document T/1296 entitled "The Economy of the Trust Territory of Somaliland" and by the Advisory Council (T/1311) is profoundly disturbing in several ways. We have learned that, as presently organized and developed, the economy of Somaliland cannot sustain itself. We have learned that a reasonable examination of the Administering Authority's plans for its economic development based on the relatively meagre resources of the Territory would leave the latter, at the time of independence, incapable of survival economically at anything like even its present levels of production and consumption. The World Bank reports that there cannot be any significant acceleration or growth in output during the years preceding independence and that therefore, without continuing financial aid, after the end of the Trusteeship Agreement, there would necessarily follow a drastic reduction in standards of living and even the abandonment of much of the pioneer work already launched. The Bank insists that Somaliland after 1960 will be in need of "exceptional assistance" for as long as twenty years. We have learned that the deficits which would exist in an independent Somali budget and balance of payments based on the assumption of the continuation of present economic, domestic and export policies would amount to the equivalent of several millions of dollars. Such deficits would exist despite the continuation of the existing aid agreements executed by the United States and by the Italian Government. In short, Somaliland would enter its period of independence in danger of economic jeopardy.

The dangerous character of this conclusion becomes accentuated when it is recognized that it is predicated on the dubious continuation of non-competitive industries and trades largely based on subsidies and preferential tariff systems supported by the Italian taxpayer. After Somaliland is free and independent there is no good reason why the Italian people should exclusively and excessively pay for the Somali banana business. The International Bank regards this industry and trade as essentially unprofitable and non-competitive, even if it should be more efficiently relocated and managed. Never has my delegation encountered so direct a statement as the one the Bank has made about this industry, which reads: "Without protection the industry would die".

(U Kyaw Min, Burma)

I think that there is little need to belabour the Council with this crucial issue. Beyond doubt, the report of the International Bank, which my delegation considers to be expertly and realistically propounded and admirably presented, has clearly established that, whenever Somaliland stops being wed to the Italian economy, and whenever the Italian people tire of carrying burdens additional to their own, Somaliland will require -- and I am quoting excerpts from the report of the Bank -- "external aid of about \$6 million equivalent a year... to maintain the present standard of administration and public services... and to allow for a moderate amount of public investment". And no one, least of all my delegation, would say that the present standards are not capable of justifiable improvements.

This situation brings me to my third crucial issue. My delegation submits that the United Nations cannot morally end this Trusteeship Agreement without making some provision for the economic as well as the political future of independent Somalia. We firmly hold the view that the Trusteeship Agreement with the Administering Authority should end on schedule in 1960. We also believe that, since this Territory has had a unique relationship with the United Nations, some relationship should be continued. We are not able to define that relationship today, but we are absolutely in agreement with the International Bank when it says that its Mission "is concerned with the importance of deciding what is to be done now, before the new State is set up, rather than later" -- and, again, "an end to the uncertainty is thus the most urgent and important contribution that can presently be made to the economic -- and, we add, the political -- future of Somaliland".

It would be irresponsible for my delegation to say: "Let us go ahead and somehow find the \$6 million to make up for the estimated deficit". It would be equally irresponsible for the United Nations to ignore the nature and causation of this deficit. This is not a mere deficit; it is an obstacle which could jeopardize the principles of the United Nations, the objectives of the International Trusteeship System, the ideals of self-determination, the need for independence of subject peoples and economic viability. It could, in short, mean the materialization of our fears and the frustration of our hopes. Failure in Somaliland could give comfort only to those who still hanker, overtly or covertly, after old or new forms of imperialism and colonialism.

Therefore, my delegation wishes to indicate today that the third crucial issue affecting Somaliland is the earnest search for, and the consideration of, solutions to this economic problem. Since we are Members of the United Nations, we share a common -- and, I would even say, a sacred -- responsibility for finding an appropriate solution.

In the meantime, we suggest that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme of the United Nations be asked to conduct further explorations -- not on descriptions, but on proposed solutions to this problem. We also suggest that the Administering Authority and such others as it may care to invite, plus the United Nations Advisory Council, share in these deliberations.

In sum, my delegation would gladly support any recommendation of this twentieth session of the Trusteeship Council to convoke a meeting of interested parties at the expert level to consider the problem of Somaliland's economic development in the light of my foregoing remarks. If this would impose an additional burden on the members of this Council and ultimately on the United Nations General Assembly itself, it would be, in the final analysis, in the interest not only of the Somali people but of the principles and purposes of the United Nations, for the fulfilment of which all of us have dedicated ourselves ceaselessly to strive.

Before closing my remarks, I should like to express my appreciation to the representative of Italy and to the special representatives, Mr. Zadotti and Mr. Gasbarri, for the valuable and illuminating information with which they have provided us at all stages of our proceedings on this item. I should likewise like to pay tribute to the Minister of Economic Affairs of Somalia and the representatives of the specialized agencies, who, by their various interventions in our discussions, have augmented our knowledge of the Territory, derived mainly from the wealth of systematic documentation available to us. And, last but not least, I should like to commend the United Nations Advisory Council for Somaliland, and more particularly its members present here with us, for the impressive record of its accomplishments in the past, from which the Somali people have obviously

benefited so much. My delegation is firmly convinced of the continuing usefulness of the Advisory Council in various matters and is also convinced that it will continue to play, and should continue to play, an important role in the life and development of Somaliland until the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement in 1960.

Mr. THORP (New Zealand): It is a pleasant duty, in opening my statement in the general debate on the annual report on the Trust Territory of Somaliland, formally to greet the representatives of the Government and the Legislative Assembly of the Trust Territory who have come to New York to assist us in our work. We appreciate particularly the action of the Government of Somaliland in enabling the Minister of Finance to join us this year, when the principal interest of the Council has been directed to the economic situation.

In the affairs of Somaliland, as in the case of other Territories nearing the achievement of the objectives of the Charter, the Council's role tends less and less to be one of examining in detail conditions in the political, economic, social and educational fields. The weight of responsibility for the day-to-day policies of administration now falls on the elected representatives of the people. The observations and comments of the Council over a period of seven years are available to the Somali Government, and much of this material will still be relevant. We commend the previous reports of the Council to their attention as they assume increasing control of their domestic affairs.

We are impressed with the confidence with which the responsibility has been accepted in the political field and with the speed with which governmental functions have been transferred. This is undoubtedly the result of the close and cordial co-operation which has been established over the years between the Administrator and his staff and the people of the Territory, and in particular with the leaders of the political groups.

With the reforms of May of this year, only the regulation of defence and foreign affairs falls outside the functions of the Legislative Assembly. The second Legislative Assembly, to be elected next year, will become a Constituent

Assembly where there will be decided the form of the constitution through which the independent State will be governed.

We note with considerable satisfaction the statements of policy of the Government of Somaliland regarding the position of minority groups in the community and will await with interest information as to the decisions of the Constituent Assembly on this question.

(Mr. Thorp, New Zealand)

Progress in the field of administration has also been impressive. The Advisory Council refers in its report to the almost complete somalization of the administrative services and has given statistical information to support and emphasize the changes which are taking place. We believe that the Trusteeship Council will certainly wish to express its approval of the progress made in transferring responsibility to locally recruited staff, particularly in the local administrations of the regions and districts, and also to express its approval of the measures being taken to train Somali civil servants for the more responsible tasks they must undertake in the essential services of the central government. We therefore welcome the incorporation in the Higher Institute for legal, economic and social studies of the school of political and administrative training, as an action calculated to emphasize the importance of an efficient, loyal and impartial public service.

