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TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

Ninth Session

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Flushing Meadow, New York,  
on Thursday, 14 June 1951, at 2.00 p.m.

President:

Sir Alan BURNS

(United Kingdom)

Note: The Official Record of this meeting, i.e., the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.352 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

EXAMINATION OF ANNUAL REPORTS OF ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES ON THE ADMINISTRATION  
OF TRUST TERRITORIES: SOMALILAND UNDER ITALIAN ADMINISTRATION, APRIL 1950-  
DECEMBER 1950 (T/902; T/L.170) (continued)

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Fornari, Special Representative for Somaliland under Italian Administration, took a place at the Council table.

Mr. BALLIARD (Australia): The Administering Authority has, in the Report we are considering, informed the Trusteeship Council most fully of the state of the Territory of Somaliland during the first nine months of trusteeship, and the Special Representative has by his willing and informed answers contributed further to our enlightenment. My delegation joins with those others which have expressed appreciation of the Special Representative's presentation of the additional information which various members of the Council have sought and which have complimented him on the value of his contribution to our discussion.

The emphasis in the picture we have before us lies less, I think, on achievement than on <sup>planning</sup>. Not that achievement is lacking: far from it. Of course, to have worked out a plan and to have begun to put it into operation is itself no mean achievement. But when I speak of the emphasis being on planning, I have in mind the special characteristics which the trusteeship of this Territory possesses. The Report itself states objectively many of the facts which <sup>make</sup> the Territory a difficult one to administer, against the background of independence within a very short term. These factors have been vividly commented upon by other delegations, and I need not catalogue them here. I think, however, that the Council will have derived satisfaction from knowing that their full importance is realized by the Administration and that the Administration is taking full account of them in formulating its policies.

"Hasten slowly" is a precept that it pays to observe nine times out of ten. But it is not the least of the difficulties of the Administration that it cannot choose its own speed; its hand is forced by time. For this reason, my delegation believes that a fair assessment of what the Administration has done during the nine months covered by this Report must take account of the fact that the Administering Authority has had to establish an order of priority in dealing with problems which <sup>calling</sup> were/for attention at the same time.

It is thus no disparagement to say that the achievements of the Administration to date represent the laying of the foundations of the building which we hope will be completed by 1960. The orderly introduction of the new regime, the



lowering of the political temperature, the establishment of representative political institutions, the introduction of measures for the training and further recruitment of competent administrative officials from the indigenous population; these are examples of what I have in mind. It must happen that some solutions reached under the pressure of time may not be the ideally perfect ones, but the important thing is that the process of preparation for independence should be got under way. So long as the steps taken tend toward the attainment of the objects of the Trusteeship Agreement and are not manifestly erroneous, they can be approved.

Thus, the composition of the Territorial Council will no doubt be changed before ten years are up. But a start has been made.

Similarly, the problem of the language of instruction in the schools demanded urgent action because the diffusion of education is at the very base of informed political life. We have been told that the decision actually made was reached after mature consideration and after taking the best advice available. It is a particularly difficult problem and possibly a different solution might have emerged had it been possible to wait ten years instead of having to form an educated population within ten years. In these circumstances, the Council may well refrain from saying that the decision was wrong.

The Report itself and some comments of the Special Representative have drawn attention to what remains to be done, to what stories are to be added to the building now commenced. Policies for educational advancement, improvement of agricultural habits and strengthening the economic life of the Territory have been explained. The execution of all these plans is clearly necessary if the objectives of the Trusteeship Agreement are to be attained, and will demand unremitting vigour and a very great deal of patience indeed on the part of the Administering Authority.

The next Annual Report should make very interesting reading, and my delegation hopes that it will record progress, in fields hitherto undeveloped, commensurate with the quality of what the present Report records.

Mr. MUNOZ (Argentina)(interpretation from Spanish): My delegation has followed with a great deal of interest the debate which has been carried on here relative to the Annual Report on Somaliland. We have found it to be very interesting. Due to the fact, as I said yesterday, that we do not happen to be in the place where these rather complex situations are to be found, our position really has to be a consequence or a result of the debate which goes on in this Council and of listening to the questions which are asked and the replies which are given by the Special Representative. We have noted that these questions and answers have been very varied, and as a consequence of this change, as I have said before, the final observations made in this Council, by myself as well as by other representatives, leave in my mind a very clear impression that the Administering Authority has in effect carried out a dignified work which is very worthy of our applause. The work that has been done certainly

merits our applause because it is a difficult task that has been carried out. Italy, as the Administering Authority, has done a magnificent job. Ambassador Fornari has explained the policies of his country in this particular Territory. Because of the special nature of the Territory and the conditions existing there, Italy has encountered many administrative and other difficulties, and those difficulties have been eliminated by the application of good sound sense.

I shall not refer to all of the aspects of this particular problem because the various representatives who have spoken before me have already pointed out many of the factors, and it is unnecessary for my delegation to repeat what has already been said. I feel absolutely sure that the good administration in Somaliland merits our congratulations, and that Italy will continue to administer this Territory in a way which will benefit the Territory.

On this occasion, I must do what others have already done: congratulate Ambassador Fornari not only for the very correct way in which he has spoken to us here about what is happening in the Territory, but for the full explanations that he has given in regard to everything that has been asked of him and for his clear explanation of the administrative policy of his country. He has replied to all of the questions in a very clear and very categorical fashion. He has, in fact, clarified all the doubtful points which have been brought to his notice.

At the same time, I must thank the Advisory Council, which has done such excellent work. All of the members of that Council have done fine work. They have certain functions to perform, and one of the chief ones is to advise the Administering Authority -- or, shall I say, to advise the administrative mechanism of Italy in this particular Territory. My delegation hopes that the unity and co-operation within the Advisory Council will continue to develop and that all the members of the Advisory Council will have the opportunity of being in Mogadiscio and carrying out their chief function -- that is, advising the Administering Authority in this particular Territory. This might avoid difficulties. It might have avoided difficulties in the past if the Administrator had been more aware of these difficulties from their very inception through advice given by members of the Advisory Council. If they have not been avoided in the past, they should certainly be avoided in the future because they tend to complicate any given problem.

In connexion with this term of ten years, to which several of my colleagues have referred, my delegation would like to say that, though of course we share certain of the doubts of other representatives in connexion with this period, we feel that perhaps it is a little short, some feel it is more than short, to carry out the work of progress in this Territory and to help the people towards independence. My delegation would like to go further into this particular aspect, and take Somaliland not as an example merely for the Trusteeship Council and for the United Nations in general, but as an example that can well be followed in connexion with other territories under trusteeship, and certainly in connexion with other Territories that so far are under the colonial system. With regard to this evolution towards progress, I should like to point out that my delegation understands that, besides the co-operation which exists between the United Nations and the Administering Authority, we must all remember that much will depend in the future on the efforts of the inhabitants of Somaliland.

My delegation wishes to point out that we must do everything possible to prepare these inhabitants so that they themselves may develop their own efforts, efforts which are necessary to carry them towards political independence as well as towards the better development of their life in fields of education, social welfare and so on.

In connexion with the economic situation, various members of the Council have already spoken on this. Many of our colleagues have offered very interesting and useful ideas which might well be taken up by the Administering Authority, to whom I can only offer the opinion of the Argentinian delegation. In connexion with the economic problem, I should like to refer to the problem of concessions, a point which has already been very thoroughly discussed by the representative of Belgium. The representative of Belgium referred to the Trusteeship Agreement, and, as well as supporting what has been said by him, I should like to add that there already exists a precedent in the sense that the United Nations, whilst on the one hand it respects the sovereignty of a new state, as it did for Libya and as it will in the future for Somaliland, on the other hand, this respect and the consequences which follow must be considered within the norms of international law. If a new state, in view of its sovereignty which no one can deny, should decide to carry out a certain

economic policy, then, while no one can dispute or take away this policy, it should be subject to an adequate indemnity to the concessionnaires.

I should also point out what I feel is rather important, that this would constitute a precedent in the case of Libya, because acquired rights have to be respected, since these rights have been acquired legitimately. Therefore, in that particular case, with regard to this problem of concessions, we must look into it very thoroughly and we must realize that, from the point of view of the United Nations, we can count on a well-defined policy which indicates a complete respect for acquired rights within the standards of the national sovereignty to which I have referred.

The question of language has already been touched on here, and I shall not once again refer to all the different aspects which have been discussed by many of my colleagues, but I should like to say that <sup>in</sup> this problem of the language to be used in these years of preparation of the inhabitants of Somaliland, it appears to my delegation that it is impossible to alter the tradition of the culture of the inhabitants of these Territories. We have all listened with great interest to our colleague from Belgium, and a little while ago he said that neither the United Nations nor the Administering Authority could proceed without receiving some definite expression from the local people. Certainly, neither the United Nations nor the Administering Authority could proceed to use a language which was not the local language unless there was the full agreement of the indigenous inhabitants. Even a referendum might not be considered as being too sure an expression because of the lack of maturity of the people. I think that with this problem of language we must look for a solution which will place the inhabitants of Somaliland on the road towards that which will be most convenient and useful to them. This problem of the language is a very important one, and certainly it is one that must be left to the free discretion of the people of Somaliland when they are in a position to judge and to choose for themselves.

I should also like to add that my delegation is in total agreement with what was said yesterday by Mr. Henriquez Urena on behalf of his delegation. It was a great satisfaction for the delegation of Argentina and for my Government, as I am sure it was for everyone here, to have amongst us the permanent representatives of Italy on the Trusteeship Council. The United Nation.

has entrusted the administration of a certain Territory to Italy. Up to a point, this undoubtedly indicates that the United Nations has trust and confidence in Italy. This all points towards that which has been talked about before, and about which even resolutions have been brought before the General Assembly, that is, the possibility of admitting Italy to the United Nations.

The Trusteeship Council has already approved the drafting of a resolution which is now in effect a resolution of the Council. This requests the General Assembly of the United Nations to consider at their next meeting the question of the complete participation of Italy in the work of the Trusteeship Council. We admit that it is difficult, if not impossible, to foresee what another body will do in connexion with any problem, but I should like to say straight away that the delegation of Argentina feels, and we have felt this at all times -- as I think not only my delegation but most of the delegations here have felt -- that the best way of resolving this difficult problem of the full participation of Italy in the work of the Trusteeship Council would be to admit Italy as a Member State of the United Nations just as soon as possible.



Therefore, I sincerely hope that the Assembly will consider this request of the Trusteeship Council and will do everything within its power to facilitate the entry of Italy into the United Nations as a full Member State, leaving aside, if possible, those obstacles which have to date made difficulties and prevented the Government of Italy from becoming a Member of the United Nations.

I should like once again to congratulate Mr. Fornari for the co-operation he has given us at all times. I should like to thank him for his good will and for the excellent way in which he has replied to the many and somewhat difficult questions which the members of the Council have asked while considering the Annual Report on Somaliland.

FADEL Bey (Egypt): One of my first and most pleasant duties on arriving here is to attend this meeting and to deliver a statement giving my observations as a member of the Advisory Council of the Territory of Somaliland under Italian trusteeship. I should like to express my appreciation and thanks to the President for having given me the chance to make this statement.

It pleases me to mention at the outset that Italy has made a fortunate choice in appointing an Administrator in the person of Mr. Fornari, who has shown great zeal and genuine sincerity in carrying out the recommendations of the United Nations in regard to Somaliland, which aim specifically at helping the Somalis to attain independence and full freedom within ten years.

With my experience, contacts and understanding of the mentality of the people, I firmly believe that this period will be long enough if we sincerely concentrate our efforts and intentions toward the attainment of this laudable aim.

