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Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Monday, 18 June 1956, at 2 p.m.

President:

Mr. ASHA

(Syria)

Examination of conditions in Somaliland under Italian  
administration [4e, 5, 16] (continued)

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( (71 p.) )

## EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN SOMALILAND UNDER ITALIAN ADMINISTRATION (T/L.670):

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY (T/1246, 1248, 1253) [Agenda item 4 (e)]
- (b) PETITIONS CIRCULATED UNDER RULE 85, PARA. 2, OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL (T/PET.11/L.18 to 24; T/COM.11/L.177) [Agenda item 5]
- (c) REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR THE TRUST TERRITORY OF SOMALILAND UNDER ITALIAN ADMINISTRATION (T/1245) [Agenda item 16]

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Holte Castello (Colombia), Mr. Salah (Egypt), and Mr. Baradi (Philippines), members of the Advisory Council for Somaliland, and Mr. Zedotti, special representative for the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration, took places at the Council table.

General debate (continued)

Mr. BARQUES (France) (interpretation from French): The members of the Trusteeship Council are fully aware that Somaliland has been living through the most important period of its political life since 21 November 1949, the day on which the United Nations General Assembly adopted the resolution whereby it recommended that this Territory should be placed under the International Trusteeship System for ten years, at the expiry of which it would become an independent and sovereign State. During the years that have elapsed since then the Italian Government, which was appointed as the Administering Authority, has very conscientiously carried out the task entrusted to it and so far has advanced along the lines laid down for it with great care and perseverance. Its task was, officially, to set up a legislative assembly as widely representative of the population as possible and to establish for the Territory a new political structure together with a new economic and social framework which would respond to the needs of the administration of a modern country.

In a word, the Territory has begun to live on modern democratic lines, and the population, which is traditionally attached to tribal forms of civilization, has begun to understand what modern democracy means. We must congratulate the Administering Authority for the work it has done in this connexion. No doubt its efforts will be continued, and the results so far obtained are extremely substantial and encouraging. They lead us to entertain the greatest hopes that very soon the Somali people will know how to live in the modern world.

(Mr. Barges, France)

The Trusteeship Council should, I believe, express its satisfaction at the interest which the Italian Government has devoted to the setting up of new institutions and the establishment of tranquil government, and at the efficiency with which the indigenous inhabitants are taking an ever-increasing role in the government of their country. In this connexion we cannot but be happy to note that the present state of affairs, which is so satisfactory, is the fruit of efficient collaboration between the Administering Authority and the representatives of the administered peoples. Neither has stinted any effort and both have received great help from the Advisory Council of the Trusteeship Council on Somaliland.

It would, however, be vain to close our eyes to certain problems which have not so far been solved. Under the best of conditions Somaliland is now facing the last period before its independence, but we know very well that this stage of the road will be extremely difficult too. It is, therefore, up to this Council and to the Administering Authority to solve those problems if we want to see achieved the aims which have been set forth, and if, also, we want to see the country put in possession of all the necessary means to enable it to live an autonomous and sovereign life.

We know that the period between now and 1 January 1960 will be one of transition and adaptation. A very important first step has already been taken in the setting up of an elected Assembly with wide legislative powers and the establishment of a Somali Government. It would, I am afraid, be premature to pass final judgment on an institution that is as new as this, but at first sight it appears that the representatives of the population have realized the role that they will have to play in the preparation of their country and in the guiding of public affairs. Perhaps the ordinances establishing the Assembly and setting forth its powers did not take account sufficiently of the need for a specific delimitation of the powers of the legislature and those of the executive authority.

According to the Trusteeship Agreement, the Administering Authority has to assume certain responsibilities, and these have to be accounted for to the United Nations General Assembly. This entails delicate co-ordination, but with its usual perspicacity the Administering Authority will know full well how to fulfil this task, with the co-operation of the representatives of the population. But however that may be, my delegation feels that the limitation of the two fields -- the

(Mr. Barges, France)

legislature on the one side and the executive power on the other -- will be fully understood when the Legislative Assembly has acquired sufficient experience and has stretched its wings sufficiently under the present system, which is supported by the Administrator and by the Assembly. We feel that unless this limitation of powers exists some confusion will arise.