The Government of Somaliland has, however, recognized frankly that specialist and technical Personnel with administrative ability must continue to come from outside the Territory in order to staff technical departments and to develop special projects, and that their numbers will increase if the plans which are being made for the future are to be fully implemented. It is to be hoped that the extensive scholarship scheme introduced by the Administering Authority, and assisted by other States, will enable a number of young Somalis to contribute skills to the service of their country in the relatively near future.

It would also appear that for some time to come the judiciary in Somalia will need to number among its members persons who are not Somalis but have the necessary qualifications to administer justice in accordance with the codes which the Legislative Assembly has authorized the Executive to establish. The independence of the judiciary and the separation of the courts from the political institutions of have recently been achieved. This will be a major legacy from the trusteeship era which the people of Somaliland will do well to guard jealously.

As to the economic situation in the Territory, the Council will surely agree that we have been well served by the broad and lucid assessment of conditions given us by the Administering Authority, through its representatives, by the Minister of Finance of Somalia, and in the pages of the reports of the mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Advisory Council.

(Mr. Thorp. New Zealand)

In particular, the Bank mission has -- to quote the words of the preface to its report -- provided "a basic working paper on the economy of Somalia for those who will have to determine what has to be done" (T/1296, page ii). The mission has also seen as its task to indicate "the points at which decisions are most urgently required and the factors that must be taken into consideration in making them" (ibid.).

In the course of the discussions which have ensued from questions on economic matters directed by all members of the Council to the representative of Italy and to the special representative, a great volume of detailed information about the prospects for various agricultural industries has been presented. Although the scientific expansions of livestock production is undeniably of first importance in the long term, the special representative has given evidence of the contribution which crops like cotton and ramie could make to the economy relatively soon, with the proper financing and technical advice.

As to the economics of banana production, these have probably been pursued as far as possible in this Council. At some points estimates diverge. Not unexpectedly, there are areas of uncertainty. My delegation is left with a feeling of uneasiness, for example, at the assumption that the growers of bananas will be willing or able to sustain the contraction of their profit margin on a kilogramme of fruit to about one third of the current level after 1960. This is one factor belonging to the "unknowns" of the complicated calculations in which we have engaged. This does not mean, of course, that we have any doubts about the wisdom of the present policy of seeking all possible economies in banana production, which must be expanded steadily in order to fulfill the contract, which runs until 1960.

The Council has learned from the representative of Italy that the Italian authorities and officials of the International Bank were agreed, when they conferred, that external financial assistance required after 1960 would amount to about So. 32 million as a minimum. The figure arrived at by the Somali Government -- a figure estimated at a later stage -- is somewhat lower. It is indeed reasonable to assume that any estimate made now about the economic situation in 1960 will require revision.

(Mr. Thorp, New Zealand)

The Council must, however, regard it as having been established beyond doubt that Somalia cannot expect, when the time-table laid down in 1950 by the General Assembly expires, to have developed an economy independent of outside aid. It may be desirable to record this fact formally, even though the deficit can be given only approximately.

Viewing the economic situation as a whole, we could not fail to gain encouragement, however, from the optimistic tone of the statement made to the Council by the Minister for Economic Affairs of Somalia. The open-minded approach of his Government to the question of continuing to develop the Territory in the period of independence by utilizing outside capital and technical skill had already, of course, been exemplified in the statement on the economic programme made by the Prime Minister in October 1956, at the opening meeting of the second session of the Legislative Assembly. Problems confronting the Territory were then appraised by Mr. Issa for the Legislative Assembly with frankness and realism. We noted with interest from this statement that his Government had held talks with Italian and international authorities on the question both of their current budget and of that predicted for 1960. The Assembly was informed of the assurance received of reasonable financial assistance from Italy even after 1960, a gesture by the Administering Authority the generosity of which will be readily acknowledged by us all.

As I have stated, thanks to the work of the Bank's mission, to the evaluation made by the Administering Authority from its special knowledge, and to the recognition by the Government of Somalia itself of the country's needs, the scope and nature of the economic problem is now broadly defined. The Government of Somalia has shown its readiness to face realistically the fact that public and private capital will be needed which cannot be provided by local investors if the country's economy is not to regress and the living standard of the population to fall below the levels which the contributions of the Administering Authority have so far sustained and will sustain, in keeping with its responsibilities under the Trusteeship Agreement, until 1960.

In fact, the Trusteeship Council's position on this question of investment is long established. In 1951, the first recorded observations made by the Council on economic conditions in the Territory approved the encouragement of private and public investment and urged the Administering Authority to take measures to achieve

(Mr. Thorp. New Zealand)

this, as well as to study the methods which might be adopted to extend adequate guarantees to external private investors. There has been no deviation in the Council from the attitude taken at that opening session on this question.

The broad lines of the economic situation projected for the post-1960 period are now sufficiently well established to make it practicable to explore potential sources of the technical and financial aid likely to be required. In considering how this study could most effectively be pursued, the New Zealand delegation works from the premise that it is primarily for the representatives of the people of Somalia to decide what their needs are and how those needs may be met from among the possible alternative courses open to them. We should, therefore, be in favour of a procedure which would associate the Government of Somalia fully with such an inquiry.

If, therefore, the Administering Authority were to be invited by the Council to explore the possibilities, on the understanding that this would be done in collaboration with and with the participation of the Somali Government, a double purpose would be achieved.

(Mr. Thorp, New Zealand)

In the period of trusteeship, political representatives and senior Somali officials have acquired an extensive knowledge and experience in this field, especially as regards the negotiations of bilateral aid and technical assistance. They will be in a position to make their own contributions to such a study and would, as well, gain additional experience likely to be invaluable in future years. It should be possible for the Council to receive a report from the Administering Authority, perhaps by the next regular session.

There have been worth while achievements in health and education, which would ordinarily have absorbed a greater degree of attention. If we do not remark on them at length today, it is not from lack of interest or appreciation of the problems being met by the Administration. Comments have, of course, been made on conditions in these fields by members of the Council and by representatives of the specialized agencies.

It was also helpful to have an exchange of views in the Council at this session on the functions of the Advisory Council. For our part, we have no doubt that, given the obvious good will and amicable relations which exist between the members of the Council, the Administering Authority and the representatives of the Somali people, collaboration will continue to be fruitful. Its nature must clearly change to meet changing circumstances in the same way as does the role of the Administering Authority change. There has been no suggestion that the spirit of the Trusteeship Agreement and the international guarantees which it assures are not being honoured completely on all sides, and there is no cause, as we see it, for any misgivings that the direction of the evolution of the role of the Advisory Council will fail to be understood by Members of the General Assembly.

I take this opportunity to record my delegation's appreciation of the excellent report presented to us by the Advisory Council, which has brought us fully up to date on many important developments.

In conclusion, Mr. President, may I extend through you the thanks of my delegation to the representative of Italy, Mr. Grillo, and to the special representatives, Mr. Gasbarri and Mr. Zadotti, whose explanations and statements were lucid, patient and always to the point.

The meeting was suspended at 4.15 p.m. and resumed at 4.30 p.m.