It is important that we attain this objective, important from the viewpoint not only of the United Nations but of the whole world, because our achievement will be a symbol of the noble and sincere endeavours of the United Nations to establish, on the one hand, the independence of countries and the freedom of peoples and, on the other hand, to abolish domination and imperialism, which have always been the main factors in the backwardness of some countries and a deterrent to their progress. To attain this goal in Somaliland, it is not enough to have the Administrator's good will and sincere intentions. These sterling qualities must equally inspire his assistants. A lot of criticism has been directed at the fact that a number of Italian officers, who belonged to the old regime, are still employed. It might be felt that the Administrator,



need  
in the very first stages of his duties; would/the help of those who are well acquainted with the Territory, its inhabitants and their customs and traditions. I am convinced that Mr. Fornari is well aware of the various aspects of this situation and he is, I can safely say, taking steps to remedy such matters.

The establishment of an Advisory Council for Somaliland was a wonderful experiment devised by the United Nations, and I must say that the success so far achieved and the understanding that prevails between the Council and the Administrator in the effective and expeditious handling of matters stands as a good augury for the success of the experiment.

As far as the Egyptian delegation is concerned, I can confirm that this collaboration has been undertaken in a very harmonious spirit. I was invited to participate in the work of the Judicial Committee. I lectured at the Cultural Institute. I was given the chance to lecture weekly at the Political Administrative School on the United Nations, on international law and on administrative law. I have given a number of talks on various subjects such as morals, ethics, education and so on.

In 1947, incidents causing bloodshed occurred between the Somalis and the Arab community, due to intrigues. A demarcation line was drawn, therefore, between the Somalis and the Arabs. When I went to Somaliland, I found that this demarcation line still existed and that it was a source of agitation and trouble between the two communities, which live in the same territory and have the binding relations of language and religion. I was approached by different community representatives concerning this problem. Therefore, I contacted the administrative authorities, which heartily welcomed my intervention. The Administrator himself offered me all possible help. I submitted the case to the Advisory Council which, in turn, designated me to handle this task.

After enormous efforts and contacts with the different political parties, a unanimous agreement was reached and a statement of the results attained was sent to the Trusteeship Council.

The Trusteeship Council has been very appreciative of the work done by the Administration. But I should like to stress the progress of the inhabitants themselves. In this one year, they had made tremendous progress in the political, social and economic fields. One of the main factors stimulating their efforts is the hope that they will attain their independence in ten years.

Our contacts with the people and the different political parties are of two types, either oral or written. Every time we have approached the Administration in regard to matters concerning the wishes or the complaints of the peoples, we have been received with due attention. This has so far proved to be a very successful process.

A lot of criticism has been levelled at the manner in which the Territorial Council was constituted. We must realize that we have had only one year of experience. So far as I know, the Administration is studying the possibility of elaborating an electoral system to be applied in the future. Let us wait and see the results.

The efforts of all concerned should be directed toward securing the educational, economic and social development of the country. The resources of Somaliland are mainly agriculture, cattle and minerals. During the period of the previous Italian occupation, the Italian Government gave land concessions to Italian citizens. The Italian Government of that time undertook numerous irrigation projects which helped the concessionaires to attain wonderful results, and large concerns handling fruit products were prosperous. This proves that there is a great possibility of enlarging this system of agricultural development. If 75,000 hectares of land, given to Italians under the concessions system, have proved to be successful, there are still 200,000 hectares of under-developed land which, through irrigation systems and technical assistance, could be made profitable for the Somali people. This would help in the settlement of a great number of people who are so far leading a nomadic life. Canals should be dug, dams should be erected, technical schools should be opened, technical advice should be given and financial help should be extended.

The estimated one million Somalis possess 6,500,000 head of cattle of different kinds. The Somalis are inclined to keep their cattle and not to take advantage of their commercial value, but, through education and training, these traditional difficulties can be overcome and tremendous wealth can be secured. This will require tremendous expenditures. Italy used to spend money on this Territory in order to facilitate Italian immigration, because she considered Somaliland as her own colony. But will she indulge in such expenditure now? Somaliland is now a concern of the United Nations. Financial help and technical assistance should be given to Somaliland through the United Nations.

With regard to the exploitation of mining resources, the Somalis are not equipped, either technically or financially, to undertake such great enterprises. On my second day in Somaliland, I made it my concern to study the possibilities of exploiting these resources by introducing foreign capital, with safeguards to protect the interests of the Somalis. The Administration sought the advice of the Advisory Council in this matter, and I believe the question is still under study.

With regard to education, I consider it to be the main pillar on which the future of the country should be based.

Before coming to the end of my statement, I wish to refer to the question of the language. Somalis embraced Islam in the early days of "Hegrah", that is to say, in the 8th century A.D. Since then the Arabic language became the language of instruction. During the past sixty years there were no schools in Somaliland. Only in 1941, under the British Military Occupation, schools were opened where Arabic and English were taught. The Somalis consider themselves of Arab origin. They are extremely devoted to their religious faith. Arabic is taught and spoken in all neighbouring countries. In British Somaliland Arabic and English languages are taught. In French Somaliland Arabic and French are taught. Why, therefore, should we mete out a different treatment to the former Italian Somaliland.

There is no Somali language, but there are different dialects spoken amongst the 1,000,000 inhabitants of this Territory. Adopting one of these dialects as a Somali language means that we are introducing a new language to a major proportion of the inhabitants. The new language would place lots of difficulties because it has no background, and this undoubtedly affects the progress of the people.

The policy of the revival of dialects in Africa as languages is one of the main tricks of Colonialism.

The PRESIDENT: Does any other representative wish to speak?

If no other delegation wishes to speak, I shall call on the Italian representative and, of course, he will be allowed to conclude the debate on this subject. I wish it to be clearly understood that once I call on the Italian delegation no other delegation will be allowed to speak.

Mr. SAYRE (United States of America): My delegation has followed the examination of the first report on Somaliland under Italian Administration with particular interest. During the Trusteeship Council's examination of this report I have been impressed, as I am sure other representatives here have been, by the full and forthright answers which the Special Representative, Ambassador Fornari, has given to the many questions addressed to him. He has shown a ready desire to give every assistance to the Council in its examination of this newest Trust Territory. In his capacity as Administrator for Somaliland and as Special

Representative to the Trusteeship Council, Ambassador Fornari symbolizes the earnest sincerity and the good will with which the Government of Italy is approaching this very heavy task, entrusted to it by the United Nations, of preparing Somaliland for independence within the stipulated ten-year period.

I do not feel that it is incumbent upon my delegation, or indeed upon the Trusteeship Council, to point out the nature of the staggering problems which it faces in Somaliland. The Administering Authority has shown that it is acutely aware of the problems, the problems of illiteracy, of the meagerness of educational facilities in the Territory, of nomadism, of the highly unfavourable balance of trade and of the present inability of the people of the Territory to maintain and to finance their own governmental institutions, to mention only a few of the major difficulties.

Similarly, the Administering Authority has evidenced its willingness, indeed its desire, to receive advice and assistance not only from the Advisory Council but also from other responsible quarters, in its efforts to advance towards the objectives set out in the Trusteeship Agreement. It is in such a spirit of friendly assistance that my delegation desires to make certain observations and suggestions with regard to the present situation in the Trust Territory.

In the field of political advancement, my delegation welcomes the action of the Administering Authority in setting up at an early date the Territorial Council as envisaged by Article 4 of the Declaration of Constitutional Principles. The Trusteeship Council may wish to take note of the establishment of the Territorial Council and of the significant statement of the Special Representative that since 1 January no legislative ordinances have been promulgated without having first obtained the advice of the Territorial Council. It may wish to express the hope that the Administering Authority will progressively extend legislative authority to the Territorial Council.

The Administering Authority should also, in the view of my delegation, be encouraged to proceed with its programme for the establishment of municipal councils in the Trust Territory, since in these bodies democratic government may be fostered and established in ways not possible under the existing tribal system.

My delegation was particularly interested in learning that the representatives of both the Somali Youth League and the Conferenza are participating in the work of the Territorial Council, and it hopes that the Administering Authority will continue to promote the participation in the various councils of all parties which

responsibly represent public opinion within the Territory.

My delegation has been interested in ascertaining the facts relating to the internal security situation in the Trust Territory. We have appreciated the willingness of the Special Representative to give to the Trusteeship Council detailed information about the disturbances which occurred shortly after the transfer of administration to the Government of Italy. We have noted with interest the various steps taken by the Administration to restore public order and to enlist the co-operation of all elements of the population within the Government. These steps included a general amnesty as well as measures to return to their homes persons who have fled from Baidoa and other areas, and to provide them with financial assistance. The Special Representative has informed the Council that since the month of May 1950 there have been no cases of collective violence or disorder in Somaliland and that, in his opinion, there is no likelihood of collective violence repeating itself. Accordingly, the internal security situation in the Trust Territory, I suppose, may be regarded as normal. My delegation feels that this constitutes a tribute to the Administration.

We have noted with interest consequent decisions of the Administering Authority to reduce substantially the Italian component of the security corps in Somaliland.

Before leaving the political field, may I be permitted to make one other observation of a general nature. My delegation has been struck by the repeated evidence contained in the report and also in the statements of the Special Representative, of the use which the Administration is making or plans to make of the facilities and resources of the specialized agencies of the United Nations. Various programmes are under way, or contemplated, involving the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the International Labour Organisation and the Food and Agriculture Organization. The Government of Italy is surely to be commended for this initiative and it is to be hoped that the co-operation of the specialized agencies will materially assist in the advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory.



In the economic field, the Special Representative has pointed out the many complex problems which result from the existing social structure, the limited natural resources and the backward economic conditions of the Territory. My delegation fully appreciates the very serious difficulties which the Administering Authority will have to surmount within a relatively short period. We have noted with much interest the effort which the Administration has made or contemplates making in order to meet these difficulties.



We quite realize that the Administering Authority is as yet only on the threshold of an economic programme. Careful planning and blueprinting must precede effective action. We feel sure that the Council will wish to encourage the Administering Authority to examine with a fine tooth comb the entire field of economic possibilities. It will be particularly interested in all evidences of successful experimentation and constructive accomplishment in this field.

It is noted that the Administration has requested from the United Nations a technical assistance mission to carry out certain studies, the results of which are intended to guide requests for assistance for specific projects. My delegation feels that every possible method of gaining economic strength for the Territory must be explored. We should also hope that the various surveys undertaken will be integrated into a comprehensive economic survey which will provide the basis for the preparation of an over-all economic development programme.

The Special Representative has informed the Council that about 50 per cent of the sugar consumed in Somaliland is processed within the Territory. He has mentioned also that sugar can be produced on a remunerative basis in Somaliland and that the construction of another factory would not only permit the full satisfaction of the internal requirements of the Territory, but might also permit exportation to neighbouring territories. In view of the tangible benefits which would be derived from the construction of such a factory, my delegation feels that it would be to the best interests of the Territory if the Administering Authority, failing to find private capital willing to undertake the venture, should make every effort to finance this project either through its own or through international banking and development facilities.

My delegation has noted that in its efforts to bring about a reduction in the adverse balance of trade, the Administration has endeavoured to find a means of increasing the amount of those few products which the Territory already is currently exporting.

The Special Representative told the Council the other day that a school designed to instruct the inhabitants in better methods of preparing hides and skins for the world market is being established and that it is anticipated that this project may bring about a considerable increase in the value of this exported product. The Council will no doubt wish to take note of this project, to encourage its extension and to be informed in due course as to its results.