It must be recognized that as far as the population is concerned attachment to a certain religious belief has certain civil connotations, but the persistence of nomadism or semi-nomadism in the Territory is an obstacle to the rapid setting up of the structure of a modern state as well as to the application of certain measures of a democratic nature. Prudence is required in this matter and, without losing sight of the goal to be achieved, we must not in any way hurt the feelings of the majority of the population. Although, from the Western point of view, this may seem rather difficult, it is important for the Administering Authority, for instance in relation to electoral questions, to have admitted that at least in the first stage universality of suffrage could not be granted and that women could not be allowed to vote for the time being, the votes being taken in a specific way in accordance with tribal custom. This is so because it is the first stage and because the people are being educated gradually, but in due course this system also will be brought up to date.

But it is not in the political field that we see the most important obstacles. We must not forget that there can be no true political independence without economic independence. The imbalance of the balance of payments and the constant deficit in the budget of the public services place the Territory in a chronic position of inferiority and difficulty. At the present time Somalia does not suffer, not even in appearance, because the budget balance is guaranteed through the generous assistance of the Italian Government. Up to 31 December 1955, the contribution of the Administering Authority to civil and military expenditures amounted to 45,234 million lire, or \$73 million. This is a considerable sacrifice for the Italian budget. I do not think that I am underestimating the situation when I state that it must only be a temporary solution. The only real solution is a rapid increase in production.

The fulfilment of plans of economic development in the Territory are being carried out satisfactorily. We trust that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development will be able soon to carry out investments in the Territory. It is no less necessary, however, to examine seriously all the different aspects of the question. The population must realize that together with political autonomy come certain sacrifices and obligations, which have to be met in order to safeguard that autonomy and independence.

Legislation on fiscal matters, which is too primitive at the moment, will have to be reviewed and revised if the Territory is to achieve full economic independence. A strict austerity programme will have to be set up and, if necessary, the public services will have to be changed. The leading of a people to political independence must be linked to a similar programme on the administrative level, the economic level, the financial level and the fiscal level as well.

In the past the Administering Authority has given sufficient proof of its wisdom and energy so that the Trusteeship Council may place its trust in it. The presence here in the Council chamber of the representatives of the Legislative Assembly, who have already been welcomed by all of us, is sufficient guarantee that the indigenous population is being given constantly increasing participation in the government of the Territory. Furthermore, the reports of UNESCO, the Secretariat, the Advisory Council and the Visiting Mission have been extremely useful in enabling the Trusteeship Council to realize the complex problems inherent in the administration of a great territory.

To the substantive statements that have been made by the Administrator of Somaliland and by the representatives of the Legislative Assembly, we must add all the other remarks that were made here and the answers that were given by the special representative, who has replied to our questions with his usual courtesy and helpfulness. All of these statements have given us extremely valuable information. My delegation wishes, therefore, to express its gratitude to these representatives for all the assistance that they have given to the Trusteeship Council in its consideration of the present item.

Mr. FORSINVILLE (Haiti) (interpretation from French): At the end of last year I stated that my delegation expressed its satisfaction at the action of the Administering Authority in having a Somali representative included in its delegation so that we could be further assisted in our debates. This year our satisfaction was even greater when we saw that the Italian delegation included such eminent representatives as the Prime Minister of Somaliland, the President of the Legislative Assembly, the Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly as well as its Secretary. In other words, it is the staff of the Government that is represented here. The Trusteeship Council has unanimously expressed its satisfaction at seeing these representatives present. We must also, however, congratulate the Administering Authority as well as those elected representatives, for the Administering Authority has been able to fulfil the desire that we ourselves expressed.

Article 25 of the Trusteeship Agreement states that eighteen months before the expiration of the Trusteeship Agreement the Trusteeship Council should be presented with a regular plan for the transference of government from the Administering Authority to the indigenous population. The Italian Administration, however, has gone one step further. Let us therefore pay our tribute to the Italian Administration and to the people of Somaliland who have already taken this great step in their political life.

Having made this statement, I think it would be appropriate to consider certain other aspects of the situation. We have had a lengthy debate and an extremely interesting discussion of this item. Certain things that we felt were wrong will be corrected, I am sure, in the course of the evolution of the Territory. My delegation feels that much has been done and we do not share the views of some who are somewhat pessimistic. We, for our part, have been as objective as possible on this question.

