



TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

Twelfth Session

OFFICIAL RECORDS

Tuesday, 23 June 1953,
at 2 P.M.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Page

Examination of the annual report on the administration of the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration for the year 1952 (T/1048, T/1053, T/1059, T/1061 and Add.1, T/1062 and Add.1, T/1064) (continued)	
General debate (continued)	69
Appointment of the Drafting Committee on Somaliland	86
Questions of the inclusion of the report of the Advisory Council for Somaliland as a separate item on the agenda of the Trusteeship Council	87
General Assembly resolution 656 (VII): hearing of petitions from the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration (continued)	87
Examination of the annual report on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for the year ended 30 June 1952 and of the report of the United Nations Mission to Trust Territories in the Pacific, 1953, on that Territory (T/1047, T/1055, T/1062 and Add.1)	88

President: Mr. Leslie Knox MUNRO (New Zealand).

Present:

The representatives of the following States members of the Trusteeship Council: Australia, Belgium, China, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, New Zealand, Syria, Thailand, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The representative of the following State non-member of the Trusteeship Council: Italy.

The representative of the following specialized agency: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Examination of the annual report on the administration of the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration for the year 1952 (T/1048, T/1053, T/1059, T/1061 and Add.1, T/1062 and Add.1, T/1064) (continued)

[Agenda item 4 (a)]

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Holte Castello (Colombia), Mr. Hammad (Egypt) and Mr. Pastrana (Philippines), representatives of States members of the United Nations Advisory Council for the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian Administration; and Mr. Spinelli, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory, took places at the Council table.

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. SALAZAR (Dominican Republic): My delegation has very carefully studied the third report communicated by the Italian Government, which the Council has just examined, that is, the annual report for 1952 on the administration of the Trust Territory of Somaliland.¹ In view of the provisions of the

Trusteeship Agreement concerning Somaliland, my delegation could not but feel a very marked interest in the different political, economic, social and educational projects carried out by the Administering Authority as described in the various reports; nor could my delegation have failed to examine them not only on their merits, but also in the light of the recommendations and findings of the first Mission which visited the Territory in September and October of 1951,² while taking into account the views submitted to the Council by the United Nations Advisory Council for Somaliland [T/1048]. In addition to all these useful observations, we have naturally had regard to the comments of the specialized agencies and other United Nations missions whose task it was to study present conditions in the Territory. From this detailed and interesting examination it is clear to us, as it is to everyone, that the great problems involved in the administration of Somaliland are directly connected with the implementation of section B of General Assembly resolution 289 A (IV), adopted on 21 November 1949, and that these problems will doubtless increase in gravity and urgency as the year 1960, the debate fixed for the creation of the sovereign, independent State, draws near.

2. In our humble opinion, these exceptional difficulties cannot be satisfactorily overcome by that date, and perhaps not even within a much longer space of time, unless the Administering Authority receives the closest and most fruitful co-operation and assistance not only from the United Nations — which has hitherto co-operated unreservedly — but also from the people and the public and civic institutions of the Territory itself, for it is they who bear the primary responsibility in the historic task of duly encouraging and of making possible the carrying out of the many measures required to effect a social transformation in Somaliland to self-government and independence.

3. Among the many problems which must of necessity influence the course of this evolutionary process, my delegation attaches special importance to those relating to economic and educational development. In this connexion, we are gratified to note that the statements made orally by the special representative, as well as the explanations in the annual report on which we are now completing our examination, reflect the Administration's keen awareness of the situation; that is revealed in the helpful information given the Council on the broad programmes of economic and educational development the Administering Authority proposes to carry out in the Territory, including the third draft of the five-year plan for educational development [T/1064], prepared in collaboration with the technical consultant from UNESCO, which has just been transmitted to the Council.

4. In addition; we have noted what was said on the necessity of specially encouraging all those aspects of Somali life which may serve as a starting point for

¹ See *Rapport du Gouvernement italien à l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies sur l'administration de tutelle de la Somalie, 1952*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome, 1953.

² See the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1951, on Somaliland under Italian administration (T/947 and Corr.1)

significant developments in the country's economy, particularly in respect of enlarging the means of production, increasing trade and expanding and diversifying the Territory's means of subsistence. We repeat the view we have expressed on previous occasions, that, in our opinion, the most serious problem affecting the future destiny of Somaliland is its own economic insufficiency. Here we fully share the concern expressed by the Administering Authority on the means of solving the problem. My delegation will therefore not hesitate to support any recommendation designed to encourage and strengthen joint efforts by the Administration and the United Nations to overcome the present obstacles to a normal, stable financial structure in Somaliland.

5. My delegation has heard with the greatest interest and satisfaction the special representative's statements on the question of the demarcation of the frontiers of Somaliland, particularly the frontiers which are to be defined by agreement with the neighbouring State of Ethiopia. Accordingly, as we have said before, the United Nations should, in view of the direct negotiations duly initiated by the Administering Authority, refrain from any action which might interfere with or hamper the successful conclusion of these bilateral diplomatic activities, and should merely reserve its position until the negotiations have been concluded, without, of course, abandoning its interest in this very important question but always having regard to the self-evident postulate that clear and accurate demarcation of the Territory's boundaries is an essential and fundamental condition for the creation of an independent State in the Territory.

6. With regard to the political situation, we wish first of all to express our warmest approval of the steps the Administration is taking both to extend the training of the indigenous inhabitants in public administration and in other aspects of administrative techniques and to create a permanent security corps adapted to the special needs of the Territory. These efforts, together with the programmes being undertaken in the broader fields of technical development and education, are a valuable contribution to the creation of stable and efficient public institutions.

7. Secondly, we could not but say a few words on the subject of the political differences which developed during the period covered by the annual report we have just examined, such as those reflected in many of the petitions submitted to the Council. We recognize that in many instances the disputes reported are isolated incidents which have not seriously affected the general trend of developments in the Territory. We are, however, ready to restate our firm conviction that the Somali people has a very important role to play during the period fixed by the General Assembly in resolution 289 (IV) and that it must make an adequate contribution during the various stages of the progress the country must achieve before independence and sovereignty can be granted in an atmosphere of harmony and promise. There should be a minimum of obstruction due to the particular demands of political groups and a firm and persevering determination to collaborate to this end with the Administering Authority as well as with the United Nations, on whose behalf the Territory is being administered under the Trusteeship System. Intransigence and bitterness among conflicting groups would undoubtedly have a delaying effect on this whole process. We therefore hope that the Trusteeship Council will actively concentrate on securing the fullest possible

understanding of the public-spirited attitude required of all the various sectors of political opinion in the Territory, in the interests of Somali independence, and required particularly of the political leaders, among whom special mention may be made of the Somali Youth League, so that, as we have said, statehood may be achieved as a result of a joint effort — which is what it must be — and so that all shades of opinion will assist in upholding and developing the political and civic institutions of the nation.

8. In this connexion, my delegation notes with satisfaction the Administering Authority's repeated assurances that it is determined to maintain and safeguard the free play of the political forces in the Territory. Moreover, we have equal confidence in the encouraging statements made to this Council by the representative of the Somali Youth League [*165th meeting*] both on the existing relations between the political organizations and the Administration and on the League's constructive attitude towards the petitions of a general nature which it has submitted to the Council.

9. We note with satisfaction that it is the intention of the Administering Authority to resolve the problem of national status in the Territory through legislation, taking into consideration the comments and requests put forward in the Council as a result of suggestions made by the 1951 Visiting Mission. We hope that the joint committee of experts and of representatives of the Somali people will be able to prepare a definite text which will be dealt with through the proper constitutional procedures and will define this fundamental problem in the briefest possible terms.

10. Furthermore, we wish to express our satisfaction at the changes introduced in both the membership and the functioning of the Territorial Council; these changes, which are in answer to the suggestions made by this Council at previous sessions, likewise form part of the broader plans for progressive development drawn up and put into effect by the Administration.

11. We consider that the development of the so-called Municipal and Residency Councils is one of the most complex aspects of the political organization of the Territory. In our opinion, these Councils have not as yet succeeded in exercising the important functions which should be entrusted to them as deliberative and representative bodies of the local government, and therefore do not as yet have the efficient structure required of them or of any similar organs of local representation which may replace them in the political structure of the future State. We therefore hope that in the next few years the Administering Authority will be able to give the Council definite information about more significant progress in the functioning of these fundamental organs of municipal government.

12. Lastly, we cannot but mention the gratifying impression made upon us by the steps the Administering Authority has taken with respect to the judicial structure of the Territory. It has incorporated many recommendations of the Trusteeship Council which will undoubtedly lead to the establishment in Somaliland of a judicial system in keeping with modern aims and principles. We know, of course, that the task of modernizing the legal structure is long and difficult, but we shall not cease for that reason to urge the Administering Authority to pay particular attention — as indeed is undoubtedly its practice — to the eradication of all those features which clash most strikingly with modern practices and standards. In particular, we wish to reiterate the hope that

it will shortly be possible to abolish the system of collective sanctions, a matter on which the Council had occasion to express its views last year.

13. For the rest, we note with marked interest the special representative's statements to the Council to the effect that the Administration has appointed an expert to make the necessary inquiries in Somaliland to determine the feasibility of carrying out the Council's recommendations concerning this Territory and, in particular, the recommendations contained in the report of the 1951 Visiting Missions. My delegation hopes that this work will shortly begin to produce results, although we are not unaware of the many difficulties the Administration will have to overcome in order to achieve these objectives, many of which are to be ascribed directly to the Territory's limited financial resources as well as to the physical and social characteristics which tend to retard the normal progressive development of the Somali people.

14. It is obviously the Trusteeship Council's duty to study every aspect of this complex evolutionary process in all its minute detail. We suggest to the Council that, in order to carry out the task entrusted to it by the Charter in the best possible way, it should organize the second visiting mission, which is to visit the Territory in 1954, in good time, taking account of the specific requirements of Somaliland in determining the composition of the mission and in defining its powers and terms of reference. Consideration should be given to the desirability of permitting the mission to spend as much time as possible in the Territory, and to follow an itinerary which would enable it to visit not only those places which were inspected by the 1951 Mission, but also other regions which have not yet been visited but which are so important that they require the Council's direct attention.

15. My delegation does not wish to conclude its general observations on Somaliland — which will be the last comments on this subject made by my country, as the Dominican Republic is not an Administering Authority and our term of membership on the Council expires on 31 December of this year — without expressing in the warmest possible terms our admiration and friendship for the Somali people, with whom my country has established close ties. We had the signal honour of acting both as a member and as Chairman of the 1951 Visiting Mission. We also wish at the same time to extend our most cordial congratulations to the Government of Italy on the arduous work which it is resolutely pursuing in the Territory and which is reflected so justly and brilliantly in the annual report we have just examined. Quite apart from Italy's many other qualifications, the report would of itself more than suffice to show that Italy fulfils every single requirement laid down in Article 4 of the Charter and could become a valuable Member of the United Nations. My delegation is glad to express once again its hope for the speedy admission of Italy to membership in the United Nations.

16. We also wish to say a word of appreciation and of tribute to the Advisory Council of the Territory, the duties of which have been performed with such competence by the representatives of Colombia, Egypt and the Philippines, and whose advice has been justly appreciated by this Council and by the General Assembly.

17. It only remains for me to extend my warmest thanks to the representative of Italy and to the special representative for the patience, brilliance and skill with

which they have so effectively helped the Council to obtain the fullest possible information on the political, economic, social and educational situation in the Territory.

18. Mr. PIGNON (France): The French delegation showed great restraint in the questions which it put to the special representative of the Administering Authority. The reason is a plain and evident one. This year the Trusteeship Council's debates have been based on plentiful documentation of very high quality. I refer to both the report of the Administering Authority, drawn up faithfully and in precise terms and admirably presented, and the substantial report of the Advisory Council — which have, if I may say so, an additional merit — that of being written in French. I am sure that in view of their outstanding qualities these two documents will continue to be of interest long after the conclusion of our work in the present session.

19. I must not omit to mention likewise the reports of the United Nations Technical Assistance Mission [*ST/TAA/K/Somaliland/1*] and of UNESCO [*T/1061 and Add.1, T/1062 and Add.1*], and the five-year plan for the development of education in Somaliland [*T/1064*]. On the basis of these texts and the discussion arising from their examination, the French delegation submits the following observations, though it craves indulgence for this intervention when, in its view, all essential points have already been covered.