My delegation has noted in the report and in the remarks of the Special Representative that the Territory is sorely deficient in its water supply and that, as a result, agricultural and pastoral activities are curtailed in many areas. We have learned with satisfaction that the Administration has already taken measures to deal with this situation and that a water survey mission is now in Somaliland. My delegation will await with interest the report of this mission which, it is hoped, will provide the foundation of a considerably expanded programme to increase the usable water resources of the Territory and thus contribute to the stabilization and the expansion of agricultural productivity, particularly on the part of the indigenous farming population.

Of particular concern to my delegation is the very high percentage of the Somaliland budget which is being met by the Italian Government. We realize full well that at this early stage such generous grants are necessary for the initiation of fundamental development programmes. It is felt, however, that the Administering Authority will want to be guided by the consciousness that in less than ten years the Territory should be in a position to meet its budgetary requirements without outside assistance. Therefore my delegation feels that the Administering Authority should thoroughly explore the possibility of reducing administrative costs, without impairing the quality of governmental services, and also the means by which the inhabitants may bear an increasing share of the cost of their own governmental institutions. Clearly, this is linked with the general problem of increasing the level of economic activity in the Trust Territory.

In the field of social advancement my comments can be very brief. The problem of nomadism and semi-nomadism I will not belabour. The Administering Authority recognizes, as we all do, that nomadism is a fundamental problem in the Territory affecting adversely efforts to promote the political, the economic, the social and the educational advancement of the inhabitants. However, it certainly cannot be legislated away, and I know of no high road to a rapid solution of this problem. The Council will be interested, I am sure, in the future reports of the Administering Authority in its efforts to deal with this problem.

In the field of health I endorse the suggestion of Sir Carl Berendsen, representative of New Zealand, relating to the possible use of displaced persons as physicians in the Trust Territory. I hope that this may be found to be practicable as a method for increasing the number of trained doctors in Somaliland. Also, with regard to the training of medical personnel, the

Administering Authority should be urged to proceed with its plans as rapidly as possible to establish a school for the training of indigenous inhabitants as medical practitioners and nurses. Similar programmes are in operation in other Trust Territories and are leading to significant results. The early date fixed for the independence of Somaliland makes the need here even more compelling. With regard to the field of education, my delegation was pleased to note the statement of the Special Representative that this is a realm in which the Administering Authority, to quote his words, "can proceed more decisively and build courageously". It is obvious that intensified efforts in this field are particularly necessary and that such efforts are basic to advancement in all other aspects of the Territory's life. We recognize, with the Administering Authority, that the problems in the educational field, as in other fields, are very great but it is a field where increased effort and expenditure now will pay rich dividends within the period of trusteeship by rendering the Territory more nearly self sufficient in terms of trained manpower.

We cannot but feel that the provision of about a million somalos in the 1950 budget for education is small in relation to the total expenditures and to the problem faced/<sup>and that</sup> the Council may wish to urge the Administering Authority to devote an increased proportion of governmental expenditure to education. Nevertheless we realize that the increase of expenditure by Italy will certainly not solve these problems.

As in most of the Trust Territories, the fundamental need is for trained teachers. In a territory having a population of a million and a quarter people, no final solution can be sought through increased recruitment of teachers from Italy. The only effective solution must lie in a greatly expanded indigenous teacher-training programme. My delegation is glad to note that a start has been made on such a programme. But in a territory having a population probably of more than two hundred thousand children of school age an increase of sixty or seventy teacher trainers is, as I am sure the Administering Authority recognizes, far from adequate. The Council may wish to urge the Administering Authority to place even still greater emphasis on expanding this programme.

My delegation was interested to learn that the aid of UNESCO had been requested in order to set up a programme for long-term improvement of indigenous education. Despite our calling attention to such particular aspects of educational development as budgetary increases and teacher training, we recognize that these and all other phases of/<sup>an</sup> educational programme are intimately unrelated. We therefore await with particular interest the elaboration of such a long-term programme and hope that it can be made available to the Council by the time the next report on Somaliland is submitted.

Of course it is evident that though much assistance is required of the Administering Authority, educational development which comes exclusively from the top would not be sound. My delegation is therefore gratified to note the establishment of a Central Educational Council with substantial indigenous representation, as well as residency educational committees. We should like to express the hope that this Council and these committees will form the nucleus for increased participation and an increased sense of the people's own responsibility in educational matters, as well as give to them an opportunity to make their views felt in the development of educational policies. In

addition, we hope that local communities will be encouraged to assume material responsibilities in regard to the building and equipping of schools either by financial contribution or through its equivalent in labour or kind. A specialized aspect of the Administering Authority's educational programme which my delegation feels is particularly worthy of commendation and encouragement is the school of political administration. This institution derives directly from the urgent need of preparing qualified Somali administrative officials to take over the tasks of administration in ten years. Progress along this line must necessarily be gradual but its high importance calls for redoubled effort.

Finally there has been much discussion in this Council at yesterday's meeting and on preceding days of the very difficult problem of the language of instruction in the schools. My own delegation does not feel prepared at this stage to pass definitive judgment. It cannot but express its concern, however, with respect to the possible consequences of a decision, however seemingly justified at the moment by practical considerations, to omit from the languages of instruction the inhabitants' native tongue. My delegation quite appreciates the reasons for this decision for the time being and for its support by the Advisory Council and representatives of the population. It recognizes, however, the tentative nature of the decision. It will follow with much interest the technical studies made of this problem of reducing Somali to written form. It expresses the hope that information as to any conclusions reached will be made available to the Council when the next report on Somaliland is considered.

My delegation feels that the linguistic value of the indigenous culture and its importance as a unifying element in the indigenous social structure will not be overlooked by the Administering Authority and that they will be given due consideration before a definitive solution to the problem of language of instruction is finally reached.

May I once again express the very sincere appreciation of my delegation for the frank, capable and admirable manner in which the Special Representative has given of his time and knowledge in order to assist the Council to reach a more informed appraisal of the Administering Authority's accomplishments and problems in Somaliland.



Mr. SOLDATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The discussion of the report of the Administering Authority concerning the Trust Territory of Somaliland for the period April to December 1950 and the questions put to the Special Representative in connexion therewith demonstrate the completely inexact and incomplete character of the information contained in the report. As is known, a great number of questions were put to the Special Representative. The inaccuracy of the information submitted by the Administering Authority and the absence of such information on a number of important questions is emphasized by the matter which is contained in the numerous petitions which have come in from the Trust Territory. Nevertheless, even the incomplete information at the disposal of the Council makes it possible to conclude that the Administering Authority is carrying out a policy directed toward the re-establishment and strengthening of a colonial regime in Somaliland.

The Administering Authority does not carry out those legislative and other measures which would guarantee the participation of the indigenous population in the legislative, executive and judicial organs of the Trust Territory. It does not promote the formation of local native organs of self-government.

In this way it delays the progressive development of the Trust Territory, and thus violates the purposes and principles of international trusteeship established by the Charter of the United Nations. The Administering Authority carries out an anti-democratic policy in respect of the indigenous population, permitting racial discrimination and the crude violation of its rights and interests. In the petition from the Bardera branch of the Somali Youth League, document T/PET.11/33, it is said of the Italian Government:

"Neither its conduct nor its policy has changed. In their anxiety to colonize and dominate the people the Italians are behaving like Fascists." In the Trust Territory laws prepared by the Italian Administration during the Fascist colonial regime are in force. For example, the whole judicial system in the Territory is determined by Italian codes and by the judicial regulations for Somaliland approved by royal decree No. 1638 of 20 June 1935, as is stated on page 43 of the report.

Former Italian officials in Somaliland and in other African colonies during the Fascist regime were again appointed to responsible posts in the Italian Administration in the Trust Territory. As was pointed out in the memorandum of the Somali delegation to the fifth session of the General Assembly, a document dated 18 October 1950,

"With the exception of the Administrator and a few other persons the members of the Italian Administration, and especially the higher officials, were recruited from the staff of the Ministry for the Affairs of Italian Africa."

It is known that the Secretary-General of the Administration is Mr. Garini, who served formerly in the Italian Fascist Government in Ethiopia. The structure of the Italian Administration in the Trust Territory is similar to that which existed under the Fascist regime. The old system of resident commissioners and so on has been re-established. All power and authority in the country belongs to the Administrator, and in the localities the Italian commissioners and residents hold all power.

The Administering Authority does not bring the Somalis into the real government of the country, as we are informed in document T/PET.11/40, on page 5 of which the petitioners state that there is "no sign of Somalization of the Administration", and that



"no responsibility whatsoever is entrusted to the Somalis in the administration of their country. The Somalis are continuously discharged and dismissed from service and replaced by Italians. It so happens now that all members of many Italian families -- some numbering over ten persons -- are government employees while no jobs are given to the mass of the unemployed Somalis although the majority of them could fulfil many of the vacancies which are given to the Italians..."

From table 4 on pages 223-226 of the report it is obvious that all executive and important posts in the central administration of Somaliland are occupied by Italians. The indigenous population is used only as auxiliary and service personnel. The same picture is to be found in the local administration where all administrative and even auxiliary posts are held by Italians, and this may be seen from page 231 of the report.

Instead of granting the indigenous population a progressively increasing participation in the various organs of government, the Italian Administration has removed many Somalis even from the secondary posts which they held under the former British military administration, and has replaced them by Italians. In the petitions which have come in from Somaliland information is given concerning the numerous cases of arbitrary action on the part of the Italian authorities. Thus, in petition T/PET.11/14, it is stated that many Somalis who were police officers, chief and district clerks, cashiers, telephonists, mechanics and so on were dismissed when the Italian Administration came, and that the total of those so dismissed exceeds more than three hundred. Despite the assurances of the representative of Italy in the Fourth Committee at the fourth session of the General Assembly on 10 November 1949 to the effect that the Italian Government would not carry out any discrimination in respect to those persons who objected to Italian trusteeship, in fact the Italian authorities in Somaliland are prosecuting those political and social organizations which opposed Italian trusteeship, as well as various individuals who took the same position.

In numerous petitions facts are given concerning the crude discrimination and persecution of members of the Somali League against which, as is pointed out in the petitions themselves, Italian officials are waging a struggle by means of the organization of police raids, arrests and beatings, as well as by the creation and financing of various so-called political parties consisting of pro-Italian elements. In a petition from the Gardo branch of the Somali League, for instance,

which is to be found in document T/PET.11/18, it is stated that an assistant of the Administrator created in Gardo a small pro-Italian group to carry out the struggle against the branch of the Somali League there. The document adds that the assistant Administrator in question imprisoned some forty members of the Somali Youth League and dismissed all former officials who were members of the League, replacing them with his own people.

The Administering Authority has established in Somaliland a military and police regime, and the arbitrary acts of the police are in no way limited. In a memorandum of the National Ethiopian Council for Study and Report information is given concerning the firing by Italian troops on a peaceful Somali demonstration at Galalio, where some of the leaders of a tribe had protested against the recruiting of their youths for military purposes. Two weeks later there were cases in which Italian troops opened fire on people in Baidoa, Margherita and Kismayo.

The Administration maintains a large number of military units and a numerous police force. It is known that the police force in Somaliland consists of 1,921 men, a group of 521 Italian carabinieri, and the so-called ilalos corps, which numbers 1,484. These figures are to be found on pages 27 and 29 of the report. Moreover, there is a security corps in the Territory which consists of Italian troops sent to Somaliland to replace British troops. The expenditure on these military forces is increasing constantly. As is pointed out in the report, for the period 1 April to 31 December 1950 the expenditure on the indigenous police force amounted to 3,461,697 somalos, which does not include the expenditure for Italian staff officers and carabinieri. This information appears on page 29.