I should like to mention one question, namely the statistics in connexion with the electors. I believe that the Administering Authority is as conscious as we are of the inadequate system of elections that exists. The shirs, for example, favour the multiple inclusion of names covering large parts of the nomadic population which cannot be counted by the Administering Authority. I question such a system in which the elected persons may be able to manipulate the wishes of the thousands of people for whom they vote. No matter where people come from, they require their own representatives. Some system should be adopted with regard to elections and, in particular, with regard to those that are to take place in 1958. We hope that suffrage will be direct throughout the Territory by individual votes.

There is also the question of the representation of foreign groups in the Legislative Assembly. Ten seats are divided among the Italian, Arab, Indian and Pakistani groups, while representation was refused to the Eritrean-Ethiopian group. The reply of the Administering Authority on this point was rather clear, namely that the decision was taken by the members of the Territorial Council. My delegation asked a question concerning the criteria that were used in determining the distribution of seats given to foreign groups, but we did not receive an adequate reply. My delegation regrets that on this point the Administering Authority has followed the general practice of granting political rights to foreign groups living in the Trust Territory, and according to the same inadequate formula, if one considers the number of the members of these groups. There is one Somali seat per 14,000 people, one Arab seat per 7,500 people, one Italian seat per 1,125 people, and one Indian and one Pakistani seat per 500 people.

My delegation feels that this measure is all the more regrettable now that the country is about to achieve its independence. Normally the political staff should be set up as much as possible by national groups of Somalis. We do not believe that independence can be properly achieved or preserved if these ten seats are given to non-Somali inhabitants. It might be a painful task but it would nevertheless be a heroic gesture for the Somali people to realize that they themselves have to run their country. Either these ten representatives should be separated from their posts or the Somali Government should do what my country did when it achieved its independence, namely naturalize all foreigners in the country. In that way, the foreign groups would become Somali and would become members of the same family.

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

We have also referred to the responsibilities of the Ministerial Cabinet. It is obviously within the competence of each of the Ministers to consider certain aspects of the life of the Territory. That is why we discussed the powers reserved exclusively to the Administrator and the role of the Italian councillors.

As I indicated during the course of the question period, my delegation was sorry to see that the Administering Authority still reserves certain fields such as foreign relations, defence and so on, but as far as the Ministers of Somaliland were concerned I must say that the experience that they may achieve at this time in their lives is helpful, but I find that their true power is strictly limited. I asked whether the suggestions of the councillors were merely suggestions or whether they were obligatory on the Ministers. The reply of the special representative did not diminish my fears because the special representative said:

"The Law clearly stipulates that the councillor participate in the ministerial meetings but without the right to vote. This means that the councillor of a Minister merely has the right to advise the Minister but has no right to vote. The Government needs advisers. When a councillor gives his advice to a Minister outside of the cabinet, it is one thing, but if he gives that advice within the cabinet, it goes without saying that he does not have the right to vote in the ministerial Council. He is simply present at that meeting as the adviser to a Minister."

My delegation does not doubt that the Somali Government has need of councillors. We do not wish to criticize a measure which is imposed by circumstances. However, the special representative realizes, I am sure, that there is a substantial difference between an expert who "advises" the chief of a department and one who takes a direct part in the deliberations of the Ministerial Council even though he does not vote.

To conclude the political chapter, I should like once again to repeat the anxiety of my delegation with regard to the frontier question. Each day that passes shows that there is more and more difficulty in this problem. The feeling remains with us that many cares threaten the tranquillity of the coming Somali State.

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

We will not dispute with those who think there is reason for satisfaction that the delegations of the parties concerned can proceed to meet, to quote an extract from a joint communique read here twice, "to an exchange of views in a friendly atmosphere despite the difficulties underlying the settlement of this old and complicated frontier problem and have achieved substantial agreement on fundamental points."

My delegation listened very carefully to the statements made here by the President of the Legislative Assembly which expressed some concern with the progress achieved. The President of the Legislative Assembly could really not ignore the existence of the communique to which we referred. He told us that he was speaking to us in the same way that he did two years ago. He did not hesitate to suggest that mediation and arbitration were being considered according to the resolution of 1950. My delegation also noted the last statement made by the representative of Italy in which he told us:

"The Italian Government is fully aware of the need to solve the question of the frontiers as soon as possible .... together with whatever measures may regulate the political situation and taking account of its responsibilities to Somaliland and its relations with Ethiopia. I wish to add the my Government drew the attention of the competent Ethiopian authorities to this question."