20. Speaking in general terms, some mention should be made of the happy co-operation which has developed, on the one hand between the members of the Advisory Council, and, on the other, between that Council and the Italian Administration. If, as last year's recommendation [*A/2150, p. 108*] shows, we may in previous sessions have entertained some fears on that score, we are glad to find this year that a favourable atmosphere has prevailed. I feel that the Council should note this and stress that without such an atmosphere of mutual understanding the régime set up in Somaliland could not operate. So far as the members of the Advisory Council are concerned, this fruitful co-operation is naturally dependent on the fact that no individual member can pursue a personal policy but must accept the limitations inseparable from all team-work; while, so far as the Council's dealings with the Administration are concerned, it depends on a clear definition of their respective prerogatives, so as to avoid any encroachment by either body, or the sharing or dilution of responsibilities. Much as I appreciate the importance and value of the Advisory Council's work, I am bound to point out that my delegation cannot subscribe to the new theory advanced during this discussion that the Advisory Council is to be regarded as a co-executive body in Somaliland.

21. Turning to the political aspect, my delegation was again interested to note the intense activity which prevails in Somaliland. Indeed, nothing could be worse than indifference and apathy; but I repeat, the essential problem is not the multiplication of parties but their training and progress towards maturity. Discipline in a democracy is the more difficult to achieve because it is not imposed from without but derives from the acceptance of strict rules and demands at all levels a sharp sense of constructive discussion. While we are very glad to note the progress made towards the calming of political passions — and it was with real pleasure that I listened yesterday [*465th meeting*] to the obviously sincere remarks made here by a petitioner, Mr. Issa — my delegation's main interest remains focused on the

development of advisory and technical organs, primarily at the municipal level. In our view such organs form the best training school for the indigenous inhabitants, enabling them as it does to confront the sometimes noble but often quite illusory ideas of political propaganda with the necessities of practical life. We listened yesterday with real sympathy to one of the petitioners presenting to us a ten-point programme and saw how far that intelligent and cultured man, who had lived in America, was removed from the concrete realities of life. There could be no clearer demonstration of the gulf which separates political mirage from constructive planning.

22. My delegation was very glad to learn that the Administering Authority intended shortly to introduce the electoral system for members of the various assemblies in Somaliland. As I made plain at the eleventh session of the Council, my delegation relished neither in principle nor in practice the expedient of allotting representation in these assemblies on the basis of political parties.

23. We are glad, too, of the arrangements that have been made to give the Somalis a share, so far as possible, in administrative and technical responsibilities and thus to bring them face to face with reality.

24. We rely on the Italian Administration to introduce democratic methods in the tribal assemblies, and we are sure that in making its recommendations the Trusteeship Council will bear in mind the need for extreme caution in dealing with a traditional organization. In this field education must precede administrative measures.

25. Turning to the organization of the judicature and police, we have noted with pleasure the progress made or planned to ensure the independence of the judiciary and the efficiency of the police. This is the more important since only seven years now remain before 1960 when Somaliland is to be independent. It is thus important for the judicial system and the police force to be solidly established and able to maintain order impartially and efficiently during the difficult years when a country is attaining independence.

26. As regards the economic side, the French delegation cannot but share the fears expressed by some previous speakers. The responsibilities of the General Assembly, in other words of each of us, have been rightly recalled in this context. It is indeed time to take thought and to cease deluding ourselves. All the progress we have noted — and it is material — throws into sharp relief the immensity of the effort still to be made. My delegation eagerly awaits the conclusions of the Italian Government expert on the report of the Technical Assistance Mission. When we have those conclusions before us we shall doubtless have a sounder and clearer basis for our judgments. But the least the United Nations can do is to help the Italian Administration at once in its endeavours to guarantee to foreign investors whom it hopes to attract to Somaliland the security of their investments for a period of sufficient duration to encourage them.

27. I also feel that the United Nations should lose no opportunity of enlightening the Somali population on the difficulties awaiting it when it has to meet its own budget requirements. We must warn the Somalis against the dangerous illusion that a prosperous paradise awaits them as soon as they become independent. Such illusions are likely to foster indifference today

and, tomorrow, the confusion which follows disappointment.

28. Our delegation must also recognize the Italian Administration's effort with regard to economic development, and the importance of indigenous co-operation in this work. I am thinking particularly of the improvement of wells and the creation of irrigation systems. We feel that the Council should recommend the people to co-operate whole-heartedly in carrying out programmes which are designed solely for their benefit.

29. As regards the social aspect, the Administration's annual report clearly shows the attention it has given to the various sides of the question, which are studied very completely and systematically. I see nothing to add to that text, except my congratulations to the Administering Authority. In this, as in the economic field, progress is hardly-won, and results as a rule very unspectacular. We well know the obstacles in the path of the Administration whether in dealing with the status of women or with the problems of nomads, with public health or with human rights. Here again, neither men nor organizations can be rushed; the Somalis must be given time to grasp the necessity of evolution. It is for the population to adapt itself to progress.

30. As regards education I must express real satisfaction with the five-year plan, which seems to me realistic and sensible and which, despite an apparent modesty noticed by the Belgian representative, will certainly require great faith, great efforts and great sacrifices before it is brought to fruition. While I fully appreciate the reason, I regret that circumstances did not allow the experiment of schools for nomads to be introduced in 1952, but I was glad to note that this experiment would be initiated in 1953 in conjunction with a scheme of fundamental education, which in my view is essential in nomadic conditions. For the sake of the independent Somaliland of the future, every effort should be made to prevent any dangerous lag in the development of the nomads as compared with that of the settled population.

31. I join with the Belgian representative in expressing the hope that a rapid solution will be found for the Somali language problem. The solution outlined by our distinguished colleagues seems to me at once simple and effective.

32. The French delegation thus considers that the Italian Administration has faced a particularly difficult situation with a diligence, a generosity and a disinterestedness which are worthy of all praise. We would again express regret that Italy, whose entire fitness as an Administering Authority we fully acknowledge, does not sit in this Council as a full Member of the United Nations. Its deep sense of its trusteeship responsibilities furnishes another proof, if one were needed, of its ability and of the justice of its claim.

33. It is now my agreeable duty to thank Mr. Spinelli, the special representative, for the courteous and patient manner in which he has replied to our questions. I would also express my thanks to the members of the Advisory Council, who have so kindly given us the benefit of their experience.

34. Mr. KHOMAN (Thailand): I will limit myself to brief remarks since much has been said already, and in an almost excellent manner, by the representatives who have preceded me.

35. From a study of the annual report of the Administering Authority on the administration of Somaliland

and from listening to the various interesting statements, the existence of two sets of problems is revealed.

36. The first group of problems is connected with the day-to-day life of a country struggling against difficulties of a natural or economic order. In this connexion, my delegation cannot fail to take into account the fact that the appropriate measures taken by the Administration in stocking grain and releasing it when the Territory was stricken with a severe drought, that resulted in damage to or partial destruction of the crops, have been instrumental in relieving the hardships which otherwise would have been suffered by the population of the Territory. The economic, and especially the fiscal, measures adopted by the Administration to counterbalance the decrease in the world price of cotton are also timely and have certainly diminished the extreme effects which would otherwise have been felt in the Somali economy. I could cite a number of other measures which have been wisely taken by the Administration, but I believe these two most important ones will suffice to bring forth an expression of opinion on the part of my delegation that the Administering Authority in Somaliland has dutifully discharged its obligations to the Territory and its population.

37. Another set of problems is peculiar to Somaliland, which is in a more fortunate position than any other Trust Territory since it can look with confidence towards a definite goal of full self-government and independence within a fixed period of time. These problems may be summed up in a few words, that is to say, the preparation of the Territory for an independent existence. The annual report, as well as all the other statements, have not concealed the gravity of these problems, and I believe no one is more conscious of this fact than the Administering Authority and the responsible Somalis themselves. These problems, however serious and difficult they may be, offer a challenge to all those who aspire to independence or wish to help to realize these aspirations.

38. In the opinion of my delegation, emphasis should be laid on the administrative, economic and educational side of that preparation, since these elements are most essential to the independent existence of a nation. I deliberately leave aside, or do not give the same prominence to, political preparation because, in our view, political development is also under way and will follow very closely the sound and healthy growth of the nation. In our opinion, education should be given all due attention in a territory where it is reportedly so low. The need for a greater number of schools and teachers can never be emphasized too much. That is the reason why I welcomed the statement by the special representative that a greater allotment of the budget will go to education. If I may be permitted to offer a suggestion, I would say that if possible still greater appropriations in the budget should be devoted to education than the present 10 per cent or the 17 or 18 per cent that the special representative contemplates for the near future.

39. In conclusion, my delegation is happy to say that it has found most of the necessary information it desired to have from the annual report, which offers abundant details and is well presented. Consequently, a special questionnaire for Somaliland appears to be superfluous, especially when the information which may be lacking can be secured from direct questioning or supplied in subsequent reports. In this connexion, I wish to express my delegation's appreciation to the representative of the Italian Government and to the

special representative for the information they have placed at the disposal of the Council; I also wish to express the same appreciation to the members of the Advisory Council who have performed their work in a most conscientious and effective manner.

40. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the representative of the Soviet Union, there is one matter which I should mention and that is the question of the advisability of having a special questionnaire for Somaliland. This has been adverted to by most of the previous speakers, and I trust that there will be an expression of opinion from the others.

41. Mr. ZONOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics): One of the representatives who spoke yesterday stated that the basic and most important question for the Trusteeship Council in discussing the Administering Authority's report on Somaliland is whether or not the Administering Authority is successfully carrying out the task entrusted to it of enabling Somaliland to become an independent and autonomous State in 1960. This is the crucial question, and it is from this angle that the Council must examine both the Administering Authority's past activity in Somaliland and the future plans by means of which it intends to make it possible for Somaliland to become an independent and self-governing State by 1960. That is in accordance with the Trusteeship Agreement and is what is being demanded by the indigenous population of Somaliland, as evidenced by the statements of the two representatives of that population which we heard yesterday, even though the statements differed considerably on basic principles.

42. If we examine the report submitted by the Italian Government on its administration of the Trust Territory of Somaliland for 1952 from this point of view, we can hardly be expected to agree that the report gives a clear and complete picture of the manner in which the primary task which I have just mentioned and which some representatives mentioned yesterday is being carried out.

43. The facts contained in the many petitions received from the indigenous inhabitants of Somaliland, in the report of the United Nations Advisory Council for that Territory, and in other documents show that the Administering Authority is pursuing a policy with regard to Somaliland which is not, I would say, calculated to achieve the speediest possible discharge of the obligations it has assumed under the Trusteeship Agreement. The Administering Authority is not taking adequate measures to ensure a wide participation of the indigenous population in the legislative, executive and judicial organs of the Trust Territory and, without that, it will naturally be impossible to raise the Territory to an independent existence and to self-government.

44. At yesterday's meeting the view was expressed that it is difficult to give the indigenous inhabitants a share in the administration of the country because few of them are literate and it is hardly to be expected that even in 1960 they will be able to shoulder the heavy burden of administration. But we must recognize that without participating in the administration, without taking a very active part in that administration, it is impossible to learn to govern. One cannot learn to govern a country on paper. One must learn by doing.

45. What, in fact, do we see? It is clear from the Administering Authority's report that laws which had been prepared by the Italian Administration before the

trusteeship came into effect have been re-introduced and are now in force in the Trust Territory. This is indicated unequivocally in the report of the Advisory Council for Somaliland, which speaks of "the co-existence in the Territory of two different sets of rules — proclamations issued by the British authorities and the 1939 regulations for Italian East Africa — neither of which was consistent with the spirit of the Trusteeship Agreement as regards, *inter alia*, the right of assembly and association and the general guarantees of the individual rights of citizens" [T/1048, para. 63]. It should be noted that the former Italian officials in Somaliland, who were in the old Italian Administration, are again occupying responsible posts in the Trust Territory under the new administration, as the special representative of the Administering Authority was himself compelled to admit at the 46th meeting of the Standing Committee on Petitions, on 26 May of this year.