The indigenous population of Somaliland is removed from the Administration of its own country. There are no organs in the Territory with even advisory functions in which the indigenous population of Somaliland is really represented. The so-called Territorial Council, appointed by the Italian authorities, cannot be considered as a body in which the indigenous population of the Territory is really represented. The majority of the members of this Council is made up of tribe leaders who are the paid officials of the Administration. The remaining members are also appointed by the Italian Administration. On pages 6 and 7 of a petition from the Central Committee of the Somali Youth League (T/PET.11/40), it is stated that:

almost all members of these (Territorial Council) councils are illiterate pro-Italian elements appointed by the Italian Administration as alleged representatives of the tribes.

All of those facts confirm a conclusion to the effect that the Administering Authority does not create legislative organs and does not carry out legislative and other measures which would ensure the participation of the indigenous population in the legislative, executive and judicial organs of the Trust Territory. It further confirms the fact that the Administering Authority does not permit the formation of local, native organs of self-government. In this way the Administering Authority delays the progressive development of Somaliland and violates the purposes and principles of <sup>the</sup> international trusteeship system established by the United Nations Charter.

Those facts also confirm a conclusion to the effect that the Administering Authority is carrying out an anti-democratic policy in respect of the indigenous population, a policy which makes possible racial discrimination and the crude violation of the rights and interests of the indigenous population.

In connexion with this, the delegation of the USSR proposes to the Trusteeship Council that it recommend to the Administering Authority that the Administering Authority establish legislative organs and carry out legislative and other measures which would insure the participation of the indigenous population in the legislative, executive and judicial organs of the Trust Territory, and that the Administering Authority promote the formation of local native organs of self-government.

From the report and from the petitions it can be seen that the Administering Authority, instead of furnishing support and assistance to the progressive elements of the Somali population, encourages and reinforces the

tribal system in the Trust Territory, adopting it for its own interests in the government of the indigenous population. As was pointed out in the petitions, the Administration, under threat of penalty, obliges the Somalis to establish tribes and belong to them. And it is stated in the petition that the Italian authorities carried out a complete purge of leaders and elders and chiefs; many of those legally elected were replaced by pro-Italian elements (T/PET.11/40). At the present time the chiefs have become in reality local officials of the Administration.

The report of the Administering Authority indicates on the top of page 73 that the chiefs and the most influential local notables receive a monthly payment from the Administration.

The delegation of the USSR considers that the tribal system now prevailing in the Trust Territory, a system encouraged by the Administering Authority, is incompatible with the progressive development of the people of Somaliland towards independence. In this connexion it is the duty of the Trusteeship Council to recommend to the Administering Authority that it take measures to secure transition from the tribal system towards a system of self-government built upon democratic foundations. The Administering Authority has failed to take measures essential for the restoration and development of the economy of Somaliland, an economy which was ruined by the war and which even before the war was exceedingly backward as a result of the half century of activity of the Italian colonizers in the country.

The report itself of the Administering Authority described the situation of the indigenous population on page 51: we find a decreased population suffering from starvation in Midjertein as a result of an exceptional and persistent drought. Bands of unemployed living in the environs of Mogadiscio make its security precarious, while those who have had the luck to find an occupation must content themselves with a remuneration which is rather a dole than actual compensation for work done.

Instead of dealing in the first instance with the fostering of food production for the indigenous population and instead of concentrating attention and resources on that item, the Administering Authority has sought to increase and encourage the growing of crops for export. Incidentally, the production of export crops has been fostered at the expense of production in areas of basic alimentary crops for the indigenous population such as maize, dcura and

sesame. Such a policy ~~undoubtedly~~ not only has not facilitated or improved but, on the contrary, has worsened the situation of the indigenous population which has been stricken by continual droughts and bad harvests. The encouragement of exports from the Territory has taken place at the expense of the standard of living of the Somali people who have been deprived still further.

The value of goods exported from 1 April through 31 December 1950 rose to 18,816,107 somalos, as compared to a figure of 12,740,954 shillings during the corresponding period of 1949. Of course, as the special representative told us, one somalo is the same in value as one shilling.

The report indicates that all trade is under control of foreign companies and corporations. The report also notes that some sectors of business are in reality under the control of several British companies (page 58). The report goes on to say (page 58) that the export of hides is <sup>largely</sup> under the control of foreign countries.



The petition from the Central Committee of the Somali Youth League, document T/PET.11/40, informs us that the Italian Administration has sought by various methods to destroy even the few Somali trading companies which have managed to subsist.

The Administering Authority has failed to take measures for the establishment and development of industry in Somaliland. There is no meat industry in the Territory, despite the fact that the greater part of the population is engaged in cattle raising and cattle raising plays a preponderant role in the country's economy.

The Administering Authority not only has failed to restore to the indigenous inhabitants land alienated from them prior to the establishment of Italian trusteeship over Somaliland, but, on the contrary, continues to pursue the old colonial policy of alienating land from these indigenous inhabitants, under various pretexts. Page 89 of the report shows that, up to March 1941, 72,842 hectares of land in Somaliland had passed into the hands of Italians. It must be noted, incidentally, that only 10 per cent of the area of Somaliland is arable. Page 89 of the report also indicates that, as a rule, land granted in concessions becomes private property.

Numerous petitions received from the Trust Territory contain complaints from the petitioners that the Italian Administration has failed to do anything to forestall the alienation of land from the indigenous population. Thus, document T/PET.11/40 contains a complaint to the effect that some Italians -- Buffo, Adaglio, Valenzano, Angeleri, Del Buffalo and many others -- alienated lands at Genale and Afgoi which belonged to Somalis, and that when the Somalis complained to the Italian authorities they were arrested and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. The petition also states:

"All fertile lands are completely in the hands of the Italian farmers, who plant bananas, cotton, walnuts, etc. for export purposes."

A petition contained in document T/PET.11/33 reports that the Italian authorities seized the land of Sheikh Abdullah Sheikh Miyo, in the Bardera area. In document T/PET.11/38, there is a petition from Mr. Kulmie Aden Ahmed, who complains that an Italian farmer has designs on his seven hectares of land and has already commenced irrigation work on the land. In another petition,

dated 15 April 1951 and contained in document T/PET.11/39, Idris Omar Gude and others in the Goluen region complain that an Italian, Del Buffalo, seized 150 hectares of land from them, with the connivance of the Administration. They also state that the Commissioner declared that he would restore 40 hectares to the petitioners, leaving 110 hectares to Del Buffalo. When the Italian sent his men to the land to cut down the fruit trees, the owners of the land resisted. For that, they were arrested by the police and sentenced to three months' imprisonment and three months' detention out of jail in Merca. That is what the petition in document T/PET.11/39 alleges.

The Trusteeship Council should recommend that the Administering Authority restore to the indigenous inhabitants of the Trust Territory lands alienated from them by any means whatsoever and should prevent the future alienation of such land.

On page 71 of the Administering Authority's report, it is stated that there is a tax on huts in the Territory, which is levied on every indigenous inhabitant 18 years of age or older. In this connexion, the Trusteeship Council should recommend that the Administering Authority take measures to replace the tax on huts by a progressive income tax, or some other sort of tax which would be commensurate with the resources of the persons upon whom the tax would be levied.

The Administering Authority's report and the petitions which we have received from the Trust Territory indicate that there is an entirely unsatisfactory situation as regards health and education. The Administering Authority has failed to take measures to correct this situation. The petition of the Central Committee of the Somali Youth League, contained in document T/PET.11/40, indicates that there are not enough hospitals and other facilities for medical care in the Territory. There are no indigenous physicians; there is an insufficient number of Italian physicians, and all of them are concentrated in the large cities.

On page 151 of the report of the Administering Authority, it is stated that there are no universities in Somaliland and, even if there were, there are no indigenous inhabitants at present whose educational level would warrant admission to advanced medical courses.



As the report concedes on page 185, illiteracy is almost general. The few schools in the Territory are mainly concentrated in Mogadiscio and its suburbs. Even in these few schools, instruction is in the Arabic and Italian tongues. The Somalis have no alphabet for their language. Instead of taking urgent measures for the creation of a written Somali language, inasmuch as that is the language used by the entire indigenous population of Somaliland, and instead of conducting instruction in the schools in the Somali language, the Administering Authority has fostered and encouraged instruction in the Italian and Arabic languages, with which only a small proportion of the population of the Territory is conversant.

Petitions from the indigenous inhabitants complain that the Administration has failed to take measures to establish minimum opportunities for education for the indigenous population. The petition of the Bardera branch of the Somali Youth League, T/PET.11/33, states:

"The development of the country depends on education, but we have no schools, although Bardera has a large population. We have asked the Government repeatedly for schools but without avail."

During the period covered by the report, only about 500,000 somalos -- that is, approximately \$68,000 -- were expended for the building of schools, as appears on page 175 of the report; whereas expenditures for the maintenance of the indigenous police for the same period amounted to approximately 3,500,000 somalos, as stated on page 29 of the report. In other words, expenditures for the police services are seven times as large as expenditures for educational services.

The Trusteeship Council should recommend that the Administering Authority increase educational and other cultural appropriations as well as appropriations for health services.

These are the main observations of the USSR delegation at this stage of the Council's consideration of the report submitted by the Italian Government on the administration of Somaliland for the period from April through December 1950.

The PRESIDENT: I now invite the representative of Italy or the Special Representative -- or both, if they so wish -- to reply to the debate, which is now closed. I would call the attention of the Council to the fact that some of the petitions that have been referred to have not been before the Council for two months, and it is therefore within the discretion of the Italian representative or the Special Representative to deal with them or not, as they think best.

Mr. GUIDOTTI (Italy) (interpretation from French): I have asked to speak not in order to reply to the statements and observations made in connexion with the report on the administration of Somaliland, but merely to furnish the Council with clarification on a particular point brought up by several delegations. I refer to the statement made on several occasions that the ratification of the Trusteeship Agreement has not yet been carried out by the Italian Parliament. I wish to reiterate assurances in this connexion that the Italian Government realizes the importance of this matter and that I, of course, have called to my Government's attention the remarks made here on that subject. This morning, I had a telephone conversation with Rome and I am empowered to state that the Italian Government has already done everything possible, as executive power, to call this matter to the attention of the committees of Parliament in order to expedite it as much as possible. I hope to be in a position in the very near future to give further details on this matter.

I hope I shall be permitted to add a few words of cordial thanks from the Italian delegation to the representatives of the Dominican Republic and Argentina for the very pertinent comments whereby they recalled to the Trusteeship Council the position of Italy in the Council and the question of Italian admission to the United Nations. The Italian Government appreciates the fact that such eminent representatives in the Trusteeship Council have called attention to the urgent need of settling this problem, which has been dragging out for some time.

The PRESIDENT: Is the Special Representative ready to proceed with his reply now, or would he rather do so after the recess? In the latter case, I would call a recess now and allow him an opportunity to reply afterward.

Mr. FORNARI (Special Representative) (interpretation from French): I would prefer to reply after the recess which is customary at this time.

The meeting was suspended at 3.45 p.m. and resumed at 4.05 p.m.

Mr. FORNARI (Special Representative) (Interpretation from French):

It is not without deep and sincere emotion that I take the floor in the Trusteeship Council, in which the members have shown me so much sympathy, at the end of this discussion. The conclusions will certainly be very useful for the Trust Territory of Somaliland, the trusteeship of which was entrusted to Italy. The expressions used by the members to show their confidence in the work which the Administering Authority is trying to carry out in this remote and backward country has profoundly touched the Italian delegation. We see in these expressions more than satisfaction expressed for the activities carried on in the interests of these African populations, which are dear to us, we see the sympathy felt for Italy in the United Nations, from which body it has been unjustly kept apart. This was referred to by the representative of the Dominican Republic in words which touched us very much.