We are now awaiting the report that we hope will be submitted to the next session of the General Assembly on this question.

The economic future of the Territory is still a subject of great concern. It could not be otherwise if we take into account all the elements of information that we have before us, and we have to stress that we do not foresee any immediate and considerable increase in the resources of the Territory. This should be forthcoming to compensate for the gradual withdrawal of the Administering Authority. Last year, our hopes were centred on a visiting mission of the International Bank. The Mission went to the Territory and we are awaiting its report, which will permit us to orient our observations correctly.

The delegation of Haiti is still of the opinion we expressed last time, and I quote it:

"Although the aid of the International Bank is desirable, the Haitian delegation feels that the Administering Authority should continue resolutely with its own means to apply and implement the plans already prepared.

"There are two reasons for this. One is a practical one and the other a psychological one. Under the present circumstances, we have to take full account of concrete facts. They will no doubt lead to the setting up of confidence both inside and outside the country. The rest will come later.

"At the same time, we have to avoid lulling the people of Somaliland with false hopes by making them believe that aid and help, if not forthcoming, means there is no future for them .... "

The Administrator told us that the Legislative Assembly should consider the preparation of a budget as its first task, taking into account what that budget will be in 1960. One of its principal duties should be the balancing of the budget, and there are two means envisaged: levying of new taxes and categorical refusal to increase wages, salaries and indemnities.

We were told by the representative of India that nobody is happy to have taxes increased. It is true that it would be preferable for a sovereign Somali Government not to have to consider that problem at all. We agree with that because no matter how bitter the pill is it has to be administered, and it has to be given when the person is sick. At the moment Somaliland is an invalid and the bitter pill must be administered.

There is another thing which concerns my delegation and it is the overdue revision of salaries and wages. Everything indicates that reductions are going to be given to the Somali personnel. Mention has been made of a reduction of 1 per cent in 1956 compared to 1955 for that type of personnel. The special representative told us that as far as the non-Somali personnel were concerned no reduction was envisaged. We know that you cannot expect a foreign expert, like an immigrant, to work for a rather low salary. There are many valid

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

reasons, but then there is also another question that must be taken into account, and the Administering Authority knows this better than anyone, the question of maintaining numerous foreign personnel paid for by the Territory's budget.

We recommend, as we did last year, that the list of non-Somali experts be drastically revised, that expenditures be reduced by taking into account: the strictly essential character of the personnel employed, cutting to the bone of staff, and if possible the replacement by Somalis of foreign personnel.

We cannot refrain from referring to the rumours that we have heard, and I hope our Italian friends will excuse us for speaking of it, but I refer to the rumour that the Italians intend to withdraw from Somaliland before the end of the Trusteeship Agreement. The declarations made by the representatives of the Administering Authority at the present session of the Council have, I am sure, dissipated all doubts, if anyone had any doubts in mind on that point. My delegation continues to feel this year a certain concern with regard to the reticence shown and the confirmation given in paragraph 78 of the report of the Advisory Council. The Chairman of that Council explained the scope of that paragraph to us and we received an answer from the Administering Authority, but it does not really reply to the question. The special representative told us:

"As far as the commitments for future contributions of the Italian Government to Somaliland are concerned, there is one thing that has to be solved by the Italian Parliament, the sovereign body in the matter."

Obviously the Parliament is sovereign in the matter, but we must also try to determine the intentions of the Administering Authority regarding the economic values and also the savings that will be achieved by cutting military expenditures in the Territory. When the economy is a primitive one, savings on military expenditures are extremely important.

In the social field much has to be done. We have to take into account the difference in the level of life in the different communities. Society is not static but dynamic, and the people who compose it act and react perpetually on themselves in the struggle they make towards a better standard of living.

We do not have any concrete experience with regard to what is called "nomadism". We only have an intellectual understanding of it. We do not see how and to what point the desire for the wanderlust comes from the inside of a person or from the necessity imposed by the desire to earn a living, or whether it is an essentially subjective phenomenon or imposed by circumstances. I do not know if there is a born nomad or farmer or whether there is a born lawyer or doctor. Very often a profession is the result of a chain of circumstances that have been imposed upon a person. One therefore can wish only one thing, that the Somali authorities use all possibilities, implement all possibilities for the different elements of the population to open all possible means of earning a living to all the different elements of the population, an immense and complex task for which it must receive all the necessary international aid and co-operation, in order that the nomads may be permitted to set up their homes in one place, which would be a great advantage for the Trust Territory, especially as it is about to become independent.