46. If we take the structure of the administration in Somaliland, we shall see that it is similar to that which existed under the old régime. The system of Residents, commissioners, etc., has been re-introduced. The Administrator has full power in the country, while locally the Italian Residents are sovereign lords. This is indicated in the Administering Authority's report, which states that at the head of the territorial districts are the Regional Commissioners and Residents appointed by the Administrator; they direct the political, economic and social life of the Territory, which is under their authority. The Administering Authority does little to bring the Somalis into the administration of the country.

47. A study of the Administering Authority's report for last year shows that the main administrative posts in the central and regional administration of Somaliland are held by Italians, while indigenous inhabitants are used only as auxiliary and service staff. At the same time it should be noted that as a rule all the higher posts in the civilian administration, including the police, are held exclusively by non-Somalis.

48. It must be pointed out that the Administering Authority is pursuing a policy in Somaliland of persecuting the representatives of the local population and of political parties of whom it disapproves. The many petitions which have come from this Territory and which gave rise to nearly a month's discussion in the Standing Committee on Petitions, indicate that the Administering Authority has been subjecting the local population and certain political parties, in particular the Somali Youth League, to systematic discrimination, police persecution, etc. There are many cases attesting to this fact. I might mention the following petitions: T/PET.11/273, from the Somali Youth League, T/PET.11/363, T/PET.11/365, T/PET.11/347, T/PET.11/348, as well as many others, all from the indigenous inhabitants of the Trust Territory of Somaliland.

49. All this shows that decisive and drastic changes must be made in the methods of administration if the local population is to be taught to take a real part in the administration of the country, since such persecution of the active political elements in the Territory is not conducive to that end.

50. It is true that there are some organs in the Trust Territory in which the indigenous population of Somaliland is represented, but these are very weak administrative organs. For example, the Territorial Council appointed by the Italian authorities can hardly be re-

garded as a truly representative organ of the indigenous population. It is clear from the Administering Authority's own report that the majority of the members of this Council are tribal chiefs who are in fact the paid officials of the Administration, and that the other members are also appointed by the Administration.

51. In the Residencies there are Residency Councils, the composition of which clearly indicates their undemocratic and, I would say, non-representative character. In the past these Councils — as may be verified by the report and other documents — were also composed of the chiefs and notables of the given Residency.

52. The Municipal Councils which exist in some places also have no real power and, as noted in the report, at the present stage the power is wielded solely by the Resident, who is the head of the Municipal Council.

53. It follows that the Administering Authority is not taking adequate measures to ensure the participation of the indigenous population in the legislative, executive and judicial organs of the Trust Territory and is not encouraging the formation of local organs of self-government elected by the indigenous population or the progressive development of Somaliland. In other words, it is in essence perpetuating the old régime and thereby violating the purposes and principles of the International Trusteeship System as laid down in the Charter. If we really intend to help Somaliland to become independent and self-governing by 1960, we must recognize that decisive steps must be taken to improve the situation and to institute a firm policy of making the organs of self-government truly democratic and of drawing the population of the Trust Territory into the direct administration of their country now.

54. In this connexion, the Soviet Union delegation proposes that the Trusteeship Council should recommend to the Administering Authority to take legislative and other measures ensuring the participation of the indigenous population in the legislative, executive and judicial organs of the Trust Territory and to assist in the formation of local indigenous organs of self-government as quickly as possible.

55. The reports of the Administering Authority and of the Advisory Council show that the Administering Authority is encouraging and strengthening the tribal system in the Trust Territory, and making use of it in its administration of the indigenous population. As stated in a number of petitions, the Administration, under pain of punishment, forces the Somalis to indicate to which tribe they belong. The tribal chiefs, as the special representative has stated on many occasions in the Standing Committee on Petitions and as the petitions themselves declare, are in reality local officials of the Administration and are subsidized by it. The Administering Authority, referring to the nature of Somaliland's so-called social structure, observes that it has been found impossible to apply a democratic system of government and uses that as an excuse to justify its policy of preserving the tribal structure and the role of the chiefs.

56. Yesterday we heard statements in favour of preserving the tribal system not only in Somaliland but possibly in other territories. We must, however, realize, that if we begin to defend the tribal system in the Trust Territories and to advocate its strengthening, we might as well give up the idea that any of them will ever become autonomous, independent and self-governing. These two concepts are incompatible and we have not too much time left. Plainly, therefore, we must take

decisive action to change this state of affairs and to introduce (I do not insist that this should be immediately) measures to make the structure more democratic and to instruct the local population in democratic administration. That should be our task in this sphere. We cannot, of course, disregard this circumstance in discussing this question and we must state that by encouraging the tribal system the Administering Authority is clearly pursuing certain aims and is persecuting the progressive elements among the indigenous inhabitants. As I have already indicated, many of the petitions received from Somaliland cite numerous examples of this persecution. It is obvious that if the progressive elements in the Territory are to be persecuted, if a policy of strengthening the tribal system is to be pursued, it can hardly be expected that it will be possible for the Territory to be self-governing when the period of trusteeship comes to an end.

57. The USSR delegation considers that the Trusteeship Council should point out to the Administering Authority that the tribal system now existing in the Trust Territory with that Authority's encouragement is incompatible with the progressive political development of the inhabitants of Somaliland towards self-government and independence. In this connexion, the Trusteeship Council should recommend that the Administering Authority should take steps to bring about a transition from a tribal system to a system of self-government based on democratic principles.

58. It seems to me that the Administering Authority is not taking the necessary steps to improve the economic situation of the indigenous inhabitants and to promote the economic advancement of Somaliland, although it is well known that the standard of living of the indigenous population is extremely low.

59. Both the report of the Administering Authority and that of the Advisory Council indicate that a semi-primitive system of agriculture prevails in Somaliland, based on a rudimentary form of cattle-raising and farming which is unable to provide the indigenous inhabitants with the means of existence, with the result that they are doomed to poverty, starvation, disease and other privations. The Administering Authority's report frankly admits that agricultural implements and methods are extremely primitive. The Administering Authority, however, is doing virtually nothing to improve those methods. Instead of increasing the production of food crops and devoting all its attention and resources to this task, the Administering Authority is encouraging the production of, for example, cotton, bananas and other export crops, to the detriment of food production. In this connexion the Advisory Council's report contains a very interesting observation concerning the ordinance on the cultivation of cotton. The report states that "a wise economic policy is to establish a sound system of agriculture and that such a system calls for a careful balancing of subsistence (food) crops and cash (industrial) crops" [T/1048, para. 81]. This observation deserves careful consideration. To put it differently, it is inadmissible that industrial crops should be produced at the expense of food crops, having regard to the fact that the area in Somaliland suitable for farming is very limited.

60. Moreover, the Administering Authority's report, the special representative's replies, and the statements of the representatives on the Advisory Council make it clear that the Administering Authority is pursuing a policy of establishing large numbers of foreign com-

panies and monopolies in the Trust Territory. The Administering Authority's report provides data concerning foreign companies operating in all branches of the Territory's economy. It states that there are sixty-nine foreign companies operating in Somaliland. In other words, these are foreign monopolies, which though operating under different names, clearly control agriculture, industry, commerce, insurance and other branches of the economy. In some cases, they operate under cover of the so-called co-participation system, especially in agriculture. The European concessionaires provide the indigenous inhabitants with seed and cash advances to raise cotton, bananas and other agricultural produce. This so-called co-participation system is one of the concealed methods of exploiting the indigenous population employed by the Europeans.

61. In discussing the economic situation, we cannot overlook the arrangement whereby American and Italian companies are granted oil-prospecting concessions of up to forty years on terms highly unfavourable for Somaliland. The companies are required to pay to the Territory merely 12 to 15 per cent of the income during the first ten years of the concession. This arrangement is obviously unprofitable for Somaliland. True, there are other theorists who argue that the concessionaires should get all the honey and none of the vinegar. What actually happens is that the concessionaires get the honey and the indigenous inhabitants the vinegar. I contend that such a policy is not in the interests of the indigenous population.

62. The indigenous inhabitants' difficult economic situation is further aggravated by the Administering Authority's land policy, which does not operate in their favour. Up to the present time, the Administering Authority has not only not given back to the indigenous inhabitants of Somaliland the land taken from them before the Trusteeship System was established, but is continuing the same old policy of alienating land under various pretexts. The Administering Authority's reports show that 88,442 hectares of land are held by individual Italians and by the Italian Administration. Lastly, the latest report, for 1952, states that the Administration signed contracts with a number of oil companies, as I have already indicated. Under one of these contracts, the Sinclair Somal Corporation is to prospect for oil over an area of 200,000 square kilometres. In that same year an Italian mining company, the Società Mineraria Somala, was granted an area of 28,000 square kilometres, while yet another Italian company was given 3,000 square kilometres. I have taken these figures from the Administering Authority's report for 1952. Under what conditions is this prospecting being carried out? Most probably, in conditions whereby the land is alienated from the indigenous population, since no company would agree to prospect for oil or other mineral deposits unless it were given suitable guarantees that it would own the land. That is the usual practice and it is unlikely that there was any departure from it in the cases mentioned.

63. It must be stated that in many of the petitions received from Somaliland the indigenous inhabitants complain that the Administering Authority is taking no steps to return to them the lands alienated from them and to prevent any further alienation of land.

64. The Trusteeship Council should recommend that the Administering Authority should return to the indigenous inhabitants of the Trust Territory the lands alienated from them under one pretext or another and

should prohibit any further alienation of lands belonging to the indigenous population.

65. I should also like to say a few words concerning the system of taxation. According to the Administering Authority's report, a hut tax is still in force in the Territory, to which virtually every indigenous inhabitant over eighteen years of age is liable, regardless, it would seem, of his property status. Moreover, Ordinance No. 14, which was promulgated in 1944 and is still in force in the Territory, provides that a taxpayer's property may be seized in payment of tax and that a taxpayer who is unable to pay his taxes may be arrested. Even though the special representative has said that this ordinance is not in force, the logical conclusion to be drawn is that if it is not actually applied, it should be revoked. If it is not applied, then there is no need for it to exist. What purpose does it serve?

66. The USSR delegation considers that the Trusteeship Council should recommend that the Administering Authority should take steps to replace the hut tax by a graduated income tax or, at any rate, by an income tax which will take into account the population's property status and ability to pay.

67. The general living and health conditions of the indigenous population show that in these respects the situation in the Territory is far from favourable. According to the report of the Visiting Mission which went to Somaliland in 1951, social conditions in the Territory are primitive and the standard of living is low. The population suffers from such diseases as malaria, tuberculosis and tropical ulcers. The high incidence of disease and mortality is aggravated by a shortage of food. This fact is confirmed in the Administering Authority's report. The Mission observes that chronic malnutrition constitutes a special problem, particularly in the northern part of the Territory, where, apparently, the Mission visited hospitals, as for instance that in Bender Cassim, which record a great number of deaths from malnutrition — all children and young people. The situation is brought out in the whole series of petitions received from the Trust Territory of Somaliland during the past year.

68. It is clear from information contained in the Administering Authority's annual report for 1952 that, as regards the education of the indigenous population, the training of the more advanced classes of Somalis with the object of encouraging them to take a more active part in the control of their country is still far from adequate. In 1950-1951, for instance, expenditure on the educational service amounted to no more than 7 per cent of the total outlay. In 1951-1952 the figure was 10 per cent. At the same time the Administering Authority admits in its report that there is almost total illiteracy in the country.

69. The situation persists, of course, because of the lack of schools to accommodate all the children at present of school age, a fact to which the Advisory Council points in its report. The report of the Administering Authority also states that last year only 16,625 out of 190,000 children of school age attended school. True, the special representative declared that this year, that is, by 1 January 1954, the number of children of school age attending school would rise to a total of 22,000 — that is indeed progress — but if this Territory is going to move forward at the same pace up till 1960, then even in 1960 the number of literate persons in the Territory will be far from adequate. There must therefore be a marked increase in tempo as from today.

There must be an increase in the budgetary allocations, an increase in the number of literate teachers, an increase in the number of schools. Only so will the Territory be enabled to achieve more or less satisfactory results by 1960.