I have already had the honour of stating that this report only covers nine months of provisional administration and that it should be considered first of all as a picture of the conditions in which we approached the task entrusted to us. At the same time, it contains a survey of the measures which the Administering Authority was able to take in this first period.

These are the first steps of a child, from which it would not only be difficult but dangerous to require effort which its age would not allow. Almost all the members of the Trusteeship Council were kind enough to express their satisfaction with the progress achieved in the political field during these few months. Thanks also to the very close co-operation of the Advisory Council, the assistance of which was particularly precious for us, we were able to set up the first representative bodies in Somaliland. We succeeded in setting up the Territorial Council, the institution of which will be followed in 1951 by municipal councils. I did not fail to take note of the recommendations which the representatives of the United States, Iraq, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Australia and Argentina were kind enough to address to us in this field, and I shall not fail to study them with care.

As for the Advisory Council, I am certain that the co-operation which has been established between that Council and the Administration as a result of the mutual understanding of our reciprocal tasks will continue to grow in the future in all fields, including petitions. We are sure that this co-operation

will increase by means of the methods and the spirit which have been in evidence in the past, and to which reference was made by my good friends, the representatives of Egypt and Colombia, as well as by the representatives of Belgium, France, Argentina and Thailand.

The representative of the United States and other representatives were kind enough to congratulate us on the prompt and complete re-establishment of public order, which was carried out without recourse to any exceptional measures. In my turn, I must congratulate the population of Somaliland, which rapidly realized that it was not through procedures which would only recall the extremism of totalitarian violence that the progress of the Territory could be achieved. It was thanks to that understanding and to the work of pacification carried out by Italian officials that an atmosphere of peace and security was rapidly re-established in Somaliland and that discussions and disputes between parties were transferred from the public squares to democratic assemblies. It was for the purpose of strengthening that atmosphere of peace that, in July 1950, during the Holiday of Ramadan, I decided to grant an amnesty to all political prisoners. That permitted us to release prisoners who had been arrested during the incidents of April 1950 and who had been urged on to their crimes by political passion.

The representative of the Soviet Union referred to the anti-democratic policy of the Italian Administration. I cannot take <sup>that</sup> accusation seriously. I say this because it is not based on any proven or exact facts. Indeed, almost all the quotations given by the representative of the Soviet Union came from petitions. Some of those petitions reached the knowledge of the Administering Authority in good time, and it commented on them in document T/908. I shall not take the time of the Council to repeat those observations. I should merely ask the Council to take account of those comments in preparing its report.

So far as the other petitions are concerned, I do not think the Council will wish to consider them during this session and will prefer to wait until the Administering Authority has had time to submit its observations.

In addition to those quotations, however, there were some from the report itself, and I must take some of the Council's time to review those briefly. We were accused of reducing the Somali personnel in the Administration and of replacing them by Italians. I would request that members of the Council look at page 37 of the report. They will see that, on 1 April 1950, there were 484 Italians and that this number was reduced by 32. The second column of the same table shows that the Somalis have increased by 115, from 3,526 to 3641. There was not a drop in the number of Somali personnel; there was an increase. There was not an increase in the Italian staff; there was a decrease.



With reference to a statistical table at the end of the report, it was stated that the highest posts are entrusted to Italians. But, how could we do otherwise? I have explained many times that the highest level of education in Somaliland is that of the elementary school. With such elementary education, could Somalis be expected to hold high posts in the Administration? Would this not have been levity, and an error for which we would have been reproached most severely?

The Security Corps expenditures were also remarked upon. I have already explained that these expenditures, which were of a certain amplitude at the beginning of our administration, are dropping very sharply. The Italian Security Corps numbered about 5,000 persons on 1 April 1950. The figure has now dropped to about 1,500, and it will be further reduced to 1,000 by 15 September this year. It is natural that, with the drop in the number of personnel, the relevant expenditures will decrease proportionately.

It has also been said that the Somalis have no participation in the political life of the country. When we arrived, there was not one Somali taking part in the political life of the country. At the present time, there are 900 who participate in the various fields and who are participating in the executive branch. This does not take account of the administrative employees, who number about 3,500.

Reference was also made to an alleged purge of chiefs. I can give the most formal contradiction to that statement. All the chiefs who were in office when we arrived have been confirmed. The chiefs will not be replaced without calling a meeting of the tribes and without the tribes having expressed a desire for such a change.

Reference was made to the tribal system. I spoke of that in the statement I made at the 348th meeting of the Trusteeship Council. I said that it is:

"...of course, one of the most backward stages of human organization and one that entirely contradicts the principles that govern the self-determination of peoples and democracy and popular sovereignty." I said that and I reaffirm that principle and stress it. However, having said that, I also said that, in my opinion,

"...it would be an irreparable error to seek to destroy in one fell swoop the tribal administration without having something ready to replace it, because only trouble, civil war and chaos would ensue..."

That is not what we are working for.

I also indicated the path I think we should follow. I said that we must:

"...hasten the evolution of tribes toward a territorial political structure while encouraging an evolution of their social structure which would make them look at the village, rather than the tribe, as a centre of activity."

It was because of this problem and to make the Somalis participate in the political life of the country that we created a territorial organization alongside the tribal organization. We hope that the territorial organization will gradually replace the tribal organization. I further said in that statement that:

"The Territorial Council and the Residence Councils which are already formed, the Municipal Councils which are being set up, may be regarded as the first elements of this new sort of organization which would supersede the tribal organization...they meet for the first time in Somali history to discuss not questions relating to their respective Kabiles but questions that concern the entire Territory."

Can one really accuse an administration of anti-democratic policy, an administration which has assisted in the establishment of such organs as the Municipal Councils, the Residency Councils and a Territorial Council, without having been required to do so by any stipulations of the Trusteeship Agreement, and which, as authorized by article 4 of the Declaration of Constitutional Principles annexed to the Trusteeship Agreement, wanted, before choosing the members of the Territorial Council, to hear the opinions of the population and name these people from persons especially designated by the political parties; an administration which created a small permanent committee so as to be in permanent contact with representatives of the population; an administration which recognized all parties in the Territorial Council; an administration which guaranteed for ever, without discrimination, freedom of association, expression and assembly, without distinction as to race, religion or party?

One of the representatives also stated, in a very vague and general way, that certain officials of the Administration were not inspired in their activity by principles based on the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement, because of their work in an old colonial administration. Last year the very distinguished representative of Chile in the United Nations General Assembly answered a similar comment, very rightly, that this was a prejudice and not a judgment. Until detailed cases are quoted, on which the Administration would certainly take decisive action, one has no right to make such accusations. I am sure that if the Advisory Council had known of such facts, it would have communicated them, officially or unofficially, to the Administration. The Administration would certainly have taken the most energetic measures. But I repeat, this did not occur. No communication was submitted to us on such cases. It seems to me superfluous to add any commentary.

Passing on to the economic field, I should like to assure all the representatives, and especially the representatives of Argentina, Belgium, France, Iraq, the United Kingdom and the United States, that I have taken good note of their suggestions. I shall not fail to study them with care and, as far as possible, to adhere to them.

Here too, in the economic field, the Soviet Union representative was kind enough to make some comments. He spoke of the increase of export crops at the expense of import crops. There was obviously an increase in export crops. But I think that the Administration should be congratulated on this.

Indeed, how can one increase the production of a country, and how can one increase the prosperity of a country, and how can one increase its resources, without increasing the production of goods destined for export? The Soviet Union representative added: is it true that this was done at the expense of production intended for domestic consumption? But if there was such a decrease, this was not because of the increase in export crops.

As I have already had the honour to explain, there was a considerable drought in Somaliland, and that drought occurred in the second cycle of production and it did not affect export products which were cultivated in the first cycle, and which were cultivated only in irrigated areas. It was because of this that production dropped. I must say that in preceding years production was greater than usual, which made it possible at that time to make up certain food stockpiles. It was thought possible to do <sup>this</sup> last year.

Reference was made to the increase in these exports. Of course, I think this is a type of prosperity, provided that the country is not deprived of its own needs and its own elementary requirements. In addition to this increase in exports, there was an even greater increase in imports, since they almost doubled in value in the year which is under study.

Reference was then made to the decrease or ending of the activity of the native companies which had native capital. I have before me a list of companies which were established after 1 April 1950. These are new companies which began to operate in Somaliland. There was not one single company which halted its activity. On the contrary, I have a documented list, which I can put at the disposal of the Council, which shows twelve new Somali companies appearing on the market in the period under consideration. In addition to this, I may add that from 1 April up to the present, 731 new licences were issued allowing indigenous inhabitants to carry on commercial activities.

I would, in particular, like to pass on to another subject and give an assurance to the United Kingdom representative concerning foodstuffs. We have <sup>making</sup> been/ and we intend this year to make such food provisions if the climatic conditions allow it. As for economic planning in the Territory, the services of the Administration are collecting all useful data, and I really hope that the United Nations Technical Assistance Mission which we are expecting in August will come to Somaliland at that time, so that a positive economic plan may be established with its advice and co-operation.

Reference was then made to land and the fact that certain parts of the population might fear alienation in favour of foreigners. This apprehension is completely unfounded. The Italian Administration has not carried out any new land concessions since its establishment. Moreover, as regards alienation, it is well known that article 14 of the Trusteeship Agreement provides that no alienation of land to non-natives can be carried out without the consent of two-thirds of the Territorial Council.

As regards land leases, the new Italian Administration has given no such leases to non-natives, and a law will regulate that subject, the provisions of which, of course, will be submitted to the Advisory Council of the United Nations as well as to the Territorial Council.

As regards the previous situation, the representative of the Philippines stated erroneously that almost all fruitful lands are in the possession of Europeans. One may look at the map annexed to the report, as well as the figures appearing in the tables on pages 89 and 90. Almost forty per cent, of course, of the Territory is not arable.

Only 50 per cent of the Territory is usable for pasture and similar pursuits, and only 10 per cent is arable, strictly speaking. Out of this 10 per cent only 0.2 per cent is in the possession of European agriculturists. This 0.2 per cent of land was either lying fallow previously, or else it was similar to the remaining 9.8 per cent. Italian colonists irrigated the land and worked it intensively. I am hopeful that the work of these Italians, as Mr. Carpio recognized, and as the indigenous inhabitants also recognize, will be a model -- as it is a source of wealth for the country -- for the indigenous inhabitants, who will receive all possible encouragement and assistance from the Administration so that they may be able to emulate those achievements.

I may be abusing the patience of the Trusteeship Council, but my sense of responsibility compels me to draw attention to certain points which I raised in my first speech regarding economic activities. It is urgently necessary to have an influx of investment capital into the country, including private capital. I said some time ago that international guarantees for capital, the form of which might be studied by some organ of the United Nations, covering a period that would be longer than the one ~~fixed~~ for Italian trusteeship, would greatly strengthen confidence in the country and would encourage the investment of such private capital. I wish to extend my particular thanks to the representative of Argentina, who pointed up the most important aspects of this question -- as well as the precedent in Libya -- as did also the representative of Egypt in his very fruitful contribution to the debate.

I thank the representatives of Iraq, Thailand, Egypt, China, the Dominican Republic and the United States for their observations as to social and educational progress in the Territory. Their suggestions will be studied carefully by the Italian Administration. I wish to renew the assurance already given as regards the use of the Somali language, which has been and is the subject of careful study. We shall follow the advice of the Advisory Council in this field, and we hope also to avail ourselves of the co-operation of UNESCO, according to the suggestion which has been made.