Mr. KESTLER (Guatemala) (interpretation from Spanish): Before making my delegation's final statement, permit me to associate myself with the words of welcome which you, Mr. President, and the representatives who have spoken before me extended to Sir Andrew Cohen, the new representative of the United Kingdom on the Trusteeship Council. We are sure that his contribution to the work of this Council will be as valuable as that of his distinguished predecessor.

The study of conditions in the Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration has been of singular importance at this session. The documentation that has been provided to the different delegations has been fairly copious and interesting. In addition to the annual report prepared by the Administering Authority and the working paper prepared by the Secretariat, we have had before us the report of the Advisory Council contained in document T/1311 and the report of the Mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in document T/1296. In addition, the Council has had the assistance of Mr. Hagi Farah Ali Omar, Minister for Economic Affairs of Somaliland, Mr. Mohamed Shek Osman, the representative of the Legislative Assembly of Somaliland, Mr. Gasbarri, who was in charge of the Agency for the Economic Development of Somaliland, Mr. Williams, representative of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Messrs. de Holte Castello of Colombia, El-Zayat of Egypt, and Baradi of the Philippines as members of the Advisory Council of the United Nations for the Territory, Mr. Salsamendi of UNESCO, Dr. Tabona of WHO and, lastly, Messrs. Grillo and Zadotti, the representatives of the Administering Authority. These are all people who, in intervening in our debates, have provided valuable information and who have given evidence of their competence and full knowledge of all the problems concerning the Territory in their respective fields of specialized knowledge.

My delegation would like to express its gratitude to the delegation of Italy and to the officials of Somaliland for their attention and the patience with which they answered our questions, and we should also like to express our gratitude to the representatives of the Bank, of UNESCO, of WHO, as well as to the members of the Advisory Council, for the way in which they helped to supplement the information provided by the Administering Authority in the annual report for 1956.

Somaliland is a Territory which, by decision of the United Nations, will obtain its independence in 1960. Moreover, it has been repeatedly stated in this Council that the fundamental problem to be solved in Somaliland is the economic problem, which so seriously conditions and affects the solution of the social and educational problems. That is the reason why, in our statement of last year, we confined our comments to general statements and refrained from making concrete recommendations, in the hope that this attitude of ours, along these lines, would be considered as a contribution directly made to the people of Somaliland and, particularly, to its leaders. I repeat that we did not do this because our delegation intended to give advice to the people of Somaliland -- which, it may be said in passing, has already set up a Government of its own, aware of the needs of the Territory -- but rather because we are guided by a desire to contribute, even modestly, to the consideration of its problems and because we consider that in view of the special situation in the Territory, the people will not remain indifferent to the opinions expressed in this Council and will receive sympathetically constructive suggestions designed to consolidate its independent future.

In the political field, important events have occurred during this year which undoubtedly will imply certain progress in the Territory's process of becoming independent. We should like to highlight, as the most important event, the opening of the first session of the Legislative Assembly in Mogadiscio at the end of April 1957. This Assembly, as we have been told by the Administering Authority, is entrusted with the task of preparing the new electoral act which will serve as a basis for the elections to a second Legislative Assembly which will also act as a Constituent Assembly. So that, as Mr. Grillo has emphasized, by the end of 1958, Somaliland will have four basic institutions of a sovereign State: a Constitution, a Head of State, a Government and a Parliament.

We should like to point out that our delegation attributes great importance to the work of the Legislative Assembly. As part of the trend of political evolution in the Territory, this organization is the one which, in our opinion, will have the greatest impact on the political future of the Territory. If the Constitution to be promulgated is to achieve the purposes which are properly its functions in a democratic State, it will have to be an instrument which reflects the universal aspirations of the political and social groups and the majority and minority groups which make up the people of Somaliland; and without a fundamental statute providing guarantees and safeguards, the Assembly, and the laws which it promulgates and may promulgate in the future, including the new electoral law, could very well decide upon the Constitution in accordance with the views of a specific majority in the Legislature.

Accordingly, the sovereign rights which are accorded to a people when they are setting up their Constitution would be limited by the decisions taken by the majority of a constituted organ. We do not think it necessary to stress the importance which this problem has for the future of the Territory. Suffice it to mention, in general terms, the necessity, for any community, of ensuring the permanent integration of all political and social groups which constitutes a preliminary and essential prerequisite for the maintenance of its very existence and its condition as an independent and sovereign State.

But the most important thing is the fact that these observations necessarily lead us to recognize the advisability of evaluating the legitimacy of the elections referred to, permitting the Council to ascertain the degree of participation of all social and political groups which constitute the people of Somaliland, in accordance with broad guarantees established in advance.

That is the reason why our delegation cannot but regret the fact that the Administering Authority has not yet been able to inform us of the date when these elections will be held. Nevertheless, we trust that the promulgation of the Constitution will be carried out before 1960 and that the Council will be given an opportunity to pronounce itself upon this Constitution in advance.

It should be pointed out that this statement is based solely on the hope that the Administering Authority will have to recognize that the Constitution is the document which, as a fundamental law, will finally determine the political structure of the Territory as a sovereign and independent unit, and that the achievement of these goals falls within the terms of the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement.

The representative of Italy told us that one of the principal items on the programme of the Somaliland Government is that of defining, as quickly as possible, the legal status of the people of Somaliland so as to determine their citizenship. My delegation would like to emphasize the importance of maintaining the political stability of the Territory and, towards this end, of ensuring the success of the elections that are approaching, and the importance of including in this Constitution full guarantees for the exercise of political rights and fundamental freedoms of the citizens.

We have always believed -- and here we wish to restate our view -- that only in an atmosphere of security provided by absolute respect for the political rights of the individual can we ensure participation of all citizens in the life of the community, which, as we stated earlier, is essential for the legitimacy of the elections that are to be held.

In connexion with this aspect of the political life of the Territory, we find the question of the census of the nomad population. In our statement last year, we spoke at length of the effects of the failure to raise this question forthwith. Now, in view of the statement made by the special representative that this census is being carried out and that the work is going forward rapidly we cannot but associate ourselves with the satisfaction felt by the Advisory Council and, in turn, express the hope that the register of the population living outside of the municipal areas will be as accurate as possible, taking into account the fact that the forthcoming elections will be designed to form a Constituent Assembly.

The Administering Authority itself has emphasized the political maturity which the Somali people are acquiring, referring to the progressive increase in the number of girls attending school and taking an interest in organizations

related to public life. This compels us to reiterate our most fervent hope that the present Government of Somaliland will consider the possibility of introducing direct suffrage and of granting women the right to vote at the next elections.

We note with satisfaction the existence of the new judicial regulations, as well as the statement made by the Administering Authority to the effect that within the present organization there is a complete separation of powers and the independence of the judges. Nevertheless, we feel that safeguarding the rights of the inhabitants will not be complete and effective until procedural and substantive law has entered into force which will regulate fundamentally, and in accordance with local conditions, the various branches of law. The efforts now being carried out by the Somaliland Government and the Legislative Assembly to prepare and promulgate, in collaboration with an ad hoc commission, the civil and penal codes; the civil and penal codes of procedure, the penal military code, the maritime code and the labour code, undoubtedly are great positive and immediate achievements and will be very beneficial to the population.