70. Nor must we lose sight of the fact that the Administering Authority has so far done nothing towards the creation of a Somali written language, a matter about which many representatives have spoken both yesterday and today. The Administering Authority tries to justify this negligence by making reference to the opposition encountered, to the complexity of the problem and so on. Meanwhile, as the Visiting Mission says, "the outlook for mass education, if it must be undertaken in languages other than Somali, is highly discouraging" [*T/947 and Corr.1, para. 321*]. The root of the educational problem in Somaliland is the fact that teaching is not carried on in the Somali language. And meanwhile the Administering Authority does nothing decisive or constructive in the matter.

71. In connexion with what I have just said, the USSR delegation is bound to conclude that the Territory is not advancing as rapidly as some here would have us believe along the road to self-government and independence.

72. I opened my statement by saying that the main and decisive task was to make it possible for Somaliland to attain independence and self-government by 1960. From the facts I have adduced it can be concluded that things are not going very well. It is for us, therefore, to point out to the Administering Authority that suitable measures must be taken to bring about a much speedier solution of these important problems.

73. In that connexion, the USSR delegation would like to put forward for the consideration of the Trusteeship Council the following recommendations relative to the Administering Authority's report on its administration of Somaliland in 1952:

"1. The Trusteeship Council recommends that the Administering Authority take legislative and other measures to ensure the participation of the indigenous population in the legislative, executive and judicial organs of the Trust Territory and that it encourage the formation of indigenous local organs of self-government.

"2. In view of the fact that the tribal system, which prevails in the Territory and is encouraged by the Administering Authority, is incompatible with the progressive political development of the people towards independence, the Trusteeship Council recommends that the Administering Authority take steps to bring about a transition from the tribal system to self-government based on democratic principles.

"3. The Trusteeship Council recommends to the Administering Authority that it restore to the inhabitants of the Trust Territory the lands alienated from them by various means and guarantee that no further alienation of land should take place in the future.

"4. The Trusteeship Council recommends that the Administering Authority take steps to change from the head- and hut-tax system of taxes to a graduated income tax or at least to an income tax taking into account the property and financial resources of the people.

"5. The Trusteeship Council recommends that the Administering Authority increase the budgetary allo-

cation for education and other cultural requirements, bearing in mind the need to widen the network of schools and increase the number of pupils and teachers, and put into operation other measures designed to liquidate mass illiteracy among the indigenous population of Somaliland.

"6. The Trusteeship Council recommends that the Administering Authority increase the budgetary allocation for public health, particularly for the purpose of widening the network of hospitals, dispensaries and clinics, and increasing the medical staff drawn from the local population, with a view to creating a health service adequate to the needs of the people of the Trust Territory."

74. These are what I might call the minimum recommendations which the Trusteeship Council would do well to make on the report of the Administering Authority for the year 1952, in order to help the indigenous population to achieve further progress toward independence and self-government, in conformity with the established aims of the Trusteeship System and those which are laid down in the Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory of Somaliland.

75. Mr. LOOMES (Australia): There is no doubt that this year we have been presented with a great deal of detail for the study of conditions in the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration. First, there is the annual report of the Administering Authority for the year ending December 1952, which my delegation regards as a commendable document. Secondly, there is the report of the Advisory Council, which bears witness to a profitable year of activity on the part of its members.

76. The Advisory Council appears to be functioning under established procedures and able to make a substantial contribution to the development of policies and practices on which the Administration will be working. We note that there are still one or two procedural clarifications to be settled between the Administering Authority and the Advisory Council, and we hope that these will be cleared as soon as possible. We do not think it necessary to review the formal arrangements on which the relationship between the Advisory Council and the Administering Authority is based, especially as we have noted the special representative's statement that the Administration is happy to discuss this question. We ourselves have been happy to note the progress which the Advisory Council has made throughout the year and are confident that it will be able to settle the outstanding issue by discussion.

77. We have noted that the discussions concerning the provisional border between the Trust Territory and Ethiopia have not extended beyond an exploratory stage. My delegation regards this as an important matter, because the uncertainty of the boundary is a cause of unsettlement between tribes around it. We should like to have more details on this issue when the Council next considers Somaliland questions, and we would hope that it may be possible to achieve some progress in the negotiations.

78. We have all awaited the report of the Technical Assistance Mission with some eagerness, and my delegation has read it with a great deal of interest. It comes to us now full of ideas and recommendations which we feel warrant the most earnest attention of the Administering Authority and the officers of the Administration. We feel sure that this report will bring the development of Somaliland into a new phase, for if time has

been spent in assessing the nature and scope of the problems and the various methods by which they can be met, the time has now been reached when these problems have been brought into clear relief and a way shown by which they might be solved.

79. It is hoped that with the valuable report of the Technical Assistance Mission, the preparation of an economic programme will be treated with urgency and that we shall soon have not only a full set of blueprints, but will know that these plans are actually under way. We would like to have been able to discuss the Mission's report in more detail at this session, but we note that it is a report of experts in their various fields and that the economic plan to be prepared will be in the nature of a commentary on it or adaptation of it by the Administering Authority.

80. It is unnecessary to emphasize that time is of the very essence in Somaliland questions, because only a little over seven years now remains before 1960, when an independent status for the Territory is scheduled. Though my delegation cannot but feel some misgivings over so early a date-line, it can only be accepted now and every endeavour made to hasten the work that has to be done. We cannot, on the other hand, expect the impossible in a period of seven years, and my delegation has always taken a realistic view of the amount of progress that can be made in a few years in terms of the resources that can be made available.

81. Somaliland is a country with limited economic and financial resources, and it is not a constructive form of criticism to dwell on its shortcomings or to expect an overnight transformation. What is most important is for us to ensure that the foundations of progress are properly and thoroughly laid so that while the Territory is moving on under its plans towards higher standards of economic and social life, the transfer to a new status can take place smoothly. The great weight of the responsibility for a harmonious transfer from the status of a Territory to an independent status is obviously going to rest on the political parties, which will make up the governing groups, and the civil service, which will have to give stability and direction to the many aspects of the Administration. The interdependence of the political parties and the civil service must also be stressed because it is important now, as it will be then, that the political parties understand and cooperate in the problems of administration, that they absorb themselves in the economic and social problems of the Territory and do not play the game of politics for its own sake.

82. It is noted in the annual report that the Administering Authority has been able to report favourably on the growth of an increased understanding and co-operation between the political parties, and we have been very pleased to see further improvement in this direction in the present year. If this co-operation can increase throughout the next seven years, it should help considerably in the development of a sound democratic party system. We have noted from some of the petitions that have been submitted to this session of the Council that the political parties themselves have on some occasions caused disturbances when other parties have endeavoured to set up branches throughout the Territory. We should like to stress at this stage the need for the development of tolerance between the political parties in the Territory. We have also noted that the various political parties have been given an increase in representation, both in the Territorial Council and in the Residency

Councils. We are of the opinion that this has been a wise move because it should have the effect of making the political parties more interested in the actual problems that have to be faced and giving them a greater direct responsibility in the affairs of the Territory.

83. Whatever shape the economy of the Territory takes, the responsibility of the government services is bound to be heavy through the approaching years. An examination of the technical assistance report will illustrate the importance placed on administrative services. We believe that the Administering Authority will have to give further study to the development of its administrative services, along with its preparation of economic plans, for undoubtedly these plans will suggest the need for certain government agencies that have not existed before.

84. When we say this, however, we are not unmindful of the need for limiting the costs of administration in the Territory and, above all, we are not unmindful of the progress made in the past year in training indigenous inhabitants to take their part in the administration. In this connexion, we greatly welcome the statement of the special representative, who has told us that the first group of graduates has now qualified from the School of Political Administration and has told us of the plans that have been made for them, and we also welcome his statement that indigenous inhabitants have been appointed as Resident and Vice-Resident. In addition, we have noted that the School of Administration will have an increasing number of students in coming years.

85. The financial limitations of the country's economy must be borne in mind also when economic and welfare proposals are under consideration. The country could no doubt spend millions of somalos on education and the building of hospitals, etc. But if it were to do so, it would obviously have to forego public capital investment, which is also needed to develop such facilities as transport, agricultural projects and so on. There is no doubt that the economic programme that is drawn up will have to develop a balance between all of these projects and establish some system of priorities since the money supply will not be sufficient to enable them all to be undertaken simultaneously.

86. It is pleasing to note that the Administration itself has expressed its readiness to accept foreign capital investment, which shows obviously that it is fully aware of the fact that the internal resources of the Territory will not for many years be sufficient to make possible any rapid improvement of conditions. This must obviously be the case in a country where the rate of saving, and hence of internal investment, cannot be great, and where a considerable part of savings must be spent on consumption needs.

87. The Council will recall that during the questioning the Australian delegation directed questions to the special representative on the subject of public and private investment possibilities, both internal and external. From the answers received, I believe we are right in saying that prospects for investment in new enterprises by private investors in coming years are not, at the moment, very bright. Nor is there a profitable field for raising internal loans. For this reason, we would suggest that the Administering Authority might give attention to those aspects of the technical assistance report which relate to this subject, and especially those which indicate avenues on which United Nations technical assistance might be sought.

88. It is gratifying to my delegation to note that the number of agricultural co-operatives increased from four to eleven during the year. We have noted that certain of these co-operatives have not yet proved as satisfactory as might be expected. But we hope that the Administering Authority will nevertheless continue to encourage and assist the movement, as we believe that agricultural co-operatives can play a very useful part in developing the economy of the Territory.

89. In the social field, my delegation is gratified to note the over-all advances which have been made. It particularly notes with great interest the energetic initiatives of the Administering Authority in its campaign against tuberculosis, and I feel that the Council should warmly commend the Administration for its work in this respect.

90. My delegation was also gratified to hear that the Administering Authority has, by improved judicial processes, largely done away with the necessity for lengthy detention of accused persons before trial. My delegation also notes with great interest the plans of the Administering Authority to revise the present judicial system and also to codify and rationalize the laws of the Territory.

91. I should like to say at this stage a few words about General Assembly resolution 656 (VII). This resolution, it will be recalled, refers two specific matters to our attention: the question of a separate questionnaire and the question of sending a separate visiting mission to the Territory.

92. I must admit that I find it hard to see the point of having a special questionnaire. I can appreciate the thought behind the suggestion, but when one comes to consider the volume of material that is laid before us when we examine the annual report, as we have just done, it is by no means easy to see in what way we should require it to be enlarged. For example, we have just concluded a lengthy discussion on the last annual report. We have asked a number of questions on it. However, I do believe that they have been for the most part questions of clarification, questions seeking particular detail, but not questions relating to some entirely new aspect that is omitted from the report. It seems to me that practically every aspect of Somaliland is referred to in the report and that, whenever we have wanted to know anything very particular, the special representative has been pleased to supply the information. I cannot, therefore, see either the type of new questions we would wish to put in a special questionnaire or the need for these, as it seems we can obtain whatever information we wish through the system provided for in our present procedures.

93. With respect to the second question, my delegation cannot see the necessity of sending a special visiting mission to Somaliland, at least at this stage. Discussion over the last few days has made clear the nature of activity that one can expect to find in the Trust Territory in the next eighteen months, say. We can expect to see the initial stages of the five-year education plan, which we have now before us, going into operation. In particular, we expect this period to be one of the keenest activity in preparing and even putting into operation many aspects of the economic plan: those which involve internal rearrangement, those which involve applications to the United Nations for assistance. These things must take time and, if my sense of judgment is correct, the year 1954 will be one in which a large number of projects will be taking shape, but yet one in which all the various pieces will not have fallen properly into place.

It is our opinion that this would not be the best time to send a special mission to the Territory and that if such a mission is to be sent, it would be much more appropriate if its timing were somewhat later — say, at a time nearer the year 1960, when the status of the Territory is to be changed. I say this as supplementary to other factors of which we are mindful, such as the advantage of missions visiting more than one Territory and the difficulties of manning these missions with experienced personnel.

94. I cannot conclude this statement without expressing my congratulations to the Administering Authority for the progress it has made in the Territory over the past year and for the excellent quality of its annual report and all the other material that has been made available for our study at this session. I should also like to express appreciation of the frank and open manner in which the special representative has met the wide range of questions we have put to him.