As regards social advancement and health services, the representative of the Soviet Union made certain comments. I have some figures here which I shall venture to quote. In 1949-50 -- that was the year prior to the assumption of Italian administration -- expenditure for health assistance was 2,289,834 somalos. In 1950-51 the expenditure will be 8,105,474 somalos. Part of these funds will be personnel expenses; part will be designed for the purchase of medicines and



similar items; another part will defray greater administrative expenses as the health services become more complex. I shall cite other figures to show the efforts of the Administration in this regard. At Kismayo the number of hospital beds was increased from 62 to 102; at Baidoa the number was increased from 62 to 72, and at Belet Uen, from 52 to 62. There were 21 doctors when we arrived, and that number has been increased to 40. Several more have arrived, among them a specialist for school health services, and more are expected.

Some comments were made concerning the alleged failure to co-operate on the part of the indigenous inhabitants. I should like to inform the Council that 700 of the workers in the health services are indigenous inhabitants, including those working in the fields of yellow fever and malaria prevention.

There has been an increase in the expenditure for food from 0.60 somalos per person per day to 1.50. I do not wish to try the patience of the Council by citing more figures along these lines.

We are convinced that devotion to the letter and the spirit of the Charter and of the Trusteeship Agreement, and this devotion alone, will be able to lead the Somali people towards independence. Through me as its representative, the Italian Administration wishes solemnly to pledge its good will and co-operation towards that final consummation. It is in this spirit that we have listened to the suggestions made by the members of the Trusteeship Council, to which Council we wish to tender our thanks for its co-operation in our work and for the encouragement which it has given to us in our task.

The PRESIDENT: We have now concluded our examination of the report on Somaliland under Italian administration. Tributes have been paid by individual members to the Special Representative, but I should like formally, from the Chair, to thank Mr. Fornari for the assistance which he has given to the Council and for the courtesy, patience and helpfulness he has shown in answering our questions. I should like also to thank the members of the Advisory Council for the help they have given us.

It remains for me now to appoint the members of the committee which will be charged with the duty of preparing a report on this survey. I appoint members of the delegations of Argentina, China, France and the United Kingdom, and I suggest that these representatives might get together this afternoon and fix a date for their first meeting.

Mr. SOLDATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I should like to ask the President whether he is going to put to the vote the membership of that committee which he has nominated.

The PRESIDENT: No, that was not my intention. It has not been done in the past, as far as I remember. If the representative of the Soviet Union wishes to challenge my decision, he is at liberty to do so.

Mr. SOLDATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I merely wished to obtain information. I should like to state further that, since the delegation of the Soviet Union does not regard the presence in the Trusteeship Council of the representative of the Kuomintang group as legal...

The PRESIDENT: I categorically object to the representative of the Soviet Union's reference to the "Kuomintang group". The Council has decided that the Chinese delegation is represented here, and that is the decision of the Council.

Mr. SOLDATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I think the President will allow me to finish and not interrupt me because it is my ...

The PRESIDENT: I shall certainly interrupt the representative if he does not obey the rules of procedure of the Council. I have ruled that reference to the Kuomintang group is out of order.

Mr. SOLDATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Although the President has interrupted me twice and may do so ten times more -- because I understand his activity in connexion with the position which he espouses concerning the matter which I have had the honour to raise -- nevertheless I deem it essential to set forth the view of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. You as President or even as the representative of the United Kingdom do not enjoy the right to refuse to permit the Soviet/<sup>Union</sup>delegation to state its position on the question. You have declared that the drafting committee on the/<sup>report of the</sup>Trust Territory of Somaliland shall comprise four members of the Trusteeship Council. The delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics wishes to declare that it takes exception to the appointment of a person to that committee who does not represent a member of the Council in its view inasmuch as he is a Kuomintang representative.

The PRESIDENT: I am sorry to interrupt. The decision of the President to appoint a committee has been challenged. I therefore propose formally to put to the Council this question: that the committee to consider the annual report on Somaliland should consist of the representatives of Argentina, China, France and the United Kingdom.

Mr. SOLDATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I request a separate vote on each candidate.

The PRESIDENT: The Representative of the Soviet Union is certainly entitled to that. We shall now vote on the appointment of Argentina to <sup>the</sup> Committee.

The appointment was adopted by 10 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the appointment of China to the Committee.

The appointment was adopted by 10 votes to 1, with 1 abstention.

The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the appointment of France to the Committee.

The appointment was adopted by 10 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the appointment of the United Kingdom to the Committee.

The appointment was adopted by 10 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

Mr. MUNOZ (Argentina): I ask for a vote on the proposal as a whole.

The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the proposal as a whole that Argentina, China, France and the United Kingdom be appointed to this Committee.

The proposal was adopted by 11 votes to 1.

The PRESIDENT: Therefore the four appointments are, as the President said some time ago before the time of the Council was taken up by voting: Argentina, China, France and the United Kingdom.

Mr. SOLDATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I should like to explain my vote. I stated that the delegation of the Soviet Union considered that in the Trusteeship Council as now constituted there is no legitimate representative of China. It consequently voted against and objected to the appointment to the Committee of the Kuomintang representative.

The PRESIDENT: I will not permit the representative of the Soviet Union to use that word here. There is no such representative. If he uses that word again, I shall be bound to call on the next member who wishes to speak. If he wishes to proceed without breaking the rules which I have so interpreted,

he is at liberty to do so but not otherwise.

Mr. SOLDATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Since this expression as regards the illegal representation of China has been used, permit me to state that at the request of the Soviet Union delegation I have voted several times in a certain manner as regards the membership of the Committee to consider the report on the Trust Territory of Somaliland. Now the President does not permit me to explain the reasons for my vote. On the basis of what rule does he not permit me to state that view? Why? Is it because the delegation of the Soviet Union has espoused a view that differs from that of the delegation of the United Kingdom as regards the representation of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations?

The PRESIDENT: Are you addressing a question to me?

Mr. SOLDATOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Not at all. I am merely explaining my position. I voted. It is incumbent on me to explain my vote, is it not? You were courteous to the delegation of the Soviet Union in putting the matter to the vote. Likewise you might also permit me to explain my vote, particularly as I was about to conclude. Inasmuch as a vote was taken on the proposal as a whole and inasmuch as that proposal included the candidacy of a person who does not represent the Chinese People's Republic, I voted against it.

Mr. Fornari, Special Representative for Somaliland under Italian Administration, withdrew.

EXAMINATION OF ANNUAL REPORTS OF ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF TRUST TERRITORIES: TANGANYIKA, FOR THE YEARS 1949 and 1950 (T/786, 786/Add.1, 804, 903, 904, 915; T/L.176).

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Lamb, Special Representative for Tanganyika under United Kingdom Administration, took a place at the Council table.

Mr. WENDELEN (Belgium) (interpretation from French): I have a procedural remark to make. Yesterday my delegation submitted some written question with regard to the report on Tanganyika. I should like to make it clear that these questions were submitted for the purpose of facilitating the task of the special representative for Tanganyika in obtaining information which would make it possible for him to reply to these questions. We do not necessarily expect written answers to them. We merely wish to serve notice that we will ask these questions in the course of the debate.

Mr. LAURENTIE (France) (interpretation from French): The same observation applies to my delegation. We have also submitted written questions but we are awaiting oral answers to them.

The PRESIDENT: I am glad to welcome Mr. Lamb, the special representative for Tanganyika under United Kingdom Administration, on behalf of the Council.

Mr. LAMB (Special Representative for Tanganyika under United Kingdom Administration): When I last had the privilege of addressing this Council prior to an examination of an annual report on the administration of the Trust Territory of Tanganyika I commented on the fact that the report in question was in many respects more than a year out of date. This year the position is somewhat different. The Council now has before it two annual reports. That for 1949 may certainly be said to be largely out of date, but the gap is bridged -- and I trust the Council will find that it has been adequately bridged -- by the report for 1950.

The fact that there has been no great lapse of time since the end of the period under review means that there is little I can add to the information given in the reports which the Council is about to examine and consequently there is no need for me to make a lengthy opening statement. Indeed, were I to do so I fear I should be guilty of a serious lack of consideration, for I am aware that at this session the Council is faced with a very full agenda and may find itself pressed for time to complete its heavy programme of work. I feel it my duty therefore to be as brief as possible. Before proceeding to make my few comments on certain aspects of life and conditions in Tanganyika, however, may I be permitted to take this opportunity of expressing my personal appreciation



of the fact that the Council has given matters concerning the Territory an early place on its agenda, which will enable me to get back in good time to complete the necessary arrangements before the arrival of the Visiting Mission.

Again this year I think I must start with the assumption that all members of the Council have formed a fairly clear picture of general conditions in Tanganyika and will therefore not wish me to take up their time by going into details.

Even those who have not yet had an opportunity to visit the Territory will have gathered from the descriptive sections included in successive annual reports some idea of the vast size of the Territory, the wide range of its geographical and climatic conditions, and the ethnographical, linguistic and cultural divergencies of its mixed and, in many parts, sparsely scattered population. Indeed, as has often been stressed, a true appreciation of these conditions is essential for a proper assessment not only of the progress already made but also of the many problems still to be faced and the difficulties yet to be overcome.

The reports now before the Council, both somewhat lengthy documents, set out in some detail the main events and developments during the years 1949 and 1950, and there is little I can usefully add at this stage. During the period under review Tanganyika has continued its forward march and, although once again no claim is made to any spectacular developments, steady progress has been achieved in all directions. Unfortunately, during this period the Territory has not been without its setbacks and disappointments. During 1949 it suffered one of the worst droughts on record, resulting in diminished crops generally and, in some areas, a serious shortage of food and water. Large quantities of grain had to be imported, and for a lengthy period normal railway services were disrupted by the need to transport water to some of the most seriously affected parts. Fortunately, this grievous drought period was followed by a year in which climatic conditions were generally favourable, and good harvests were the rule rather than the exception.

Tanganyika is, of course, not alone in this respect, but the vagaries of its climate certainly do constitute one of its problems. For instance, in recent months we have not had to complain of droughts but of floods. I do not think the total rainfall this season has been excessive, but it has been spasmodic and unevenly distributed. From the reports received up to the time of my departure from Dar es Salaam it would appear that on the whole the agriculturalist has managed to cope with the resulting disruption of his normal cultivation programme, but washaways and damaged bridges on railways and roads have caused considerable dislocation of communications. However, in mentioning such facts, which belong to 1951 and not to the period under review, I am perhaps guilty of a breach of my undertaking to make this statement as brief as possible.

As will be seen from the relevant sections of the reports now before the Council, during the years 1949 and 1950 Tanganyika fully maintained its policy of close co-operation and collaboration with other African territories. The East

African inter territorial organization continued to function smoothly and effectively, and I think there is no doubt that experience of the working of this organization has done much to remove the apprehensions of those who saw in this close association of Tanganyika with its neighbours a threat to the maintenance of the Territory's political autonomy and status as a Trust Territory.

Apart from the constant collaboration between the East African territories in the operation of common services and in the tackling of common problems, there have been numerous conferences on technical and other matters in which other territories -- not only those under British administration -- have participated, and 1950 was a particularly fruitful year in this respect.

As regards political advancement the position is described at some length in the annual reports. A matter of outstanding importance was the appointment of the Constitutional Development Committee which was active throughout 1950. As indicated in the report for that year, the setting up of this Committee stimulated an unwonted degree of political activity in the Territory and there is no doubt that this, in turn, resulted in a greater realism in political thinking than had been evident before. The length of time which the Committee devoted to its deliberations and to seeking the views and opinions of all sections of the population throughout the Territory may, perhaps, be taken as an indication of the care and thoroughness with which it carried out its important task. The Committee's report was recently completed and is at present being studied by the Administering Authority.