Nevertheless, my delegation considers that whatever the orientation of the future constitutional movement, whatever the degree of its rigidity or flexibility or of its development, the character of secondary legislation that those legal instruments will have still leaves pending the task of drafting them in accordance with the statements of principle contained in the Constitution itself.

As we said in our statement last year, we will refrain from dealing with the problem relating to the frontier with Ethiopia and the tension among the various tribes. Nevertheless on this first point we would like to express the interest with which our delegation has followed the development of this problem and to express the hope that soon -- and if possible before 1960 -- an appropriate solution will be found to this question which has been of so much concern to the General Assembly as well as the various delegations. We have taken note of the statement made by the representative of Italy to the effect that an Italian delegation is about to leave for Addis Ababa for negotiations on this point.

With regard to the second point we would express the confidence which we felt in hearing the statement that the Somali Government is trying to control and regulate all possible causes of conflict between the tribal groups concerned.

I should not like to leave the political field without saying a few words about Somalilization. Apparently in the field of local administration in the Territory this process has been carried out satisfactorily; and as regards the central administration the Government is confronted with difficulties in view of the shortage of trained and experienced native staff. Undoubtedly this is a complicated problem with political, economic and educational aspects and it is amenable only to a gradual solution. As is natural, this makes it necessary to recognize the efforts made by the Administering Authority, particularly in those fields where administrative services require technical or specialized vocational training and the native staff, in view of the many needs involved in their family and social life, are not always prepared to go to centres for training.

Nevertheless, we feel it advisable to express our disagreement with the policy of giving special attention to the training of a small governing class, a policy which seems to us to guide the activities of the Administering Authority, because this would be tantamount to adding one more negative factor to the dangerous

social structure which is now in force among the people as a result of the present differences which exist between the urban and the nomadic people so that the urban people who are now in a much higher stage of development -- as they are closer to the educational and social services and the best centres of production -- would be supplemented by a privileged minority, privileged in that it holds a monopoly of political activity.

I shall now proceed to consider economic conditions in the Territory. In the picture drawn of the Somali economy under Italian administration there are some aspects the review of which will help us to judge the problems still obtaining here and what the last years of the Trusteeship regime will offer.

In the first place, we have the question of the budgetary deficit. In accordance with the statements of the Administering Authority, the budget will not be balanced in the next few years and not by 1960. The deficit in 1957 was estimated at So. 8 million and it is estimated that it will increase to So. 10 million in 1960. While we should recognize that the deficits during the period 1950-1956 were much higher to the extent that a considerable part of the subsidies granted by the Administering Authority had to be used to cover ordinary expenditure, the continuing fiscal imbalance of the budget constitutes a reason for concern for our delegation.

The statistics of the Territorial revenue show a steady increase which is a favourable index of the efforts made in the productive fields. Nevertheless, these increases have been eaten up by increases in ordinary expenditure, the need for which cannot easily be evaluated on the basis of present information. On this point the Bank's report states that three quarters of the increase in civil expenditure is due to salary increases. This shows that a policy of austerity in the management of the budget has not been followed as completely as would have been advisable in view of the financial situation of the Territory.

The Minister for Economic Affairs in the important statement he made to this Council stated, among other things, that the Somali people would not fail to make any sacrifice to achieve an economic balance in the Territory, on which depends its political independence and civil liberties. These wise words of Mr. Ali Omar, Minister for Economic Affairs, should give rise to a determined and essential policy of austerity not only as regards overcoming the difficulties of the budget but also in overcoming the problems of the balance of payments, since its resources of foreign currency should be used as advantageously as possible.

(Mr. Kestler, Guatemala)

Foreign trade gives rise to some concern. Bananas, cotton and leather represent four-fifths of the Territory's exports. The prosperous situation of the first industry is due largely to the protective policy of the Italian Government. Nevertheless, the exportation of bananas is now faced with the uncertainty of conditions obtaining after 1960, to the extent that the Administering Authority itself has undertaken -- with our complete approval -- a study of the best means of reducing the high costs of production and shipping of these products, as well as seeking new outlets for bananas. We express the hope that these studies and effort will be pursued with renewed vigour as we realize the importance of the banana in the Somali economy.

In relation to these efforts, we have taken note with satisfaction of the report on the project of building a wharf at Chisimaio. This has reached the stage of being a definite project whose construction will depend on financial resources which the Administering Authority is earnestly seeking. This wharf will not only benefit the banana industry but other export products.

The prospect of foreign trade depends largely on European investment, principally from Italy, made in the Territory. The attitude of the Somali Government towards European concessions is favourable, so the future of these concessions does not involve political problems; as the Bank mission has pointed out, the principal problem confronting these concessions is the question of marks. Efforts will have to be made over a long period of time to achieve competitive conditions for Somali products in view of the rather favourable elements of geography and the human element.

My delegation does not feel that on the basis of the information we now have the European Common Market offers a favourable prospect for Somaliland. These are the principal fears which arise in this connexion: first, the possible dangerous effect which a reduction of duties would have on the competitive position of Somali agricultural products, with respect to the products of other African regions which enjoy much more favourable climates and thus would be in a much less difficult competitive position; secondly, the possible retardation, if not the complete extinction, of industrial development in view of the avalanche of manufactured products from European countries which have signed the Agreement on the European Common Market.

(Mr. Kestler, Guatemala)

We have expressed our fears without forgetting that the Administering Authority has told the Council that Somaliland is not associated with the European Common Market in any way which would infringe upon the freedom of the Somali Government as to whether it will adhere to the Agreement when the decision has to be taken. This decision could not be otherwise than an act of the sovereign Somali people.

We would not like to leave this point without expressing the satisfaction which we have felt in hearing the statement of the Administering Authority on this point. The advances made in the first three years of the 1954 to 1960 development plan have involved the expenditure of approximately 8.5 million dollars, an amount which represents 49 per cent of the total investment. The magnitude of this effort has been recognized in this Council by the Minister for Economic Affairs and we share this recognition. However, due account should be taken of the information given in the report of the Bank to the effect that the result of the development programmes to improve income will be slow in view of the rudimentary level of living of the Somali people and therefore greater emphasis should be placed on crops and industries such as sugar, tea and textiles, which offer better prospects over a shorter period of time.

Heretofore we have been making a brief review of the most prominent aspects of the Territory's economy. In our opinion the Administering Authority and the Somali Government are confronted with two fundamental problems: a budgetary deficit and the urgent necessity for foreign resources to favour the economic development of the country.

Having reached this point, my delegation would like to remind the Council that, in accordance with resolution 855 (IX) of the General Assembly and in view of the conclusions contained in the report of the International Bank, efforts should be made to find practical measures for the financing of economic development plans for Somaliland. It should not be forgotten that this resolution refers to plans for the period after 1960, because we consider that the plans now in operation are the responsibility of the Administering Authority to carry out and bring to a conclusion by 1960.

In accordance with this interpretation, my delegation would like to make the following preliminary suggestions. First, we should like to recommend to the Administering Authority and to the Government of Somaliland that there be put into effect a policy of austerity with respect to expenditures under the territorial budget in order to balance the budget by 1960. Secondly, we recommend that the Somali Government consider a policy of austerity with respect to consumption of imported goods in order to conserve foreign exchange for essential projects. Thirdly, we urge the Administering Authority to pursue the execution of the development plan of 1954-60 in such a way that at the end of the Trusteeship regime all the projects now under way or to be undertaken will be completely finished. And fourthly, we recommend to the Administering Authority and to the Government of Somaliland that technical assistance be obtained from the United Nations to prepare economic plans to be put into effect after 1960 on the basis of the study made by the Bank and to calculate the minimum needs of foreign exchange for a period of five or six years.