95. Finally, I should like to take this opportunity to express my delegation's appreciation to the Chairman and members of the Advisory Council for their presence here and for their very helpful statements.

96. Mr. S. S. LIU (China): My delegation has studied with great interest all the information which has been placed at the disposal of the Trusteeship Council by the Administering Authority and by the Advisory Council on the administration of Somaliland under Italian trusteeship during 1952 and also, of course, the comments and observations of UNESCO. In the course of this study, we of the delegation of China have found much evidence of great progress in the Territory during the year and of the sincere and conscientious effort on the part of the Administering Authority to promote the advancement of the Territory's inhabitants towards the independent existence for which they are destined in scarcely more than seven years.

97. What has given my delegation great satisfaction is the extent to which the Advisory Council and the Administering Authority have collaborated for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Territory. We have been especially pleased that the Chairman and members of the Advisory Council have managed to stay in the Territory for the greater part of the year and have accomplished a great deal of truly commendable work. From this it is evident that all the members of the Advisory Council have the interests of the Territory close at heart. I associate myself with other delegations in recommending that the Trusteeship Council commend the work that has been accomplished by the Advisory Council during the year.

98. As to the interpretation to be given to article 8 of the Trusteeship Agreement, regarding the scope of the matters which should be submitted to the Advisory Council for advice, we have noticed the difference of opinion between the Advisory Council and the Administering Authority. We are happy, however, to learn from the opening statement of the special representative that the Italian Government will be ready to enter into negotiations with the Advisory Council with a view to coming to some agreement on the question. We earnestly hope that these negotiations will be commenced as soon as possible and that a satisfactory solution will result therefrom.

99. A point which has engaged the attention of my delegation, and upon which we thought we should touch in this brief statement, is the question of the boundary between Somaliland and Ethiopia. At the eleventh ses-

sion of the Trusteeship Council, a recommendation was adopted in which the hope was expressed that the conversations which had been initiated between the two parties would lead to a satisfactory settlement [A/2150, p. 109]. Although up to the present the Administering Authority has not been able to inform the Council of this solution, the conversations are still going on and we reiterate the hope that the negotiations will soon be brought to a successful conclusion.

100. In the political field, my delegation has noted with satisfaction the division of the Reduced Committee of the Territorial Council into two commissions and the creation of two vice-presidents for the Territorial Council. We believe that these steps tend to give the indigenous members of the Territorial Council an increased opportunity to participate in the management of their own affairs and thus acquire the knowledge and experience requisite for it. We regret, however, that nothing further was done during the year to clothe the Territorial Council with some legislative power. It will be recalled that this objective has been envisaged both by the Trusteeship Council and by its Visiting Mission of 1951. In view especially of the brevity of the time left before the Territory attains its independence, in 1960, it is clear that the granting of legislative powers to the Territorial Council is an urgent step if the Somalis are to be given the necessary political training sufficiently in advance of the attainment of their independence. It seems to my delegation that the Trusteeship Council should make a clear-cut request to the Administering Authority for some urgent action.

101. With regard to the question of suffrage, my delegation feels that there is still room for intensified effort on the part of the Administering Authority. My delegation would register its agreement with both the Visiting Mission of 1951 and the Advisory Council that neither the civil register nor the census should be regarded as a condition precedent to the establishment of universal suffrage.

102. On the local government level, the functioning of the Residency Councils remains to be improved and democratized. With regard to the Municipal Councils, it has been gratifying to note that the Administering Authority intends to have members elected to these Councils by direct suffrage in 1953. While the special representative has not been able as yet to report any such elections to the Trusteeship Council, we look forward to hearing much further on this question when the next annual report is submitted to the Council.

103. On the question of administrative services, the Administering Authority has made a conscientious effort to meet the wishes of the Trusteeship Council. Not only has the number of Somalis in the administrative services been increased by 352 during the year, but of these 352, quite a few have been appointed to comparatively responsible positions. We are especially pleased to learn that in 1953 the Administering Authority intends to appoint Somalis to a number of positions of considerable responsibility. We shall be greatly interested to read in the next annual report about the precise number and nature of these positions.

104. On the judicial structure of the Territory, it is noted that the Advisory Council, in considering the draft ordinance establishing commissariat judges, recommended the deletion of article 6, which retains the Provincial Commissioners as chairmen of the regional courts which apply collective sanctions. We feel that in strict accordance with the principle of the separation of administrative and judicial powers, the recommendation

of the Advisory Council is unassailable and should be given the consideration it deserves. My delegation also shares the view of the Advisory Council that the imposition of fines without trial should be abolished. With regard to the reorganization of the judiciary, we have noted with gratification that a court of appeal was established in 1952 and that a law establishing a supreme court was promulgated. The latter is especially welcome news inasmuch as the Territory will eventually become an independent State and its supreme court is an essential part of the judicial system. Now that the law for its establishment has already been made public, we hope that its implementation will not take long.

105. We have also been happy to learn that the new judicial regulations have been drafted and are being re-examined. Although the special representative has informed us that during the past year, owing to the pressure of other work, not a great deal has been accomplished in the work of revising the judicial regulations, let us hope that before long we shall be able to learn of the accomplishment of this task.

106. In the economic field, the Trusteeship Council still awaits with great interest the submission by the Administering Authority of its general development plan for the Territory. It will be recalled that this matter formed the substance of a recommendation adopted by the Council at its eleventh session [A/2150, p. 124]. We have no doubt that the Council has a continuing interest in this matter and will be eager to hear more about it from the Administering Authority.

107. In response to the concern which was evinced by the Council at its eleventh session in regard to the future of the finances of the Territory, the Administering Authority has shown earnestness in tackling the problem of bringing about a balance between revenue and expenditure. It is gratifying to note that the budgetary deficit has been reduced to an extent more than was expected and also that steps are being taken by the Administering Authority to increase the revenue of the Territory, such steps including the introduction of a tax on cultivated lands. My delegation does not doubt that the Administering Authority will not fail to continue its efforts in this direction, although it is submitted by my delegation that in order to enable the indigenous inhabitants to tackle this problem when the time comes, some careful close study will have to be made by the Administering Authority of the steps that should be taken in the meantime to prepare the indigenous inhabitants for the task lying before them. While we are speaking of taxation, my delegation would like to urge upon the Administering Authority anew our earnest request for the abolition of the hut tax and its replacement by a more equitable levy, a step which has been consistently advocated by the Council.

108. My delegation has noted with satisfaction that the Administering Authority has devoted great attention to the drafting of land legislation. We shall look forward with great interest to the completion of this important task and to receiving and examining the text of the new law.

109. The steps which have been taken and which are contemplated by the Administering Authority to develop co-operatives are most encouraging. We believe that the assured success of this movement will be an incentive for further effort. Judging from the extent to which the system of co-operatives will increase the Territory's production, my delegation is certain that the initiative and sustained effort of the Administering Authority in this sphere will be richly rewarded,

110. As the development of fishing holds out great promise for the Territory, my delegation is interested to know that a close study is being made by the Administering Authority of this branch of economic enterprise and that the co-operation of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) has been obtained. The establishment of the maritime and fishing school naturally will aid the development of fishing considerably. My delegation will therefore be pleased to have further information on this matter.

111. With regard to social advancement my delegation is mainly interested in the following matters: first, labour legislation; secondly, medical and health services; and thirdly, the conditions of chronic malnutrition and slow starvation.

112. In regard to labour legislation, the special representative has informed us that the labour code is being drafted by the Administering Authority in collaboration with the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and that the various parts of this code will be completed and put into force separately. Those specific parts of the legislation in which the Council has particular interest itself, namely, the part on female labour and the part on child labour, are being given the consideration of the Administering Authority. We look forward to hearing more about the consummation of this very important task when the next annual report is submitted.

113. With regard to medical and health services, we have been gratified to learn of the increase of medical doctors and health facilities. However, although it is the view of the Administering Authority that the existing medical and health services are adequate for the needs of the Territory, the situation may bear some close re-examination in view of the size of the Territory and its population, particularly the large number of nomads who are not now fully taken care of in respect of medical and health facilities.

114. The problem of chronic malnutrition is of course a very serious one. We are pleased that the concern expressed by the Council at its eleventh session is bearing fruit. My delegation hopes that the joint effort which is now being made by the Administering Authority and the FAO on this problem will enable the Administration to solve it with satisfaction.

115. In the field of educational advancement, my delegation has been gratified to receive and take note of the new five-year plan which the Administering Authority has just worked out with the co-operation of UNESCO. We appreciate the careful thought and serious study which have been put into the preparation of the plan, and we feel that the Council should commend the Administering Authority on the completion of this plan and express its congratulations to UNESCO for the excellent work it has performed in this connexion. We share the opinion of UNESCO in regard to the intention of the Administering Authority to implement the plan in full, and we have no doubt that when this is done the educational conditions in the Territory will be greatly improved.

116. There are, however, two points on which my delegation proposes to lay special emphasis. The first, which is the more important, is the question of a written Somali language. From the annual report itself we obtained incontrovertible evidence that the lack of such a written language accounts for many of the difficulties which the Administration is encountering in the realm of teaching. In these circumstances, it is needless to say that the urgent solution of the problem is one of the most important tasks confronting the Administering

Authority. It would therefore be imperative for the Administering Authority to tackle it with the greatest expedition, and in the performance of this task, the Administering Authority will again of course be in need of the valuable assistance of UNESCO.

117. Secondly, the shortage of teaching staff is another serious problem with which the Administration is faced. In order to carry out the five-year plan satisfactorily, it is essential to secure as early as possible the requisite teaching staff, which can properly perform the duties of imparting to the Somali youth all the knowledge which it requires. My delegation would therefore ask the Administering Authority to hasten the work of carrying out a teacher-training programme.

118. Finally, in connexion with the question which the President just referred to, the question of a special questionnaire for the Territory of Somaliland, my delegation wishes to state that its position is similar to that which has already been expressed by most delegations: that is, from the fullness of the information provided by the current report we realize that the questionnaire, although a general one applicable to all Territories, is in no way deficient. For that reason my delegation feels that there is no need for the drafting or preparation of a special questionnaire for the Territory of Somaliland.

119. In conclusion, I should like to express my delegation's gratitude to the special representative, Mr. Spinelli, for his excellent work and the efficient manner in which he has answered all the questions put to him and helped the Council in the examination of the current report.

The meeting was suspended at 4.10 p.m. and was resumed at 4.35 p.m.

120. Mr. SERRANO GARCIA (El Salvador): In its final remarks concerning the Territory of Somaliland, my delegation wishes through me to offer hearty congratulations to the Administering Authority on the magnificent work it is doing, despite the well-known poverty of Somaliland and the short time which has elapsed since the Administering Authority undertook this work. We sincerely believe that Italy has dedicated itself to this task in a spirit not only of interest, but also of affection, and that the seed which is being sown will undoubtedly be abundantly fruitful. That is what we feel and that is what we hope.

121. We have been especially pleased to observe the friendliness and co-operation existing between the Administering Authority and the Advisory Council, which latter consists of three gentlemen whose respective countries may be proud of the work they are doing and of the evidence they have given of their integrity, their competence, their fairness and their tact. We hope that these relations will remain as close and cordial as they have been in the past, for we are firmly convinced that only through close co-operation between the Administering Authority and the Advisory Council can there be an effective strengthening of the political, social, economic and educational basis on which the structure of the future Republic of Somaliland must rest.

122. As regards the political situation, my delegation learned with great interest of the increase in the number of training courses related to various political activities which were initiated in 1952. It was also favourably impressed by the assurances given by the Administering Authority that the plan for placing Somalis in important posts would be carried out on a large scale beginning in 1953. We trust that such will be the case. We were also pleased to note that during the past year

all legislative measures were adopted only after consultation with the Territorial Council, which is composed almost entirely of Somalis.

123. I should also like to congratulate the Administering Authority on the successful measures which it has adopted to prevent the violent incidents which tend to occur occasionally in some sectors of the population, and I urge the Administering Authority to continue to consider and apply as many measures as possible which, without offending the various tribes and the various political and regional groups, will put an end to such violent incidents and demonstrations.

124. We consider it significant that the Somali Association for International Organization was set up at Mogadiscio, and that the Administering Authority showed special interest in sending groups of indigenous inhabitants to Italy for study and training.