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

Therefore, we have to consider that not 200, not 100, and not even fifty years stand ahead of us. Technology has today created a new type of greatness in the world hierarchy, but at the same time it has also imposed upon it the concept of the interdependence of peoples and the solidarity of human adventures, perhaps to avoid catastrophe, perhaps to face it. Let us express the hope that little by little man will overcome his dizzy ambitions and that little by little Somaliland will receive the aid that it needs to resolve its problems.

In conclusion, I should like to make a few comments on the question of language. We know that it is for the people of Somaliland to take the final decision on this point, but, nevertheless, we may ask, with all due respect to the President of the Legislative Assembly, whether the refusal to adopt a written form of Somali language is a decision that has been sufficiently weighed. We do not quite understand the argument that was raised with regard to foreign affairs. I do not think that either Italian or Arabic would ever be done away with altogether. Somali is spoken by the majority of the population, and Arabic and Italian by a minority. Arabic and Italian are languages of culture, but who could say that written Somali would not do just as well?

We feel that it is dangerous to ignore or overlook the language that is spoken by the majority of the population. We feel that the view of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization on this question should be carefully pondered. The people will remain attached to the living language, and, as Somaliland becomes consolidated, it will also want its own language, in spite of the fact that the oligarchy might adopt a different language. Two years ago, when my delegation took part in this discussion, we understood that the difficulties that were raised on this question were political and religious. Two systems of alphabets were proposed, one of Osmani characters and one of Latin characters. The Latin alphabet was not successful, nor was the Osmani alphabet. We suggested then that the Arabic alphabet might be considered for the Somali language. We renew our suggestion, addressing our words now to the representatives of the Somali people who are listening to us.

(Mr. Dorsinville, Haiti)

These were the remarks my delegation felt impelled to make at the present session of the Trusteeship Council. We trust that the Administering Authority will not feel hurt because we have spoken as we have. My delegation renews its congratulations to the Administering Authority for the efficient measures it has taken to lead the people of Somaliland to ultimate independence. We express our warmest hopes for the future of Somaliland, and we congratulate the elected representatives of the Somali Legislative Assembly. We were happy to see them here.

Mr. GRUBYAKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Soviet delegation considers that the item we are now discussing is one of the most important problems figuring on the agenda of this session of the Trusteeship Council. The importance of this issue rests in the fact that Somaliland will have to be granted independence not later than 1960. Its people will then start off on their long awaited independent existence. The importance of this problem is also stressed by the fact that at this session of the Trusteeship Council elected representatives of the Somali people have been present.

Thus, the present time differs considerably from the time when the Trusteeship Agreement was signed. Therefore, the approach of the Trusteeship Council in discussing the problems of Somaliland under Italian administration must differ somewhat from its approach with regard to other Trust Territories. What is the difference? In our belief, the difference is that at this time the Administering Authority must to some extent change the principles which have governed its administration of the Territory in the past, for in the past the Administering Authority has exercised direct authority in the Territory, from major issues to minor issues.

At this point these principles must undergo a change, and they are undergoing a change. The Administering Authority, having supreme authority in the Territory and bearing international responsibility before the United Nations, to some extent will have to restrict its activities to observing and supervising the actions of the organs of administration that are set up by the indigenous inhabitants. For that reason, a conclusion comes to our mind. The consideration of the reforms carried out by the Administering Authority will also be analysed by us accordingly.

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

First of all, the Administering Authority went even further than was envisaged in the recommendations made at the last session of the Trusteeship Council in setting up a Legislative Assembly and a Council of Ministers in Somaliland. On the other hand, I think that in all objectivity we should give a more detailed consideration of some of the elements that characterize these State bodies.

The Legislative Assembly has sixty members, together with four representatives from the Italian group, four from the Arab group and one each from the Indian and Pakistan groups.