Whatever may be the immediate outcome of these deliberations on constitution and development, however, the fundamental problem remains unchanged. The nature of this problem has been clearly stated in the annual reports but an understanding of it is a matter of such vital importance that I may perhaps be forgiven if I make a further brief reference to it now. Tanganyika is firmly set on the road to achievement of full political maturity, but before that objective can be reached much heavy spade work yet remains to be done. No form of central government can claim to be truly democratic unless it is based on the full and free participation of all sections of the population, and therein lies Tanganyika's fundamental problem. In countries such as this, where there are such great differences in stages of development reached by the various sections of the community, particular care is necessary to ensure that the rights and interests of all sections are equally protected and safeguarded. It is for

this reason that so great an emphasis is placed on the development of a sound, efficient and democratic system of local government as the "school" in which the indigenous peoples can gain <sup>the</sup> necessary training and experience to fit them for greater political and administrative responsibilities, and as the only sure foundation on which the superstructure of democratic central government can be erected.

During the period under review efforts have continued to be directed particularly to this essential task and the success so far achieved may be judged from the information given in the annual reports now before the Council. The 1949 report describes in some detail the position then existing in the different districts, while that for 1950 presents an overall picture of the trend of development. As will be seen, in the sphere of rural local government there has been definite progress in the growth of the council system and in the introduction of the principles of popular representation. Progress has also been made in such important directions as the separation of judicial and executive functions and the transference of legislative powers from individual native authorities to councils. These innovations -- and from the point of view of the indigenous population they can only be so described -- are in advance of the political thought of the great majority of the people, by whom democratic principles of government as we know them are as yet little understood or appreciated but ground is steadily and surely being gained. In forming their assessment of the progress made members of the Council will doubtless not have failed to note what is described in paragraph 140 of the 1950 report as an "obvious weakness" -- the unevenness of development and the wide variations in the field of local government -- but I feel sure that this very fact will have served to impress upon the Council the nature and importance of the fundamental problem to which I have already referred. The different aspects of this problem and the methods of approach in dealing with it are discussed in the annual report and I will not dwell upon them now beyond remarking that the Council will no doubt have noticed with interest the importance attached to anthropological research in this connexion. In reviewing the general schemes of political development note should also be taken of the emphasis placed upon the assumption of financial and executive responsibility by local government institutions.

As regards economic advancement, I find myself again in the position of being able to say very little without merely repeating what the members of the Council will already have learned from their reading of the annual reports. Briefly stated, Tanganyika can look back upon the years 1949 and 1950 with considerable satisfaction as a period during which, despite such temporary set-backs as that caused by the drought conditions of the earlier year, the economic position of the Territory was further strengthened. Trade and commerce generally, both internal and external, continued to expand, as will be seen from the statistics given to the Council in the form of a supplement to the 1950 report. The Territory's financial position is sound and an encouraging feature is the steady rise in revenue, which has increased during the last ten years from some 2,300,000 pounds to over four times that amount. As an indication of confidence in the Territory's economic future, mention may be made of the outstanding success attending the issue of the loan of 1,750,000 pounds in September, 1950, the first occasion on which Tanganyika has raised money on its own credit. This is a matter of no small significance, for with a development plan envisaging an expenditure <sup>of some</sup> twenty-four million pounds during the next six years it will doubtless be necessary for further loans to be raised.

Details of the progress made under the ten-year development plan during the years 1949 and 1950 are given in the annual reports, and, as will be noted, expenditure in the latter year rose to nearly four million pounds. Much of the expenditure incurred up to date has been devoted to the conservation and development of the Territory's natural resources, while improvements of communications and water supplies have a high place in the list of priorities. The Council will also doubtless have noted the importance attached to the task of making the Territory self-sufficient in food supplies and the extensive provision being made for grain storage. It has long been apparent, however, that rising costs and changing conditions would necessitate a revision of the ten-year plan, and this was undertaken during the latter part of 1950. The new plan, copies of which are in the hands of the members of the Council, envisages, as already stated, a total expenditure of twenty-four million pounds during the years 1951 to 1956.

In the sphere of social advancement further steady progress can be claimed. The figures quoted in the relevant sections of the annual reports show the extent to which financial provision for the social service departments has been increased during recent years, and there has recently been a most welcome



improvement in the position in regard to the recruitment of qualified staff. Further considerable increases in establishment are planned, but this raises its own complications. There are already difficulties in connexion with housing, water supplies and so on, and it is necessary to keep the recruitment of new staff as far as possible in line with the Territory's capacity to provide accomodation and other essential amenities. In the case of the medical and public health services the Territory is still a long way from the achievement of its objectives but progress is being made and with further improvement in the staff position, the rate of expansion and development will accelerate. As regards other aspects of social advancement, the Council will have noted the establishment of a Social Development Department and the good start made with the inauguration of a probation service.

In regard to labour the improvements in working conditions noted in previous years have continued during the period under review, and on the whole industrial relations have remained very satisfactory. The years 1949 and 1950, however, provided an object lesson for a country largely dependent on an unstable labour force. In 1949, when, as the result of the drought, harvests were poor in many parts of the Territory, there was a plentiful supply of labour. In 1950, when harvests were good, food supplies plentiful and economic crops available for sale at high prices, there was a general shortage of labour. Such fluctuations and uncertainties in the labour supply not only present a serious problem to established industries but cannot be without their effect on the implementation of the Territory's general development programme. The plain truth is that conditions in Tanganyika are such that only a very small proportion of the able-bodied male population is dependent on regular employment for its living, and for as long as these conditions endure so will the uncertainties of the labour supply continue. The problem of stabilization and rationalization of the labour force is an urgent one, but it is not one which offers prospects of an easy or rapid solution.

As members of the Council will have noted, there has been further expansion of co-operative activities and the increasingly important part which these activities are playing and will play in the economic advancement of the people is recognized by the expansion of the Co-operative Development Department and the provision being made for the training of staff.



The period under review has seen further progress in implementation of the ten-year plan for African education, with considerably increased financial provision and an appreciable strengthening of the staff position, but here again much still remains to be done. It has for some time been clear that the original plan required recosting in the light of increased salaries, the sharp rise in building costs and other factors affecting the estimates. This was done during 1950 and the opportunity was taken for the Director of Education to review the whole plan and to make recommendations for speeding up the rate of progress. Copies of the revised plan, at present under consideration by the Administering Authority, are included with the 1950 Annual Report. As will be seen, the new proposals, which place emphasis on teacher training, technical training and female education, involve a very considerable further increase in expenditure. The carrying out of the revised programme will make an important contribution to the continuing efforts to accelerate the speed and expand the scope of educational advancement, but it is not claimed that the new plan, any more than its predecessor, provides the complete answer to the problem. The truth of the matter, as was once again pointed out in the foreword to the 1949 report, is that in the face of an increasing population and the need to maintain a proper balance between expenditure on education and that on other essential public services, educational facilities provided by the State will continue for some time to fall short of the Territory's full requirements.

As regards technical training an important development is the transfer of the Government training school from Mgulani, near Dar es Salaam, to Ifunda in the Southern Highlands Province, where the Government has taken over the Overseas Food Corporation's training centre. As the first step towards the provision of adequate training facilities in the Territory, the centre at Ifunda is now in process of being built up to its capacity of five hundred students. Proposals for further expansion of training facilities are contained in the revised educational plan, and the Council will doubtless also have noted with interest the projected establishment of a Natural Resources School.

Most of the matters on which I have touched have at different times been given special consideration by this Council and by the General Assembly and have formed the subject of a number of conclusions and recommendations. These have

engaged the close attention of the Administering Authority and a summary of the position and the action taken is contained in Section K (paragraphs 743-770) of the 1950 report.

In these few comments I have refrained from dealing with any points of detail. If my previous experiences as a Special Representative are anything to go by, I shall be given ample opportunity of doing so when the time comes for me to attempt to answer questions posed by members of the Council. For the present may I end with just a word about the future by repeating what has already been said in the last paragraph of the report for 1950. For Tanganyika the future is bright with promise but this does not provide its people or its Government with any grounds for complacency. Much yet remains to be done, many difficulties have still to be overcome, and there is need for still greater efforts on the part of all who look forward to the achievement of the ultimate objectives of the Charter.

Here I should like to quote the final words of the Governor of the Territory when he addressed the last Budget Session of the Legislative Council. After reviewing the affairs of the Territory and the work already accomplished, he spoke of the future in these words:

"We must go forward clearsightedly and with steadfastness, and we must not be deviated from our course by false doctrines, misguided notions or selfish considerations. We must all work to make this great Territory a fit place in which the various races who inhabit it can live side by side in harmony, happiness and prosperity."

That is the goal which Tanganyika has set itself: the fulfilment, in fact, within its own borders of the precepts and principles to which all Members of the United Nations have subscribed. For my own part, I have no doubt that this goal will continue to be kept steadfastly in view. But the Trusteeship Council will soon have an opportunity of forming its own judgment on much more substantial evidence than my personal expression of confidence. In the very near future, we shall welcome to Tanganyika another -- the second -- Visiting Mission. We shall be privileged to show them as much of the Territory and its people as the time at their disposal permits, and the members of the Mission will be able to make a first-hand assessment of past progress, the present position and our future prospects.

The PRESIDENT: If any representative now wishes to ask questions relating to the political advancement of Tanganyika, I should be glad if he would proceed so to do.

Sir Carl BERENDSEN (New Zealand): There seems to be the usual reluctance in the Council to take a dip. With my usual want of discretion, I propose to rush in where, apparently, the angels fear to tread.

I have a few questions -- none of any particular importance -- which I should like to address to Mr. Lamb. I repeat what I said in reference to the previous report which we were considering: I ask these questions with no implication of criticism whatsoever. They are asked purely to elicit information for my own benefit and, I hope, for the benefit of other members of the Council. And, if I may, I should like to take the opportunity of welcoming Mr. Lamb

back to this table, with which he is so familiar and where on many occasions we have had the privilege of listening to his wisdom.

Now, I observe from paragraph 134 of the report -- and I refer throughout to the 1950 report -- that an advance towards popular representation has been recorded. I wonder whether the Special Representative could give us -- in whatever detail he thinks proper and possible -- some additional information on how these elections have been carried out. It is always a most difficult thing to institute elections in a politically backward country. If the Special Representative could help us by giving a description of the methods which were adopted, I am sure it would be interesting and valuable.

Mr. LAMB (Special Representative): The question is partly answered by the questioner's description of the difficulty of introducing methods of election amongst such people as we have in Tanganyika -- backward in some ways, largely illiterate. The difficulty of introducing such a system of election indicates the difficulty I may have in attempting to explain how it is done. To give the Council full details would take, I am afraid, rather a long time.

The various tribes have their own methods of dealing with these things. The one method they do not have, of course, is the one which we have introduced into what we regard as more advanced societies: the ballot box. They have not yet come to that, and they do not quite believe in the efficacy of such systems. They have their own methods. The most general one is what we often describe as election by popular acclaim. It starts at the lowest level in the local government set-up, which would be a village council or the council for a small rural area. There may be any number of candidates seeking election to such a body. In some cases, the process of election may be little more than one in which the candidates pass before the assembled village and the one who gets the most shouts and applause is elected, and, conversely, the one who gets the most boos or hisses obviously retires very quickly. In other cases, candidates stand in different positions. Those in favour of a candidate take up a position behind him. Then, there is a count, and the candidate who has the largest number of people standing behind him is elected. There have been other cases where each candidate has chosen a certain tree, and his supporters <sup>have</sup> taken up places under his tree.

There may be innumerable methods of election. The point, however, is that each village or small rural area chooses its own method of electing its own representatives. We do not lay down for them any rules and regulations for these things. We say, "You have a village council to which there are to be elected ten or twelve -- whatever the number may be -- members. Now, proceed in your own way to choose your own representatives."