In taking up the question of social advancement we immediately find ourselves confronted by a problem which urgently requires a solution: the health of the inhabitants and the sanitary conditions in which they live. We realize that this solution is not included in the immediate field of action to which we have just referred, although it does involve overcoming a good many negative factors such as the low level of education of the people and the adverse local social and economic conditions of the country. Moreover, we note with satisfaction the efforts of the Administering Authority to combat certain diseases such as tuberculosis, malaria, leprosy and other endemic diseases. Nevertheless, we feel that these efforts do not correspond to the urgent needs of the Territory. As has been emphasized by the representative of WHO, much remains to be done in the field of mother and child health and in environmental sanitation.

Dr. Tabona, representative of WHO, in his interesting statement to the Council, raised the following three basic aspects of the problem of health in the Territory: first, the shortage of medical staff; secondly, the reorientation of existing services more towards preventive medicine; and thirdly, the necessity for working out a general comprehensive work programme to deal with health problems. As to the first point, Dr. Tabona notes the fact that at the

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present time there is not a single qualified indigenous doctor and that by 1963 there is the prospect that there will be nine Somali doctors. In order to meet the situation, his organization proposes two measures: first, the setting up of a short course of two years for practitioners or more advanced medical assistants to undertake greater responsibilities in the field; secondly, increasing the programme of training auxiliary medical and sanitary personnel. On the second point, he drew attention to the necessity of establishing a demonstration and training area to work out means of distributing local staff and facilities to make up the system of public health and medical services. As regards the third point, he emphasized that once there had been set up an area for training and demonstration by appropriate types of sanitation services, as a natural consequence this type of services would be extended gradually throughout the Territory as part of a general long-range plan either as an independent programme or as an integral part of the economic and social development programme for the Territory. No one will have failed to note the importance of these very interesting observations and suggestions. My delegation would like to state again to WHO through its representative, Dr. Tabona, its very sincere gratitude for this very valuable contribution. At the same time I should like to express the hope that the Administering Authority, in receiving these suggestions and observations sympathetically, will consider the possibility of requesting technical assistance from this Organization in each of the cases raised and giving them priority on the list of programmes, which would then be submitted for consideration to the Technical Assistance Board.

It should be noted that in my statement last year we had already pointed out the necessity for seeing that plans for public health in the Territory should be carried out in a co-ordinated and integral form under the direct supervision of technical organizations. At that time, we said:

"More specifically, reference should be made to the necessity for ensuring that plans for public health are not entrusted solely to municipalities, but should also be carried out as part of a co-ordinated and integral plan under the direct supervision of technical bodies."

Then, we added:

"On the other hand, we should hope that in accordance with the concerns we expressed at previous sessions and as part of these plans for health and for combatting diseases found in the country, the number of rural services would be increased and the number of native doctors, which so far do not exist, would be increased. We know that owing to the way in which the population is distributed there are difficulties in this programme which are very great. We have learned of a good many petitions requesting patients to leave hospitals before they have completed their treatment."

As these observations have become to a certain extent largely of current interest as a result of the suggestions made by WHO, we thought it opportune to call them again to the attention of the Administering Authority in the hope that it will give them due consideration.

In respect of other aspects of social development, we reaffirm our deep satisfaction in the fact that Somali women enjoy all fundamental rights and that their moral dignity is respected on a footing of complete equality with men. We maintain the hope that the Administering Authority will intensify its efforts at education in order to achieve the speedy incorporation of Somali women into the political life of the country so that in the near future they can exercise the right to vote.

In the field of labour we see with some regret that no improvement has been made in the system for protecting workers. From the statements made by the Administering Authority in paragraph 103 of the annual report, we note that sufficient encouragement has not been given to the organization of trade unions, with the result that the trade union movement is not developing spontaneously. We trust that with the issue of the new Labour Code the aspirations of workers will be recognized in a more complete way. Perhaps it might be appropriate to recall the helpful contribution that could be made to this work by a discussion of the ILO Convention. An initiative of this kind on the part of the Administering Authority would, as we have already pointed out, in no way interfere with the competence of the Legislative Assembly.

(Mr. Kestler, Guatemala)

Lastly, we turn to the question of educational development. In this field we are still concerned with two fundamental questions: the teaching of the language and nomadism. In relation to the first point, paragraph 181 of the annual report states:

"As regards the use of the Somali language in primary education, only the Legislative Assembly can find a solution to this problem."

The question is of very great importance. Undoubtedly the people of Somaliland themselves, either directly or through their representatives, can most appropriately solve this problem. Our delegation notes with satisfaction that although the possibility of using the indigenous language has not yet been rejected--and in particular there is a possibility of it being used in a mass education programme designed to help solve the problem of the nomad people -- we trust that a solution will be worked out as quickly as possible.

A question of deep concern to the Council has been the various aspects of the second matter, the question of the nomad population. We realize that this problem is in itself very complicated because it has political, social and economic aspects which can only be overcome over a long period. Last year we referred to the contribution that a mass education programme might make to the solution of this problem provided that it could be concretely implemented. Now we have learned with great satisfaction that the Administering Authority, in collaboration with UNESCO, is continuing to devote attention to this problem and that important experiments in the area of Dinsor and the region of the Lower Giuba have been carried out. We note that one of these projects is also designed to cover mass education and not merely nomad education. We understand that the results obtained cannot be evaluated except over a long period. We trust that the Administering Authority will not abandon its efforts to incorporate these elements into the life of the community as a whole.

Finally, we regret that UNESCO has not been able at this session to make any observations on these plans, because that organization did not receive the report on the Territory.

We have concluded our comments on the various aspects of the Territory customarily dealt with by the Council in its appraisal of the progress achieved. We should now like to refer briefly to a question of a general nature which has concerned the various delegations here during this session: namely, the relations between the Administering Authority and the Advisory Council for the Territory.

Owing to the introduction of recent changes in the Territory, the problem has arisen of the form in which the functions of the Advisory Council should be carried out; since its terms of reference contain no provisions authorizing it to give advice to the Somali legislative bodies. The problem is a real one; however, in view of the fact that the Administering Authority has not denied the right of the Council to function in accordance with the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement and, on the contrary, has stated that it will give careful consideration to any practical suggestion to regulate the procedure of consultation in view of the new situation, there are encouraging prospects for a solution of the problem. My delegation trusts that such a solution will be found soon -- perhaps as a result of direct arrangements between the Administering Authority and the Council itself -- so that the latter can continue to carry out its functions to the benefit of the Territory.

In concluding our comments, we should like to note that our position in relation to the Territory of Somaliland and its problems continues to be the same as we stated last year: we still believe that the essential problem confronting the people of Somaliland, the Administering Authority and to some extent the United Nations is the economic and financial problem of the Territory and that the most serious aspects of this problem are nomadism and the relative poverty of the soil. Moreover, we still believe that an effort to solve all these problems will achieve the best results if it is part of an integral organized plan taking into account all possible sources of finance, under the direction of its own leaders and under circumstances which will assure the independence of the people.