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

My delegation also has some misgivings about this representation, as was also pointed out by the representative of Haiti. These misgivings were already voiced at the last session of the Trusteeship Council and are as follows: First of all, our delegation bases itself on the principle that the interests of the national minorities should be upheld. They must be guaranteed. The national minorities must be treated in the same manner as the majority of the population. However, what we have in Somaliland is not national minorities in the direct sense of the word but persons who are not citizens of the Territory of Somaliland or of the Somali State. Therefore, there will immediately be a collision once Somaliland has been granted its independence.

With regard to non-citizens, one cannot, for instance, allow for their participation in the Parliament, in legislative councils, etc. If these persons were to become full-fledged citizens of the new State, then what we would have there is not so much a national representation but a representation that would reflect the numerical strength of the group, and therefore the new State would have to face this conflict immediately. If one cuts down on the rights of these people, then it would perhaps be infringing on the rights of these national minorities. If one wishes to uphold their rights, then one must reflect not only on the fact that they are a national minority but also that you need a numerical representation of these minority groups.

One may have an electoral district which sends a deputy to the Assembly, but one does not have such national minorities in national districts. They are just scattered throughout the Somaliland population.

The Administering Authority might find an opportunity, until 1960 or at least until the next elections, to review this situation so that the new Somali Government may not immediately be faced with a major difficulty the moment it has embarked upon the course of independence. However, the establishment of a legislative council is only one of the aspects. What is important is the rights and functions of this body. In the opinion of my delegation, the Administering Authority acted quite rightly in setting up the Legislative Assembly. On the other hand, it seems to be too cautious. I do not wish to imply that this is a token of distrust of the local population. My delegation believes, nevertheless, that this approach is a somewhat too cautious one.

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

What is this approach? Until May of 1957 the Legislative Assembly can consider only such matters to which the Administration agrees. This applies not only with respect to May 1957, because, as we know, according to the law the sessions of the Legislative Assembly are held in April and in October. Therefore, until the month of October 1957, until the autumn session of the Assembly is called, members of the Council cannot raise any issue without the agreement of the Administration, even though such matters may be fairly insignificant, and may refer to domestic affairs.

According to article 5 of Ordinance No. 2, the Administrator can veto any draft bill. According to the article in Ordinance No. 1, if the Administrator desires it, he can dissolve the Assembly if he feels that the legislation which the Assembly is about to enact may be dangerous. It is true that the Administration has pointed out that this is the right which applies in many countries, including Italy. Nevertheless, the Administrator has too broad powers here, powers that are completely unrestricted.

It is possible that this measure will never be resorted to by the Administration. It is possible that it merely figures as a precautionary provision. However, one must place oneself in the position of the members of the Assembly over which such a sword of Damocles hangs. In other words, they must see to it that they do not act in such a way as to incur the wrath of the Administration. This restricts the activities of the members of the Legislative Assembly. Ordinance No. 1 -- and this was already stressed -- also provides for the rules of procedure of the Assembly. It is possible that during the first period of the existence of the Legislative Assembly, such detailed trusteeship regulation over its activities was called for, but once the Legislative Assembly had started to function, I think that it would be highly desirable to free it from this petty regulation of its activities. This would give the Assembly further freedom of action. It would encourage the initiative of its members; it would heighten the sense of responsibility of the members of the Assembly.

It is the belief of my delegation that a recommendation should be made to the Administering Authority to the effect that in accordance with the spirit of co-operation which has prevailed hitherto and in accordance with the spirit in which measures were taken last year to set up the Council of Ministers and the

Legislative Assembly, the Administering Authority should go further and take the next step that is required for the political development of the Territory, namely, to go into the problem of establishing the full competence of the Legislative Assembly in certain fields where the Assembly would be completely responsible for questions of domestic economy, domestic finance, public health, education, as well as all those matters dealing with land legislation and land tenure.

It is the belief of my delegation that the Legislative Assembly should have complete authority in all these matters. These matters deal with the domestic life of the Territory and the decisions on these problems which affect the domestic existence of the Territory cannot in any manner affect the way in which Italy is performing its functions as a trust Administration; neither can it in any way affect Italy's action with regard to other international responsibilities connected with its administration in the Territory.