125. As to the economic situation, my delegation regards favourably the protective measures adopted by the Administering Authority with respect to the soap industry, and it recommends that similar measures be adopted for other industries, especially those directly concerned with the health, feeding and hygiene of the Somali people. It also hopes that the modernization of the leather industries announced by the Administering Authority will be carried out very soon and that a similar plan will be applied to all the traditional industries in the Territory.

126. As regards the social situation, it notes with pleasure the important and well-advised measures that have been taken to establish a civil register, which, according to the special representative, has been operating successfully for three months. My delegation recommends that the Administering Authority should, as soon as possible, take steps in all prisons to separate the different classes of prisoners, especially young persons.

127. As regards education, my delegation can do no less than enthusiastically congratulate the Administering Authority on the devotion and interest it has shown in favouring education by building new schools and educational establishments and by sending many Somalis abroad for special study. My delegation also recommends that the Administering Authority continue and increase its efforts for the promotion of education.

128. I conclude by thanking the special representative, Mr. Spinelli, for his splendid co-operation and his readiness to answer the questions which I put to him during the general debate.

129. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand): It is not an easy task to attempt an assessment of conditions in the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration when one is confronted with such a mountain of information, of varying opinions and of informed criticism as we have had laid before us. My delegation will endeavour to be as objective as possible in such an attempt, and will prefer to confine itself to a consideration of general principles of sound administration rather than to delve too deeply into details.

130. At the outset we should pay a tribute to the high level of impartiality and objectivity of the statements we have heard in the last few days. The annual report of the Administering Authority is a full and comprehensive one. It is also a readable report. In addition to the excellent written material, I must note the usefulness of the illustrations in assisting my delegation in its understanding of the face of the Territory. I may remark in passing that the standard of the public buildings, if

the photographs truly represent a fair sample of them, is worthy of commendation.

131. We have found the statements of the members of the Advisory Council of value and assistance, not only in the Council's consideration of the annual report but also in the examination by the Standing Committee on Petitions of the many petitions from this Trust Territory. It would not be improper, I suggest, to note the contrast with last year in remarking on the assistance that the Advisory Council has given this year to the Trusteeship Council. While my delegation has considerable sympathy with the views of the Advisory Council in so far as they relate to a clearer definition of the functions of that body, I do not believe that the Trusteeship Council or the General Assembly should attempt to improve on their terms of reference since that action might well give rise to a further period of uncertainty and even disputation between the interested parties. Accordingly, my delegation was gratified to learn of the agreement between the Advisory Council and the Administering Authority to appoint liaison officers. This understanding will undoubtedly be the forerunner of closer and more valuable co-operation between these parties. Nothing that the Trusteeship Council or the Assembly can do will be as productive of harmonious relationships as this understanding between the two parties most directly concerned. At the same time, my delegation would hope that the Administering Authority will continue to avail itself to the full of the opportunity to seek the advice and assistance of the Advisory Council and to keep it informed in accordance with the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement and the General Assembly's resolution 289 A (IV) of 21 November 1949.

132. My delegation found the Advisory Council's report a most useful document, particularly in so far as it contained the views of the Council on the matters referred to it by the Administering Authority for comment. I wonder whether in future reports a somewhat longer introduction could be included in which the Advisory Council might endeavour to summarize and express its opinions upon the broad lines of development in all fields for the year under review. That would not preclude, of course, the making of individual comments by members of the Council at this table.

133. Turning now to the annual report of the Administering Authority, my delegation must express satisfaction with the energy and realism with which the Administering Authority is discharging its obligations. The immensity of the task of preparing Somaliland for independence within seven more years is undeniable. Indeed, the difficulties have been expressed by the representatives of Egypt and Colombia in terms which we and the Assembly must weigh. But the forthright manner in which the Administration has grasped the nettle should in itself be sufficient answer to any fears which may exist in the Territory that Italy would seek to postpone the grant of independence beyond 1960. On the contrary, my delegation would not have been surprised to hear that since the Territory is such a large financial drain on the Italian Government, apprehension existed in the Trust Territory that Italy would wish to terminate its administration well before 1960.

134. The General Assembly, in its wisdom, has decided that Somaliland will be independent in 1960. I would repeat what was said at the eleventh session [420th meeting, para. 70] by the leader of my delegation. Eight and a half years is an extremely short time in which to develop a territory such as Somaliland from the state of stagnation and frustration engendered

by its past history into a viable, independent national entity. To some it may well seem an impossible task, but it behooves us all, whether we agreed with the Assembly's decision or not, to do our utmost to ensure that the essential conditions are created to enable the Assembly's resolution to be fulfilled.

135. In the political field, we think the year under review has been a fruitful one. Up to May 1953 the measures taken by the Administration to establish an independent court of justice and the appointment of regional judges, the initiative taken to revise the land legislation, the reorganization of the prison system, the selection and appointment of Somali Residents and the drafting of a project for an electoral law are some of the progressive steps that should not escape favourable notice by the Council. I trust that there will be a complete separation of the administrative and judicial powers in the near future.

136. Perhaps the most promising development in the political life of the Territory is the diminution of tension between certain political parties and the Administration. This new and encouraging situation has been apparent not only in the statement made yesterday by Mr. Issa, but also from the examination of the multitude of petitions from Somaliland. It was also referred to by members of the Advisory Council and by the special representative in his opening statement. That the Administration found it possible to grant pardons to some 300 prisoners on 2 June 1953 is an augury of more constructive and harmonious relationships in the years to come. My delegation welcomes this change of heart and hopes that it presages a sincere endeavour by the political parties and the Administration to surmount together the many difficult obstacles that remain to be overcome before the Territory can hope to stand by itself.

137. I should like at this stage to make one or two comments on the statement made by Mr. Issa. My delegation listened with interest and sympathy to his suggestions, but I cannot forbear to remark that they were somewhat lacking in realism. Mr. Issa no doubt was pointing out ideals or objectives towards which the Administration and his party should strive. As ideals they were largely unexceptionable. But no one in his wildest imagination can conceive of all these objectives being realized by 1960, given the present condition of the Trust Territory. Nevertheless, we can agree with him that promising industries should be further developed, that the Administration should seek to improve housing conditions, and that the settlement of nomadic tribes should be encouraged by the provision of sufficient wells and the extension of grazing lands. On this last problem, as indeed on most of the problems to which Mr. Issa referred, the Administering Authority is making progress; and again the question facing the Administering Authority is one of relative priorities and the most efficient use of its resources.

138. On the question of a national flag, my delegation would in principle see no objection to the suggestion made by the representative of the Philippines at the 463rd meeting.

139. It is, however, in the economic field that we find the greatest endeavours still remain to be made. I shall not attempt to refer to more than a few salient points. My delegation recalls the eloquent doubts expressed by the representatives of Egypt and Colombia. In a Territory where the Administering Authority contributes two-thirds of the budget, no recommendations of this Council are needed to emphasize the distance that

still has to be travelled before the Territory can begin to support the existing governmental policy and structure. The Administering Authority is to be commended for the generous assistance that is being given to the Territory. The elaboration of an over-all economic plan should greatly assist in determining the economic level at which the Territory can exist after 1960. This plan, we feel, should be drawn up without delay.

140. Rather than urge further diversification of industries, both primary and secondary, my delegation would prefer to see the potentialities of existing ones fully investigated and developed where possible and desirable. We would particularly stress the importance of encouraging agriculture and animal husbandry. In a world and in a territory short of foodstuffs, it is surely much more beneficial and economical to promote the growth of primary rather than of secondary industry. An improvement in the cattle industry and in the production of milk by-products, one may suppose, would not only assist in overcoming nutritional deficiencies but should stimulate greater settlement among the nomadic population. That this improvement depends largely upon water is recognized and, consequently, the energetic prosecution of well-sinking is gratifying. Perhaps careful consideration might also be given to the feasibility of constructing dams on the two rivers, as was suggested by Mr. Aden [465th meeting]. An increase in the water supplies of Somaliland is the key that will unlock the door to much more extensive economic development.

141. The other main topic on which I would like to comment in this field is the exploration of oil resources. Undoubtedly the discovery of oil in marketable quantities would be extremely beneficial to the Trust Territory. That the Administering Authority should secure the expert services of a large oil company to prospect the Territory is commendable. But it would seem to be equally essential for the Administering Authority to ensure, as far as it is able, that oil prospecting should proceed on a large scale and with determination. If oil resources are discovered, my delegation would support the Administering Authority in every endeavour to secure for the Trust Territory as large a return as possible on the oil actually extracted. We shall look forward with interest to further information in next year's report on the results of the exploration by the two oil companies to which concessions have been granted.

142. My delegation is also interested in the forest reserves of the Territory, which, I gather, are very limited. We would suggest that a survey might be undertaken to establish the forest potentialities of the Territory and the extent to which non-indigenous trees could be satisfactorily introduced from other arid zones of the world. If the special representative would wish to comment on this suggestion in his final remarks, I would be interested to know his reaction.

143. My delegation's final thought on the economic situation is this: bearing in mind the geographical situation of Somaliland and the target date for independence, it would seem wise for the Administration, in its economic planning and particularly in its consideration of the promotion of exportable commodities, to give due importance to the encouragement of those industries, both primary and secondary, which will be conducive to a viable economy and on which a sound trading basis can be established with neighbouring countries in the region.

144. My delegation does not wish to comment at length on public health. I believe a well-deserved tribute is due to the many hard-working and conscientious doctors at present serving under conditions in the Territory that are far from ideal. We shall be interested to learn of the results of the anti-malarial campaign to be carried out in the near future, in conjunction with the World Health Organization.

145. With regard to the development of education, my delegation has noted with satisfaction the realistic five-year plan drawn up in collaboration with UNESCO. While in principle we do not favour the training of an élite, such a course is demanded by the practical needs of this Territory. Not only, then, do we consider that the provision for a rapid expansion of elementary education is essential, but, in addition, the Administering Authority will do well to continue its concentration upon the advanced education and training of selected students who will become the nucleus of the Somali administration.

146. Like the representative of Belgium, I have considerable reservations as to the existing languages of instruction. We believe that the Administering Authority should boldly tackle the problem of reducing the Somali language to a written form and, thereafter, should give the most careful thought to the use of the Somali language as the principal medium of instruction. No doubt the problem of teacher training is the key to rapid progress in the reduction of illiteracy. We wonder whether considerable progress could not be made if these teachers could be taught, and later instruct, in their own language. This question of language of instruction may indeed be the rock on which the five-year plan could founder. No educational plan can be really effective unless it has as a basis a workable language of instruction, widely understood throughout the Territory—and this language must be a usable and functional language.

147. I should not conclude before noting the assistance given to the Administering Authority in the field of education by neighbouring Arab countries, particularly Egypt. The Council may wish to take note of this assistance with approval.

148. Two other points remain for consideration. General Assembly resolution 656 (VII) requests the Trusteeship Council "further to consider the desirability of preparing a special questionnaire for Somaliland and of sending a separate visiting mission to that Territory...". My delegation, having taken part in revising the Provisional Questionnaire, feels that the wealth of information submitted by the Administering Authority in the annual report on the basis of the Questionnaire is indeed adequate. No good purpose would be served by drawing up a separate questionnaire for Somaliland. What new questions could be included? The existing Questionnaire is an extremely detailed and searching document. There is, moreover, a serious disadvantage for any Administering Authority in having a new set of questions to answer every few years. Furthermore, I believe we may rely on the members of the Advisory Council to draw to the attention of the Trusteeship Council any aspects of administration which they feel deserve special consideration.

149. On the second point, my delegation would support the suggestion made by the United Kingdom representative at the 465th meeting that the question of a separate visiting mission should be taken up at the next session of the Council, when the 1954 visiting mission to East Africa will be considered. I would note

in passing that the permanent presence in Somaliland of an Advisory Council of the United Nations, supported by a secretariat staffed by United Nations officials, may be an argument to be taken into account when considering whether it is desirable to send a special visiting mission to this Trust Territory.

150. My delegation wishes to thank the representative of Italy and the special representative for their courteous and helpful replies to the members of the Council.