I close this statement with a tribute from my delegation to the Administering Authority for the way in which, in giving effect to the principles of the Trusteeship Agreement, it is trying to ensure the progress and independence of this Territory.

Mr. SEARS (United States of America): First of all, my delegation would like to welcome to this Council Sir Andrew Cohen, former Governor of Uganda. Suffice it to say for the moment that few men in this world today have contributed more in the proper way to the development of Africa.

On the question of Somaliland, my delegation wishes to thank very much Mr. Grillo, Mr. Gasbarri, Mr. Zadotti, Mr. Hagi Farah Ali Omar, Mr. Mohamed Shek Osman and the Advisory Council for the information they have supplied. I remember well in Somalia a few years ago going around with Mr. Gasbarri. He took me around to some of his wells. I could see how thirsty the camels were and the very difficult problems which certainly face a country with the kind of climate and soil that you find in Somaliland.

The Somali people are embarked upon a great national adventure and deserve to be successful. They are a strong and rugged people, and we want them to be truly proud of their forthcoming independence. But even before independence two problems in particular confront the Somalis and will have an important bearing on their future. These concern the unsettled frontier question and the problem of economic development.

The United States delegation believes that a solution of the frontier question has now become a matter of urgency.

Last February the General Assembly voted 71 to none to adopt a resolution calling on Ethiopia and Italy to conduct negotiations on the subject of the entire frontier. It also requested that the next General Assembly be informed about the progress of these negotiations and how near they were to completion. The resolution expressed the further opinion -- and this is important -- that if these negotiations proved fruitless it would be in the interest of a final settlement to call for third-party assistance.

The United States delegation hopes and believes that these negotiations will succeed before Somaliland becomes independent. In fact, they have got to succeed unless a world already overburdened with political mistrust is going to have one more area of potential conflict. The seriousness of the situation is obvious.

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Equally as important as the frontier is the question of economic development. This is a long-range problem which will require the best talents of the Somali leaders and their people. It will require not only a continuation of Italian interest and assistance but also the co-operation of other countries that are in a position to contribute through trade, investments, technical assistance, and other ways.

At the same time, we must never forget that a special responsibility rests on the Trusteeship System and on the United Nations as a whole, since Somalia in large measure is a United Nations creation. It would be a very damaging blow to the prestige of the United Nations if the new State of Somalia were launched under handicaps which no young nation should be called upon to bear.

Somalia deserves better luck than to have its frontier and its economy in such a state that a peaceful and healthy way of life becomes impossible after 1960.

The penetrating and valuable report presented by the International Bank Mission has much to say on the question of the Somali economy and the assistance it will need in the immediate years ahead. The conclusions of this report are not cheerful, but the Somalis are not a fainthearted people and will not be easily discouraged.

The report states that exceptional assistance may be needed for Somalia for as much as 20 years beyond the end of trusteeship. But it is the problem of planning for an economy which is based on the need for outside assistance that puzzles the territorial administrators. The Bank stresses that this is very difficult so long as there is uncertainty over the extent of the financial assistance which may be expected after independence. They believe that "an end to this uncertainty is thus the most urgent and important contribution that can presently be made to the economic future of Somalia."

These are sobering thoughts, especially as there appears to be no way to dispel the uncertainty.

On the other hand, we have listened carefully to the constructive statements made by the representatives of Italy and the Somali people.

We believe their views were well summarized by Ambassador Anzilotti in April when he opened the Legislative Assembly in Mogadiscio. In his speech to the legislators he stated that if one looks at the economic situation objectively there is no cause for undue alarm or discouragement. He emphasized that the Somali

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economy must rest upon the development of agriculture and animal industry and concentrate upon those products which can be produced profitably and in quantity, such as cereals, oil seeds, textile fibres and sugar. He also looked forward to the creation of a European Common Market from which Somalia would receive very substantial financial aid. And, most important, he anticipated the reorganization of Somali production on a more rational and economic basis.

The United States delegation is not prepared at this meeting of the Council to make detailed observations on the economic problems confronting Somalia. The Bank report and other available information are still being carefully studied by the appropriate agencies of the United States Government.

Meanwhile a considerable programme of United States technical assistance is being actively carried on in Somalia. This assistance deals particularly with farming, irrigation, grain storage, the sinking of deep and shallow wells and technical training.

Furthermore, we shall continue to give consideration to making available to Somalia every appropriate assistance with a view to helping its people move toward economic independence as quickly as possible.

In this connexion, it is important to realize how necessary it is to establish the conditions of political and economic freedom without which freedom itself is a delusion.

Before closing, we would like to make two general suggestions which we believe would help in solving the economic problems of the country.

First, we believe that the next Visiting Mission to the Territory, which is about to leave, should give particular attention to economic affairs. It might be helpful if one or two economic specialists were attached to the Mission so that their findings might be reflected in the report. Secondly, we consider that before 1960 another Special Mission, suitably composed, could usefully examine and report on the progress which has been achieved along the lines recommended by both the Bank Mission and the Administering Authority.

And now, finally, the United States delegation commends the Italian administrators for the encouragement and co-operation they are giving the Somali people. We also congratulate the Somalis as they begin to assume the obligations and opportunities which come with modern nationhood. The problems are difficult -- but on both sides the spirit is strong.

Mr. RIFAI (Syria): As I take the floor to offer our comments on the political, economic and social evolution of Somaliland under Italian administration, I cannot help recalling the dastardly assassination which snatched a dear friend and worthy colleague from our midst. Last year, around this time, Minister Kamal Eddin Salah of Egypt was sitting in this Council, tendering his advice when it was solicited and placing his rich experience of conditions in Somaliland at the disposal of the members of the Council.

All of us here are well aware of the zeal with which the late Egyptian representative on the Advisory Council carried out his tasks. He worked intelligently, enthusiastically and indefatigably to foster the cause of the Somali people and the cause of the United Nations as a whole. It is no exaggeration to say that his efforts were second to none in aiding Somaliland to attain a viable statehood and a meaningful future.

Today he is no more. The cruel hand which murdered him did not only bring a great loss to Egypt and the United Nations but also left a stigma on the Territory which the gallant Somali people, I am sure, will do everything to expunge. We trust that the criminal and those who were behind him will receive a punishment commensurate with their horrible crime. The hired hand must not alone pay the penalty.

In the year under review, Somaliland has continued to make strides in the political field. My delegation is particularly happy to note that the Somalization of local administration of all regions and districts in the Territory has been completed and that the Somali Government has been invested with increasing responsibilities.

By decree 108 of 16 November 1956, the special offices of the trusteeship administration have been abolished, and with them the office of Counsellor to the Somali Ministers. It may be recalled in this connexion that the Administering Authority had informed this Council last year that the office of Counsellor was a transitional institution, to be removed whenever the Somali Government showed signs of ability to operate unaided. My delegation at that time expressed doubts with regard to the necessity of that institution. We felt, moreover, that the attendance by these Counsellors at Cabinet meetings was out of tune with the desire to make the Somalis responsible for the conduct of their internal affairs. This is why we receive today with profound satisfaction the news that these unnecessary fetters on the freedom of the Somali Cabinet have been removed, thus extending further the autonomy of Somaliland.