Sir Carl BERENDSEN (New Zealand): I think that that is surely a very valuable description of the beginnings of an electoral system in such a community.

I should like to ask one further question. How do the authorities know who has been chosen in these individual ways? Who is the returning officer who informs the authorities of the choice?

Mr. LAMB (Special Representative): That depends, of course, on the nature of the particular council. If it is a village council, then it is to the village headman that the reports are taken, and he knows who has been elected. If it is a larger council, the reports may be made to the sub-chief or the chief. In the case of a district council, it may be to the District Commissioner himself that reports are made, through the native authorities, as to the names of those elected to the council.

Sir Carl BERENDSEN (New Zealand): Does this system work reasonably satisfactorily? Are there no contentions as to whether such and such a person was duly chosen and whether it should not have been Jones or Robinson -- or something of that kind?

Mr. LAMB (Special Representative): I should not like to say that such contentions would never arise. They might well arise, but there again I think we should have only one answer: "You set out to have your own elections, which seem to have gone wrong somewhere. You had better start all over again and have another election and put things right."



Sir Carl BERENDSEN (New Zealand): May I ask -- and the question may be premature -- whether any steps are in contemplation to provide an unofficial majority on the Legislative Council?

Mr. LAMB (Special Representative): Yes, it is a matter to which considerable thought has been given and about which there has been a fair amount of discussion at various times. I cannot yet say what is going to happen because the report of the Constitutional Development Committee is still being considered by His Majesty's Government. I do not know quite what is going to be contained in that report or what will be the decision of the Administering Authority in regard to it. At any rate, it was expected at one time that one of the first steps in our constitutional development would be that regarded by many of us as a natural evolution or change-over from an official majority to an unofficial majority.

Perhaps I may be permitted to go rather beyond the question asked by the representative of New Zealand, because I have a written question from another delegation, a question which I saw this morning, rather on the same subject. The delegation in question had noted that, when discussing in this report the preliminary activities of the Constitutional Development Committee, it was remarked that there was a sort of general expression of opinion -- in some parts of the Territory, anyway -- asking that, whatever else happened, we should retain the official majority in the central legislature.

To some of us who have lived for a good many years in Tanganyika, that was a matter of considerable interest. I was not a member of the Constitutional Development Committee, and I did not travel around with its members. I therefore have no details of any reasons, and so on, that may have been given to that Committee.

In my own conversation, however, and in very simple language, the answer I got was this: "We often have grouses against our Government. We often criticize the Government. We sometimes do not agree with what it does. But, on the whole, we trust those Government and official representatives. They are fairly honest men and, for one thing, they have no axe to grind."

In other words, there are still sectional interests under the surface, and many of the people who have expressed this opinion -- particularly some of the minorities -- have thought that, to avoid these factions and frictions and sectional interests warring against one another, the best thing for the safeguarding of their interests is the maintenance of an official majority in the Legislative Council. How long that will last and whether that will



the outcome, is another matter.

Sir Carl BERENDSEN (New Zealand): I thank the Special Representative. There are some very interesting thoughts in what he has said and some conclusions which, of course, would give rise to a great deal of debate if this were the time to enter into such debate. Possibly we had better leave it until later on.

Of course, the provision of an unofficial majority is a most fundamental step. It is a most difficult thing to decide the moment when that is proper and safe. And yet we must all recognize that, without some such step, there can be no progress toward self-government.

I have often heard British officials described -- I am using the term "British" in its widest sense, and I can speak as a British official -- as "dumb but honest", and there is a great deal to be said for that characterization.

I have noticed that there is a very considerable alien community in Tanganyika, and I should be grateful for anything the Special Representative can tell us as to the relations of these various alien communities amongst themselves and with the indigenous population.

Mr. LAMB (Special Representative): At the risk of sounding boastful, may I say that we in Tanganyika are rather proud of the relations between the various sections of the community. They have their little differences of opinion from time to time but, on the whole, they do get on pretty well together. There is growing more and more, from day to day, a realization in the minds of thinking members that "we are here, we have to get along together, we have to live together and work together; let us learn to play together and enjoy life together and make things go together and make a success of this country."

Many of the members of those races, although not indigenous Africans, were born in Tanganyika. Amongst ourselves, I claim the title; I have been there thirty-four years and I call myself a Tanganyikan -- and they call me one, too. That is the basis on which we are trying to build up a harmonious community, made up of various nationalities and races, in Tanganyika.

Sir Carl BERENDSEN (New Zealand): . It is very encouraging and very cheering to hear that, because so often the story is exactly to the contrary.

I note with considerable satisfaction that there has been a large increase, comparatively a very large increase, in the number of Africans employed in the Administration, and I should be glad if the Special Representative could give us some details as to the degree of responsibility of the posts that have been filled in that way by Africans.

Mr. LAMB (Special Representative): I must say that at present the vast majority of the indigenous Africans in government service hold comparatively subordinate positions as clerical and other staff. The increase is partly due to the natural increase and expansion of Government activities, which require larger staffs in all departments and in all directions. It has been explained in previous reports, and it is mentioned in the 1950 report, that when the civil service of the Territory was reorganized into its junior and senior sections, provision was made for promotion from the junior to the senior sections of the service, not on racial grounds, but purely on grounds of personal qualifications. As indigenous Africans or, indeed, members of other races, become qualified technically and professionally or in any other way necessary, they will have the same access to the senior service as anyone else.

The truth is, of course, that we still have a comparatively small number of indigenous Africans who have obtained the necessary professional or technical qualifications to enable them to enter the senior branches of the service, but as time goes on and professional and technical facilities increase and we are able to place more of the Africans in training for such posts, so will the number in the senior service increase.

Sir Carl BERENDSEN (New Zealand): We all realize, of course, that progress is necessarily slow, and I suppose we all equally appreciate the fact that it is not only the number of posts that are made available to the indigenous community, but the degree of authority and responsibility attaching to those posts that is important to the objectives we all have in view.

I observe from paragraph 144 of the Report that the first aim of the policy for the development of the council system is the separation of judicial from executive functions. I think we can all agree with that as a very proper aim, and we note that considerable progress towards this end has already been made in the new tribal constitutions of Rungwe and North Mara. Could the Special Representative give us some details as to how this separation was achieved in these two areas?

Mr. LAMB (Special Representative): In the areas particularly mentioned, the transition is from the individual native authority to a council. The normal council consists of a certain number of nominated members of the executive of the

native authority and a number of elected commoners, representatives of the people. The process is to divest the individual native authority of certain of its powers and to pass them on to a committee composed partly of officials and partly of elected representatives. In some of the areas they have gone a step further and they have appointed court-holders. In both Rungwe and North Mara they have appointed three court-holders who are paid by the native administration. We should call them magistrates. They hold courts and they are paid magistrates. They are chosen, of course, by the native authorities because they are well versed in native law and custom and so on.

In another part of the Territory, not mentioned in this paragraph but one of importance, the Chagga have adopted another system. They are in the process of appointing a deputy to each chief. The chief himself retains the ordinary executive responsibilities and functions, and his deputy becomes the head of the court and holds the court.

Therefore, it will be seen that there are three systems. There is the system of the Council taking over the powers and holding its courts, the system of paid magistrates, court-holders as they are called, appointed by the native authority and paid by them, and the third process of appointing a deputy to the chief who takes on his shoulders the judicial responsibilities.

Sir Carl BERENDSEN (New Zealand): I wonder whether Mr. Lamb could give us some fuller information on the findings of the Constitutional Development Committee, referred to in paragraph 159 and the following paragraphs, particularly with regard to the Committee's request that the "further development of provincial councils on the present model should be held up pending completion of its investigations and deliberations." Could some explanation be given of that?

Mr. LAMB (Special Representative): As I have remarked, the Constitutional Development Committee's report is not yet available. It is still under consideration by the Administering Authority, but we expect it to be published at an early date. Therefore, I cannot give the representative of New Zealand details either on what is in that report or on what the decisions of the Administering Authority will be, but the request that no further action should be taken with regard to provincial councils is made largely on geographical grounds. Mr. Laurentie was in Tanganyika three years ago and the members of the visiting mission will be visiting us this year. Mr. Laurentie found, as the visiting mission will find,

that whereas the Great Lake Province covers a vast area of the country and contains one-third of the population of the Territory, tucked away in the centre of the country is the Central Province, much smaller in area with a more sparse and much less population. The Tanga Province is only the size of some of the large districts in other provinces.

The request was made because of geographical considerations, and it was thought that as the basis on which we should set up regional councils -- they are something above the district councils -- the present geographical division of the Territory was not on the right lines and that, whereas one province might be a suitable unit for a council, in another case we might want to combine two provinces or to alter the boundaries to conform with the requirements of the council system.

Sir Carl BERENDSEN (New Zealand): It is obviously a mechanical problem.

I have one final question on the political aspect. I note from paragraph 162 of the report that, in most areas, the people would have little difficulty in securing the removal of the chief, if they made up their minds to do so. I would not doubt that statement, but I would like to ask the Special Representative two questions about it. The first question is this: can any example be given of tribal chiefs who have been removed from office?

Mr. LAMB (Special Representative): I am not sure that I can give an example at the moment. I am a bit out of touch with such details. I can think of two chiefs who have decided that it would be a good thing to resign, which comes to the same thing, and who have abdicated because the people had shown that they wanted <sup>a</sup>change of native authority. But I cannot at the moment think of one who has been deposed solely for that reason. They have been for other reasons.

Sir Carl BERENDSEN (New Zealand): How, in such a contingency, would the people go about getting a chief who had lost their confidence out of office? What means are at their disposal to that end?

Mr. LAMB (Special Representative): I think the means would be easily found, varying a little according to the conditions in the part of the country in which the people lived. If, for example, a chief who was a member of a Council became unpopular and his people wished to be rid of him and have another chief, their first step would, of course, be to make representations to the Council of which that chief was a member. In other circumstances, if the chief was an independent native authority, not a member of a Council to which the people could appeal, they would doubtless make their representations direct to the District Commissioner, the administrative officer in charge of their area.

Sir Carl BERENDSEN (New Zealand): In such a case, would the District Commissioner have the authority to remove a chief, if he decided that was the desirable thing to do?



Mr. IAMB (Special Representative): To answer that question, I have to make one point which has often been made. In the system as it applies in Tanganyika, the Government does not appoint the chiefs. The chief is selected, chosen, whatever word you wish to use, by the people themselves in their own way. For example, after the death of a chief, when a new chief has been chosen, he is produced to the District Commissioner as the chief chosen by the people to succeed the late chief. Unless there is any serious reason for doing otherwise, that chief is then recognized by the Government and, for purposes of the Native Authority Ordinance, declared to be the native authority. He then has the executive and judicial powers conferred by that Ordinance.

16

If the people brought a case against a chief and asked for his removal, and they showed sufficiently good reasons for wishing to be rid of this chief and to have a new one, the only thing that the Government has to do is to withdraw recognition of him. He then ceases to have any powers under the Native Authority Ordinance. He can no longer hold a court and he no longer receives any emolument from the native treasury.

Sir Carl BERENDSEN (New Zealand): I have no further questions. I am very grateful to the Special Representative.

The PRESIDENT: As no other delegation has any questions on political advancement, the Trusteeship Council may wish to adjourn now and reassemble at 2 o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

I should like to remind the Committee on Rural Economic Development that there will be a meeting tomorrow at 11 o'clock. I should like to remind the Committee appointed today on the Somaliland report of my suggestion that they should arrange among themselves, this evening, the time and place of their first meeting.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.