151. Mr. TARAZI (Syria): I have followed the discussion of the report on the administration of Somaliland closely. I have listened attentively to the statements by the representatives of the members of the Advisory Council and to those of the two petitioners, one of whom represented several political parties and the other a group of some importance, the Somali Youth League. Thus, I come today to present my delegation's views on this matter.

152. I must first say that the report by the Italian Government is a concise and carefully drawn up document. Many subjects have been covered, and the abundance of detail which it contains will surely be a valuable mine of information for purposes of research. The report has a good style and is pleasant and profitable to read. The various illustrations make it easier to understand and realize the significance of those parts of the report which they accompany. There are, however, some shadows which obscure the clearness of the picture which the Italian Government has tried to sketch.

153. We note, in general, a tendency on the part of the Administering Authority to speak in terms of future rather than of present accomplishments. As one of my colleagues said yesterday, we do not expect to see miracles, but we are, none the less, bound by the provisions of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 21 November 1949 limiting the trusteeship for Somaliland to ten years. That limit should somehow impel all the parties concerned to provide the country by the end of the ten years with all the institutions that will enable it to take its place in the world community as a completely independent and sovereign State.

154. Remarks by the representatives of certain Powers in the Trusteeship Council make it appear that this point of view is somewhat inflexible and is apt to induce the Administering Authority to proceed too hastily. Actually, however, this is a constitutional arrangement that was adopted to enable the Somali people to perfect its political structure within a specified time-limit. By signing the Trusteeship Agreement, the Administering Authority subscribed to this major objective, and it does not, to our knowledge, intend to depart from it. The report, however, describes the social structure of Somaliland and the backwardness of its predominantly nomadic population. It is not our intention to try to fix responsibility for this. Considering only the present state of affairs, we can state that no effort must be spared anywhere to make the Somali people conscious of the task incumbent upon them and to turn over to them at the proper time a sound and well-established system of government. In the course of history, the argument that a people is not sufficiently civilized has often been used to justify domination or control by a foreign power. The facts of history have contradicted this assertion and proved it to be false. Under the General Assembly resolution just referred to, Somaliland is in any case theoretically

independent. Italy must give it such aid and assistance as it needs. Something has been done. Much remains to be done.

155. As to the political situation, my delegation does not overlook the progress that has been made with regard to the membership and activities of the Territorial Council and the Residency Councils. It is also aware that elections will be held in the urban centres of Somaliland. There is, however, no ignoring the desiderata in this regard as expressed by the representative of the Somali Youth League. Of particular importance is the establishment of municipal councils that will enable the citizens better to appreciate their duties as members of a community required to take its place and play its part as an independent unit. In the language of English jurists, a democracy originates from below. Teaching the inhabitants of the towns and villages to manage their own affairs well is a means of enabling them to learn how to manage the affairs of the country as a whole.

156. Another important point along the same lines is that the former legislation has not been materially modified, even though it was designed for a colony. The present status of Somaliland demands that the whole of the former structure should be adapted to the plan for the development and progress of Somaliland solely in the light of its establishment as an independent and sovereign State.

157. Taking the public authorities as a single example, we note that the organization of the judiciary is still rudimentary. Contrary to the universally accepted principle of the separation of executive and judicial powers, the settling of disputes is often placed in the hands of many administrative authorities. Courts of law designed to meet the needs and aspirations of the Somali people ought to be established. Indigenous inhabitants should be trained to act as judges and to settle the many kinds of disputes that might be brought before them.

158. We have noted the existence of several political parties in Somaliland. However, one of the most important organizations, the Somali Youth League, has been subjected to rather harsh treatment. The Trusteeship Council should recommend that the Administering Authority order the reopening of the branches of this organization which, under previous measures, were closed at Chisimaio, Margherita and other centres in the province of Lower Guiba.

159. While dealing with political matters, we must point out the fact that some petitions mention collective fines. That, however, is a martial measure that has nothing in common with the principles of penal law.

160. My delegation believes that in some respects the economic development of Somaliland has been neglected. It appears from the Administering Authority's report and from statements by the representatives on the Advisory Council that the economic situation in this country is a serious obstacle to the development of the Somali people. We therefore feel that it is our duty to make the following suggestions.

161. First, particular attention should be given to the report of the Technical Assistance Mission so that the recommendations it contains may be given effect to the greatest possible extent.

162. Secondly, the council might recommend that the Administering Authority increase the possibilities of Somaliland's export trade and sign trade agreements with neighbouring countries.

163. Thirdly, the Council might also recommend that the Administering Authority revise the oil concessions so as to protect the interests of the future Somali State. My delegation finds it impossible to share the special representative's view on the oil contracts. We believe that that is a matter which should have been submitted to the Advisory Council. Under article 8 of the Trusteeship Agreement signed by Italy, that Council must be consulted on all measures for economic and financial development. Contracts that are to remain in effect after the Administering Authority's mandate has expired should certainly be subject to review by the Advisory Council. If we were to compare the Advisory Council with a Council of State of the kind existing in France, Belgium, Egypt or even Italy itself, we should realize how important this matter is. Any decrees passed by the French Government without consulting the Council of State when the law required such consultation would, according to established legal precedent, be essentially defective and thus liable to annulment by the legal section of the Council of State. In any case, the provisions of these contracts must at least be published so that public opinion may pass on them. So far as the people are concerned, oil is an essential resource, which, if necessary, could make up for the poverty of the soil and the somewhat primitive state of the economy.

164. Fourthly, as regards public services, especially electricity and water, we believe that the Administration should take steps to protect the people from the dangers which might result from exclusive control and monopoly. High prices for electricity would preclude economic, and even social, development.

165. Fifthly, more effective aid and assistance to farmers would be desirable.

166. Sixthly, a special judicial system should protect rural landowners. Disputes concerning land are now settled by the administrative authorities; they should be dealt with by judges specially appointed for this purpose.

167. The Administration should, in general, do everything it can to raise the level of the Somaliland economy. In doing this, it should keep in mind that this country is destined for complete independence. Consequently, any measure, agreement or contract which might in future limit the independence or hinder the full development of the Somali people should be avoided.

168. Although efforts have been made by the Administering Authority in the matter of education, expenditures for this purpose do not exceed 10 per cent of the total budget. This figure seems to us to be rather low. It should be raised.

169. We note that the Arabic language is of only secondary importance in education. Nevertheless, the two petitioners whom we heard yesterday agreed in recognizing the importance of Arabic for the future development of Somaliland. Arabic is a language that could serve as a means of raising the cultural and intellectual level of the country. The existing relationship between Somaliland and the Arab countries will help to accomplish this. I should like to say that Syria is prepared to participate in a programme of educational and cultural assistance to Somaliland.

170. As regards education, the Administering Authority should see to it that a corps of Somali doctors is created and that university education is provided, even though in a rudimentary form.

171. As to the Advisory Council, my delegation is pleased to note that there is complete harmony among the representatives of the countries comprising it. We have observed, however, that the Council has concerned itself with technical matters. As it is primarily a political body, we do not believe that it should sacrifice any part of its time; nothing should divert it from the primary and essential task of advising the Administering Authority and enabling that Authority to direct its policy along the lines set out by the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly.

172. In conclusion, I should like to say that the Somali people must be guided and led to complete independence. That is the objective which we must keep before us. That is the goal we must attain. The Administering Authority has, I am sure, understood the full significance of our debate. Nothing must be neglected which would enable the Somalis to develop their national genius and their culture and to make their contribution to civilization, which is not the prerogative of a few but the common property of all mankind. I should like to add that in the sixteenth century the Italian people were the first to break through the darkness of the Middle Ages and thus permit the light of the Renaissance to contribute towards the liberation of Europe. I trust that the Administering Authority will be spurred on by these facts of history to carry out the mission entrusted to it.

173. Mr. HAMMAD (Egypt): As Chairman of the Advisory Council, I must mention that, in the experience of my colleagues and myself, the members of the Trusteeship Council have found the Advisory Council's work of assistance to its discussions on Somaliland. This confirms resolution 656 (VII) adopted by the General Assembly at its last session, which states that the Advisory Council's authoritative opinion should be heard by the Trusteeship Council for a better understanding of the Territory's problems. This is very gratifying to us. We assure you that the Advisory Council will spare no pains to carry out the mission entrusted to it, conscientiously. I would ask leave to point out here that if the Advisory Council's work has been well done, much of the credit should go to our Principal Secretary, Mr. de la Roche, and his staff.

174. I should like to add a few words on the question of the Somali language. The representatives of Belgium and the United Kingdom and other representatives have expressed a wish that the Administering Authority should pay particular attention to the Somali language. The Belgium representative said: "Somali already exists and there is no need to make it a written language. All that has to be done is to use characters to write the language" [*T/PV.465, para. 158*].

175. It may be well at this point to refresh the memory of members of the Trusteeship Council on the subject of the Somali language. As the result of a referendum organized by the Administration, Arabic was adopted as an official language in Somaliland. As Arabic is my mother tongue, it may be thought that in speaking on this topic I am defending my own language. I shall confine myself to a few quotations about the Somali language, beginning with some extracts from a letter from the Chairman of the Advisory Council to the Administrator of Somaliland (A/AC.33/R.3):

"The attachment for their mother tongue which fills the population of this Territory in its nascent and enthusiastic nationalism might lead some minds to see in the Somali tongue the official language

of the future. There is need, however, to emphasize that there are important dialectal variations in the Somali language and that, in some parts of the Territory, exogenous languages of Bantu origin are in current usage. . . . Is it not important for the future of this country that its official written language, instead of confining it within its own boundaries, should permit it to maintain economic and political bonds with the outside world and in particular with this part of the world towards which it is drawn spiritually and by material interests?

"For all these reasons the Council would find it difficult to understand the creation of an alphabet based phonetically on the Somali language, the official acceptance of which would raise a number of technical questions. Among these questions, and one of the most serious, would be the necessity of re-educating all the educated class. This would be, moreover, a new problem, added without obvious usefulness to the already sufficiently complex task of ending illiteracy. An even graver disadvantage would be the risk of prejudicing the essential aim of the Trusteeship Agreement: namely, the creation within ten years of a State which shall possess, along with the means of independence, those of an international personality."

176. Here is another passage from a letter from Administrator Fornari to the Chairman of the Advisory Council (A/AC.33/R.11):

"The Council should give its opinion not only on the language to be selected but, in the event of Somali being chosen, also advise on the dialect and letters to be adopted."

177. Thirdly, I quote Administrator Fornari's statement to the Trusteeship Council itself at its 348th meeting:

"There were practical reasons which impelled us to choose Arabic. There was the question of time, for instance. The Somali language is a conglomeration of dialects. It has a very poor vocabulary, and in order to transform it into a written language, a tremendous amount of work would have to be done to adapt and transform the vocabulary." (T/PV/348, p. 71).

178. If it is desired that Somaliland should achieve independence by the time fixed in the Trusteeship Agreement, the present teaching programme should be maintained, without changing it in a way which, in the opinion of my delegation, would substantially prejudice the entire educational programme of Somaliland. Furthermore, the present state of affairs corresponds to the population's own wishes. Representatives of an important political party — the Unione Giovani Benadir — recently declared at Mogadiscio that their party was definitely in favour of Arabic. Here too, Mr. Issa and Mr. Aden have spoken in the same vein.

179. The purpose of my intervention is to warn the Trusteeship Council against adopting a measure which might perhaps retard and obstruct the accomplishment of the educational programme. I feel that the Belgian representative admits this indirectly, and in support of this I quote a passage from his statement at yesterday's meeting: "There can be no widespread primary education without indigenous teachers capable of instructing in the indigenous language. If an indigenous inhabitant is to be enabled to teach, he must first of all be supplied with instructors. If these instructors are to teach a Somali to teach in the Somali language,

they must first learn that language themselves. Between the time when the first Italian instructors start learning Somali, the time when they open the first primary schools in which to equip children for entry to a training school, and the time when the first trained Somali teachers leave the training school, a generation must pass. With the best will in the world, this period cannot be shortened. If the grant for education is doubled, the number of classes can be doubled, but spending four times the amount will not halve the time taken to train a teacher." [T/PV.465, para. 153].