With regard to the Somalization of the central administration, one also observes notable progress. Four departments are now under the direction of Somali officials. The other departments of the central government continue, however, to be headed by Italian officials. This seems to be unavoidable under the circumstances, but we hope that, through a programme of intensified training, the Administering Authority will soon find it possible to hand over the remaining departments to Somali officials. We agree that Somaliland's need for technical experts may not decrease, but is apt to increase, with the attainment of independence. It cannot be concluded from this situation, however, that any central department in the Government may have to remain under the direction of Italian officials. It is therefore our hope that we will see, at least one year before the attainment of independence, that Somalization has also been completed in the central administration.

It goes without saying that, in making this suggestion, we would not wish to tell the present Government of Somaliland what to do. Obviously it is up to them to judge what is in the interests of the Territory.

While I am considering the question of the Somalization of the government services, it seems to be relevant to refer to the formation of the future Somali foreign service. The Administering Authority appears to be taking the right steps in creating the nucleus of a Somali foreign service. We wish to commend their initiative in that regard. As I pointed out during the question period, however, we feel that it is not sufficient to train Somalis for service in this field at home only. A number of those who have passed a qualifying test should be sent abroad. It should not be difficult for the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to attach these individuals to its foreign missions, to afford them the opportunity to learn from direct experience. I was happy to note from what was said by the special representative that this is what the Administering Authority intends to do. I believe he will agree with me when I say that, the sooner this policy is adopted, the better.

I turn now to the field of municipal administration, to offer a few observations in this regard. My delegation welcomes the promulgation of law No. 9 of 30 September 1956. Another point from which we draw satisfaction is the fact that no sooner was the law promulgated than it was applied. Today, most municipalities in the Territory are organized according to the set of principles and rules embodied in that law. This is a praiseworthy development, from which the Somali people are bound to benefit politically, socially and educationally. Like any body of regulations, however, these municipal regulations must await the test of experience. They may have to undergo some change as a result of their application. As they stand now, they seem quite suitable to the conditions and requirements of the Territory. My delegation, however, is inclined to agree with the Advisory Council in this connexion that the powers conferred on the Prefect in respect of municipal administration were not only very extensive but also so wide as to constitute a threat to the independence of municipalities. We agree that the Prefect should not be empowered to suspend the Mayor, who is an elected officer of the municipality.

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When I expressed this opinion during the questioning period, Mr. Zadotti pointed out that the same principle obtains in Italy, where, apparently, the prefect has the authority to remove the mayor. One can hardly take that as a valid reason for the introduction of this principle in the municipal administration of Somaliland. It is, I believe, a well recognized principle of constitutional law that no form of government can be safely transplanted from one country to another, nor can any set of administrative rules be so transplanted. What may be good for Italy at a given stage of its development may not be as good for Somaliland. Had there been other reasons, deriving from the Territory's conditions, for including this provision, we should have reconsidered our views. As things stand today, however, we can envisage only detrimental effects from this rule on the municipal administration.

I do not wish to dwell any longer on the political field. Suffice it to say that in the judicial realm one is also impressed with the pace of progress achieved. My delegation hopes that the different codes which are in the process of preparation and formulation will soon be completed and put into operation.

In preparing the judicial regulations, the Administering Authority seems to have ignored the advice of the Advisory Council. We have already been apprised of the reasons for this situation. The relationship between the Advisory Council and the Administering Authority is governed, as we all know, by article 8 of the Trusteeship Agreement. With the transfer of power to the Somali Government and the assumption by that Government of the Territory's legislative functions, a new situation has undoubtedly arisen. This situation was brought to our attention last year, I think for the first time, by the representative of Colombia on the Advisory Council. The Administering Authority takes the position today that, since it is no longer responsible for legislation in the Territory, it cannot be expected to abide by article 8 of the Trusteeship Agreement without infringing the sovereign rights of the Somali Legislative Assembly -- a step which it is not ready to take and which no one in this Council would ever wish to suggest that it should take.

The question now rises whether the Administering Authority has really relinquished all responsibility for the legislation in Somaliland. An examination of this point leads one to the conclusion that, while the Administering Authority

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in fact does not participate in the legislative processes until the laws are referred to the Administrator, the latter is in a way responsible for the legislation in Somaliland. Does the Administrator not enjoy the prerogatives of the Head of State in this connexion? If so, then it cannot be argued that the Administering Authority is no longer bound by article 8 of the Trusteeship Agreement. Having said that, I would be the last not to admit that, as a result of the assumption of legislative powers by the Somali Legislative Assembly, the provisions of article 8 of the Trusteeship Agreement must be reinterpreted, so to speak, to suit the new situation. When good will prevails, any legal problem can be solved by a practical approach. The Somali people fully realize, I am sure, that the Advisory Council was instituted to safeguard their interests. It was designed to act as a check and balance on the Administering Authority. The idea was a great innovation in the Trusteeship System, and great credit goes to the Italian Government for accepting that innovation. In our view, the Advisory Council should be allowed to function for the benefit of Somaliland until the Trusteeship Agreement has been terminated. In continuing to discharge its duties in the future, as it has done in the past, it should not be viewed as violating the sovereignty of the Somali people. That is an erroneous idea. The Somali people do need advice, and I am sure that they receive it, from the Administering Authority as regards their legislative endeavours. I fail to see why the advice of the Administering Authority, which can be accepted or rejected, is not considered an infringement of the sovereignty of the Somali legislative bodies, while the advice of the Advisory Council, tendered on the same basis, is considered in that light.

I hope that the Administering Authority and the Somali Government will adopt a wiser attitude in this regard. The Advisory Council could be most helpful to the Somali people at a time when they are embarking on a vast programme of legislation designed to set the foundation of the future independent Somali State.

While there are many heartening signs in the political evolution of Somaliland, the economic picture continues to pose seemingly insurmountable problems. The International Bank's report has increased our concern in this respect. According to that report, there is apparently little hope that the

(Mr. Rifai, Syria)

Territory will be able to attain a balanced economy in the near future. It has always been recognized that Somaliland will continue to need financial assistance after the attainment of independence. In that respect, we have learned nothing new. The Bank's report, however, might serve to exhort us to take the necessary steps, from this very day, to secure the financial assistance which the Territory needs.

The new elements which we have learned from the Bank's report relate to the various agricultural, industrial and mineral possibilities of the Territory. In general, the report makes a very conservative appraisal of the potentialities in these various fields. The Bank mission, for example, does not see any future for the banana industry and feels that bananas cannot become a competitive commodity on the foreign market. Thus, the Territory's principal export must either continue to receive Italian tariff protection or fail to be remunerative.

Furthermore, neither the expansion of cotton production nor the possibility of striking oil deposits seems to have altered the general opinion expressed in the Bank's report with regard to the Territory's economic potentialities. One gathers the impression that the Bank mission's view is that Somaliland will continue to be a deficit Territory for a long time to come.

We are happy to note that both the Administering Authority and the Somali Government take a far less pessimistic view of the economic future of the Territory. I was very much impressed by the reasoning which Mr. Gasbarri adduced to bolster up that view, and I was encouraged by the statement of Mr. Hagi Farah Ali Omar, the Minister for Economic Affairs. It seems to my delegation that it is not unjustifiably optimistic to assume that, with the diversification of agriculture and the exploration of new markets, Somaliland might in a number of years become self-sufficient, economically speaking.

We attach great hope to the expansion of cotton production. We know what this has done for my country in the last decade. I am sorry that I do not have statistics in this respect at hand, but I can state that the expansion of cotton production has been one of the fundamental reasons why Syria has, more often than not, enjoyed an economic boom in the post-war era.

(Mr. Rifai, Syria)

Mr. Gasbarri seems to place high expectations, also, on the production of ramie, which is in great demand by Germany. All of this is bound to alter the economic picture in Somaliland. We should not forget in this connexion that the Territory's entire deficit does not exceed \$4 million, a sum which should not be very difficult to cover if the Territory were able to make bananas a competitive commodity and if cotton and ramie production were expanded.

(Mr. Rifai, Syria)

The economic potentiality of the Territory does not stop at these crops, however. The Bank's report has emphasized the value of livestock as an export commodity and the Administering Authority seems to share its view in this connexion. My delegation hopes that the Administering Authority will spare no effort towards the further development of this economic asset in order to exploit its potentialities to the full.

My delegation is inclined to believe that if all these economic possibilities were effectively exploited, Somaliland would be able, in a few years, to balance its budget and enjoy a healthy economy.

To reach that stage, however, we all agree that Somaliland is in need of both technical and financial assistance. The Somali Minister for Economic Affairs has told us that the financial assistance should not exceed the sum of So. 27 million, to be used for the budgetary deficit incurred by administrative and other services and for technical assistance and economic development. The sum is a modest one and we believe that it should not be difficult to secure it for the Somali people. We learned with satisfaction that the Administering Authority is ready to assist in this regard if it is called upon to do so. The United Nations would also, I am sure, wish to do its part in sustaining the economic independence of this Territory.

It seems to my delegation that the Trusteeship Council, which has followed for the last seven years the progress of this Territory most closely, should now initiate the steps calculated to aid Somaliland in solving its economic problems. There are two things which the United Nations could do in this regard. One would be to send, without too much delay, an exploratory technical assistance mission to the Territory to assess its requirements in this field. This should be followed by the dispatch of the necessary technical experts later on. The United Nations has already adopted this course of action after having decided that Libya should become an independent State. There is no reason why it could not do the same with regard to Somaliland.

At this time it is difficult to visualize how the United Nations could finance the economic development in this Trust Territory, but we are all aware of the discussions which have been going on for a number of years in the Economic and Social Council, as well as in the Second Committee, with regard to the creation of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development of under-developed

(Mr. Rifai, Syria)

territories. We hope that this idea will soon materialize and thus open the way for the financing of Somali economic development.

In the meantime, it seems to my delegation that the least thing this Council could do on this question would be to draw the attention of the General Assembly to it and to urge the Assembly to find ways and means to aid the Somali people in this regard.

I would not wish to close my statement without referring briefly to the social and educational fields.

In the social field, my delegation wishes to call the attention of the Administering Authority to the health services in the Territory. Our concern in this connexion stems from our fear lest the attainment of independence should find Somaliland poorly equipped with medical staff and thus unable to maintain the medical services which it enjoys today. In this connexion we wish to associate ourselves completely with the views of the representative of WHO, who called for the examination of the following two steps:

"... The first step would be to establish a short, two-year course for carefully selected senior medical assistants to enable them to assume greater responsibility in the health work of their own Territory. The second step would be the concurrent strengthening of the training programme for medical and health auxiliary personnel. These two steps have been put into effect with notable success in the Sudan. The Organization ... would be prepared to render assistance to Somaliland, if requested." (T/PV.798, pages 74 to 75).

We hope that the Administering Authority will make an effort to avail itself soon of such assistance.

In the field of education, my delegation is most interested in the current effort which is being undertaken, with the aid of UNESCO, to teach the nomads and thus to help this large section of the Somali population ultimately to assume a more constructive role in the political and economic life of the Territory. We shall continue to watch this educational experiment with great interest, and we feel confident that we shall soon find its results to be most encouraging.

(Mr. Rifai, Syria)

It is a mistake to believe that the nomads are intrinsically recalcitrant and not amenable to a sedentary life. Our experience in Syria belies such erroneous theories. The nomadic population in my country is decreasing progressively under the impact of economic, as well as educational, policies. The same development is taking place in other Arab and Middle Eastern countries. For this reason we look with justified optimism to the possibility of settling the nomads in Somaliland. All that is needed in this regard is the pursuance, with vigor and determination, of those policies which are best calculated to lead to the achievement of this end.

I shall conclude my intervention with a general remark about the problem of the Somali-Ethiopian frontier. My delegation has explored, during the past few years, every possibility in search of a final settlement of this problem. So far, our efforts have failed to bring any result beyond the continuation of the negotiations. My delegation has long felt that this problem could be solved expeditiously only by recourse to mediation. In its wisdom, the General Assembly, in the last two years, has taken a different view and has decided that the problem should be solved through negotiation as long as there was any hope for negotiations to succeed. We hope that future developments will prove that we have been wrong and that the General Assembly was right in placing high confidence in direct negotiations. We shall watch hopefully the impending negotiations in Addis Ababa between the Administering Authority, on behalf of Somaliland, and the Government of Ethiopia. We shall be most gratified to learn, during the next regular session of the Assembly, that these negotiations have borne fruit. Should we, however, to our regret, find ourselves faced with a continuing impasse in this problem, then, in the view of my delegation, mediation should no longer be avoided. We believe that the Trusteeship Council, particularly in view of the appeal which was made to it a few days ago by the Minister for Economic Affairs of Somaliland, should express its views on this question by conveying to the General Assembly its opinion that the problem of the frontier between Somaliland and Ethiopia cannot remain unsolved without serious danger to the economic and political stability of the Territory.

Mr. President, allow me to close my intervention now with an expression of thanks and gratitude to the representative of Italy, the special representatives, Mr. Zadotti and Mr. Gasbarri, for their valuable assistance in our consideration of this year's report on Somaliland and also in our consideration of the report of the International Bank. I also wish to place on record our deep appreciation of the statement which was addressed to this Council by Mr. Haji Farah, the Minister for Economic Affairs of Somaliland, and to tell him how very pleased we were to see him and Mr. Mohamed Shek Osman, the representative of the Legislative Assembly, participate in our work and place their experience and knowledge of conditions in Somaliland at the disposal of this Council.

Finally, my delegation, which has been greatly enlightened by the report of the Advisory Council, wishes to pay tribute to its members and to congratulate them on a work well done. I also wish to take this opportunity to express our pleasure at the appointment of a distinguished Egyptian to represent Egypt on the Advisory Council. Mr. El-Zayat will, we are confident, prove a worthy successor to an eminent predecessor.

As a last word, I wish to associate my delegation with the expression of thanks to the representatives of the International Bank, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the International Labour Organisation, for their valuable contributions made in the course of our examination of this report.

The PRESIDENT: There are two further members of the Council who wish to take part in the general debate and we may conveniently hear them tomorrow. An opportunity will no doubt be given by the Council to the members of the Advisory Council to make comments if they so desire.

In anticipation of the conclusion of this debate tomorrow, it is proposed that the Council take up as a second item the consideration of the reports of the Standing Committee on Petitions, Nos. 193, 194, 195 and 196, contained in documents T/L.766, 767, 768 and 770.

Finally, as a third item proposed for tomorrow, there is the beginning of the examination by the Council of conditions in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, which is part of item 4 on the general agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.