180. I may perhaps be allowed to point out that Arabic is not entirely a foreign language to the Somalis. When I was travelling in the north and south of Somaliland I made a personal experiment. I spoke to the Somalis in Arabic and was often understood, particularly when I spoke slightly literary Arabic. This is in no way surprising as the Somalis are much attached to their Moslem religion and fervent in their observances; now everyone knows that in their prayers Moslems recite numerous verses of the Koran and in this way learn and speak Arabic from earliest childhood. I can testify that the Somali language contains at least 35 per cent of Arabic words.

181. It is my delegation's view that, if the Administration, already fully extended by the five-year plan for education — and the Belgian representative says it is going too fast — should be asked to make an extra effort on the score of the Somali language, with all that effort would involve in the way of a fresh supply of books, printing presses and so on, then a serious obstacle would be put in the way of educational progress, especially if the change had to be made at short notice, bearing in mind that there are only seven years before Somaliland becomes independent.

182. In chapter V of UNESCO's observations on the annual reports [T/1062], under the heading "Languages used in teaching", we read:

"Lessons are therefore conducted in Italian and Arabic. It may be that the difficulty experienced by Somalis in following teaching in two languages, neither of which is their mother-tongue, is responsible for the withdrawal of some pupils from school".

183. The truth of the matter is, as I have already said in my statement to the Trusteeship Council, that this is attributable to the programmes of studies which, especially in the bush, are not suited to conditions in the country.

184. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the Philippines has asked to speak tomorrow, rather than today. I shall therefore call upon him at 5.15 tomorrow afternoon. After he has spoken, the special representative will reply to the observations made in this Council. I shall call upon him at 5.30 p.m. That will give him some time to prepare his comments.

APPOINTMENT OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE ON SOMALILAND

185. The PRESIDENT: I propose that the drafting committee should consist of the representatives of China, El Salvador, New Zealand and the United States of America.

186. If there are no objections, I shall take it that my proposal is adopted.

187. Mr. ZONOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics): I should like a vote to be taken on the composition of the committee, since my delegation cannot accept one of the representatives you have proposed for

membership, namely, the representative of the Kuomintang group. My delegation does not recognize his right to be a member of the committee, and I would therefore ask you to put this question to the vote.

188. The PRESIDENT: Does the Soviet Union representative wish a vote to be taken on the appointment of each of the four representatives whom I proposed?

189. Mr. ZONOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics): I imagine that the normal procedure would be for a vote to be taken on each of the representatives.

190. Mr. S. S. LIU (China): Of course, any representative has the right to ask for a vote on the election of officers for members of committees. I emphatically object, however, to the terminology which has been used in speaking of my delegation. I hope the President will follow the Trusteeship Council's tradition by ruling out of order any inappropriate references to my delegation.

191. The PRESIDENT: I am prepared to uphold the point made by the representative of China. This matter was fully debated at the beginning of this session [461st meeting]. Any reference to the representative of China as the representative of some particular group is out of order.

192. Mr. ZONOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics): It was not my intention to open a discussion on this matter, but at the beginning of this twelfth session of the Trusteeship Council I stated that the USSR delegation did not accept as correct or legal the Council's decision to admit an unlawful representative of China. There is no lawful representative of China in this Council, since only the representative of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China can lawfully represent the great Chinese people.

193. I should like this statement to be included in the record.

194. The PRESIDENT: I repeat that any reference to the representative of China as the representative of the Kuomintang group is out of order.

195. We shall now vote on the appointment of the drafting committee.

The appointment of the representative of China was approved by 10 votes to 1, with 1 abstention.

The appointment of the representative of El Salvador was approved by 11 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

The appointment of the representative of New Zealand was approved by 11 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

The appointment of the representative of the United States of America was approved by 11 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

196. The PRESIDENT: The Drafting Committee on Somaliland will therefore consist of the representatives of China, El Salvador, New Zealand and the United States of America.

QUESTION OF THE INCLUSION OF THE REPORT OF THE ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR SOMALILAND AS A SEPARATE ITEM ON THE AGENDA OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

197. The PRESIDENT: I shall proceed now to another matter, which was raised by the representative of Egypt [465th meeting], who will recall that I said the matter would be taken into consideration. It

concerns the interpretation of rule J of the supplementary rules of procedure of the Trusteeship Council. According to that rule, the consideration of the report of the Advisory Council is to be included in the provisional agenda of the first regular session of the Council following the expiration of six weeks from its receipt by the Secretary-General.

198. I am informed that, in preparing the provisional agenda for the eleventh session of the Trusteeship Council [T/1050], the Secretary-General did not include the report of the Advisory Council as a separate item of the agenda. When the report was circulated to the members of the Council, reference to the report was made under the item concerning the examination of the conditions in the Trust Territory of Somaliland. I am also informed that no objection was raised on the part of the Advisory Council, and, at the 461st meeting, the Trusteeship Council adopted its provisional agenda approving thereby the procedure in dealing with the Advisory Council's report.

199. As I understand him, the representative of Egypt is of the opinion that this rule J makes it mandatory to place the report of the Advisory Council as a separate item on the provisional agenda of the Council. I, for my part—and I do not think we need prolong this discussion—am quite prepared to have the report of the Advisory Council as a separate item on the provisional agenda of the Council. There has been a divergence of views, obviously, as to the interpretation of the rule, and I am disposed to suggest to the Council that in future the report of the Advisory Council should be included as a separate item on the provisional agenda. If I hear no objection to that suggestion, I shall take it that it is approved.

It was so decided.

General Assembly resolution 656 (VII): hearing of petitioners from the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration (continued)

[Agenda item 15]

200. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council are well aware that the Council is required to take action on General Assembly resolution 656 (VII), which arose out of the hearing of petitioners from Somaliland by the Fourth Committee during the seventh session of the Assembly. The Assembly asked us to do three things. First, we were asked to give special attention to questions raised during the General Assembly's hearing and discussions, particularly with respect to the application of past recommendations relating to those questions; and we were asked to report further on these matters to the Assembly at its eighth session. I think the Council may be disposed to agree that the questions concerned—which are, of course, the general problems of the development of the Territory as an independent State—have been investigated as a matter of course during the past few days of questioning and during the hearing of the petitioners and the general discussion. The results of this further examination obviously will be reported to the eighth session of the General Assembly by virtue of their inclusion in our regular annual report to the Assembly. Therefore, I think that disposes of that point.

201. Secondly, the General Assembly requested this Council to consider the desirability of preparing a

special questionnaire for Somaliland. This matter has been discussed at previous sessions, and it has been raised at the present session. The only opinion that I have heard expressed is that there is no real need for a separate series of questions for Somaliland, and I think one might assume that that is the view, at any rate of the majority of the members of the Council.

202. The third request of the Council by the General Assembly was that it should consider further the desirability of sending a separate visiting mission to Somaliland, the implication being that the Council might depart from the previous practice of sending one mission to all three of the East African Trust Territories. We have discussed that point, and the only suggestion I have heard is that since the Council will not be considering the dispatch of the next East African mission until its next session, the question should be deferred until that time. And that, too, may be the general opinion of this Council. If there is general agreement among representatives that I have correctly stated this position, the situation appears sufficiently clear to allow us to adopt a resolution on the foregoing lines, and I think we can probably adopt such a resolution tomorrow.

203. Mr. ZONOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics): The President said that the Council would adopt a resolution on the subject tomorrow. Before making up my mind on the draft resolution, I should like to receive it in the form of a document. Could the President explain how he proposes to proceed?

204. The PRESIDENT: In view of the observations made by the representative of the Soviet Union, I think it would be reasonable to adopt the proposed resolution when we are considering the report of the Drafting Committee, rather than to do so tomorrow.

Mr. de Holte Castello (Colombia), Mr. Hammad (Egypt) and Mr. Pastrana (Philippines), representatives of States members of the United Nations Advisory Council for the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian Administration, and Mr. Spinelli, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory, withdrew.

Examination of the annual report on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for the year ended 30 June 1952 and of the report of the United Nations Mission to Trust Territories in the Pacific, 1953, on that Territory (T/1047, T/1055, T/1062 and Add.1)

[Agenda items 4, (b) and 7]

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Frank E. Midkiff, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, took a place at the Council table.

205. Mr. SEARS (United States of America): Before we get down to the business before us, I want to say a word about the gentlemen who will play the principal part in discussing the problems involved in the administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. He is Mr. Frank E. Midkiff, High Commissioner, and he has come nearly half way round the world to take part in these proceedings. I think it is fair to say that no citizen of the United States is better qualified than he is to bear the responsibilities of the administration of these widely separated islands. He has lived in the Pacific for forty years and has travelled from one end of the Trust Territory to the other. He

is a trustee of a foundation for the education of young Hawaiians. He is a trustee of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, which specialized on the customs of Polonesian and Pacific peoples. For twenty-one years, he has been an active member of the Barstow Foundation for American Samoans and is now serving as its president. While he is known to the members of the recent Visiting Mission, this is the first opportunity for the rest of us to become acquainted with him. Accordingly, it is a very pleasant duty to present to you the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Mr. Frank E. Midkiff.

206. The PRESIDENT: I am sure that the members of the Council will wish to welcome Mr. Midkiff and to express their pleasure that he has taken his seat as the special representative of the United States for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

207. Mr. MIDKIFF (Special representative for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands): Due to the lateness of the hour, it would probably be better for me to defer the presentation of my statement. However, I should like to introduce to you two people from the Trust Territory who have joined us. I am sure you will be interested in meeting them. They come from the Marshall Islands. One is Mrs. Dorothy Kabua and the other is her son, Amata Kabua. Mrs. Kabua is one of the five elected women representatives of the Marshallese Congress. She is a woman of great ability and leadership. Her son was educated in Japan, Kwajalein, Guam and at the advanced school at Truk. He is a teacher in the Marshall Islands intermediate school.

208. If it would please the President and the members, I should like now to introduce Mrs. Kabua, who has a word of greeting for the members of the Council.

209. The PRESIDENT: As I understand the position, Mrs. Kabua is a member of the delegation and therefore is entitled to take her seat at the Council table. I ask her to do so accordingly.

Mrs. Kabua took a place at the Council table.

210. The PRESIDENT: Before I call upon Mrs. Kabua to speak, I should like, on behalf of the Council, to extend to her, as a member of the United States delegation, the warmest possible welcome and to say that we are greatly interested in seeing here somebody who has come as far as she has from some islands in the Pacific in which this Council has a responsibility.

211. Mr. MIDKIFF (Special representative for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands): Mrs. Kabua will speak in Marshallese and her son will interpret for her.

212. Mrs. KABUA (United States of America): We bring you greetings, over a distance of about seven thousand miles, from our people of the Marshall Islands in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. We wish also to express our gratitude for the opportunity to be present with the United States delegation at this great assembly of nations. It is a unique experience in our lives and it is, we feel, a landmark in the history of the Micronesian people.

213. It is only in the last hundred years that our people in the Trust Territory have been aware of any world other than their own islands. Being here today in this great city and meeting here in this living symbol of the brotherhood of nations will increase to the full

our awareness of the world around us and will help us to see our place in that world.

214. The Micronesians are happy island people who seek, even as you do, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Because our life is simple, perhaps we enjoy a greater measure of happiness than you do. However, as in the present world no group of people can remain isolated and unaffected by the rest of the world, we are working hard to establish ourselves alongside the rest of mankind. To this end our efforts towards economic self-sufficiency are uppermost in importance in our minds so that we might be a burden to no man and so that we might feed and clothe ourselves through our own talents and efforts. The United States trusteeship administration is helping us towards that end and we are grateful for all that they are doing for us and for their aiding us in establishing ourselves firmly in the brotherhood of free nations.

215. Of equal importance are our efforts towards greater self-government which, with the guidance and assistance of the United States trusteeship administrators who are doing their utmost to encourage us towards this goal, promises to be a reality in the not-too-distant future.

216. May we say again that we thank you for the privilege of being here with you, and that we are proud to stand with you as a very small but equally peace and freedom-loving people.

217. The PRESIDENT: I am sure that I am speaking on behalf of all the members of the Trusteeship Council when I say that we have listened to Mrs. Kabua with the greatest possible interest and that it has been a remarkable occasion to have heard her, coming as she does from so distant a place.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.