With regard to executive authority, as we know, the Administration continues to deal with questions of foreign affairs, defence, personnel, economic planning and foreign trade. The Administrator appoints the Prime Minister and the advisers to each of the Ministers. These are also matters which cause some misgivings for my delegation. Since Italy is carrying out its responsibilities to the United Nations -- and these are international obligations -- then perhaps with regard to international affairs Italy is responsible as the administrator. On the question of defence, one could also say that Italy is duty bound to defend the Territory as a trusteeship. But when one goes into the problem of economic planning and foreign trade, and when one deals with such matters as administrative personnel, personnel employed in Somali institutions and in the administration, then I think that at this stage of the development of the Territory, the Italian authorities are perhaps assuming too much of a burden of responsibility, a burden of responsibility which the Legislative Assembly and the Council of Ministers could full well perform within their normal terms of reference. Of course, the Administering Authority could supervise these activities; it could control the activities and could give advice in the performance of these activities.

Speaking of advice, I should like to say something about the advisers. The Administrator appoints the Prime Minister and the advisers for each Minister. Although it is reasonable for the Administrator to appoint the Prime Minister, why does he also appoint the advisers, who participate without right of vote but are, nevertheless, attached to each Ministry? I imagine that there are plenty of experienced people in the Territory who could perform these functions, and when one remembers that in 1960 the Ministers will have to work without advisers, even if such advisers are needed at the present stage, at least they should be subordinate to the Ministers. If the Council of Ministers believes that, without the assistance of Italian experts, it is not possible to function, they could invite such experts to help them. It is not as if the Territory would be under trusteeship for another generation, or even for ten or fifteen years longer; the point is that the Territory will be independent in three years' time, and if it is necessary, up to the very last stage of the trusteeship, for every Minister and every Ministry to be subject to a sort of tutelage by a foreign expert, responsible to the Administration and not to the Council of Ministers, then I think that such advisers -- who may even be required after the Territory achieves its independence -- should be appointed by the Ministers and by those others who are responsible for these institutions. I do not believe that there is any justification for such tutelage in the Council of Ministers. After all, the Prime Minister and the Ministers are responsible to the Legislative Assembly; therefore, they should be fully responsible for their own administrative rights.

It would seem to me that the Administering Authority should also take a different view with regard to the establishment of district and municipal administrations. At this stage in the development of the Territory the whole question of district and municipal authorities should be transferred to the competence of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of Ministers of the Territory.

These are important problems, but they are problems which are essentially and completely domestic in character. There is no conflict of international responsibilities in this connexion. One whole chapter of the annual report is devoted to the Somalization of institutions, and it is said that even the postal officials in certain areas are selected from among the Somalis. I think that this is rather artificial because, in the so-called Somalization process, these matters need not be dealt with by the Administering Authority at all.

Furthermore, the local district and municipal authorities should be subordinate to the Legislative Assembly and the Council of Ministers. One might say a good deal against the fact that the Somali officials are appointed, that the mayors are appointed, but I think that, at this point, we would not be achieving our purpose if we criticized the Administering Authority in this connexion. We believe that this whole matter should be withdrawn from the purview of the Administration. I believe that the Administering Authority itself would be relieved to have such matters transferred to the Legislative Assembly and the Council of Ministers, which bodies are fully competent at this stage to decide matters of domestic administration.

This is all I wish to say about the political development of the Territory. I should like to pay tribute to the Administering Authority for having acted in the spirit of the times, but, at the same time, we must voice some misgivings with regard to certain steps which it has taken. We think that it should go even further and that both the fact that the Territory is about to achieve independence and the stage of development as it now stands require bolder steps to be taken.

The question of the economic development of the Territory is the cause of some concern in this Council. At the last session, as well as at the present one, we have drawn attention to the budget deficit, the unfavourable trade balance, and so on. These are remnants of the past colonial rule in the Territory. The land tenure contains both feudal and colonial traits. Foreign capital prevails in the remunerative fields of the Territory, which was formerly a colony and, although it has become a Trust Territory, it has not been able to free itself of these vestiges of colonialism.

At the fourteenth session of the Trusteeship Council, and also in the General Assembly, a decision was taken to send experts from the International Bank to the Territory. This decision was taken before there was either a Legislative Assembly or a Council of Ministers in the Territory, and if we consider the report of the International Bank, and that report alone, we shall be ignoring unjustifiably the opinions of the responsible institutions of the future State of Somaliland. Naturally, the economic situation of the Territory is of concern to those bodies which will remain in Somaliland after 1960 and which will be responsible for the administration of the Territory. Therefore, at this point,

Whatever the opinion of the International Bank -- which may or may not be good -- it is important to have the opinion of the Legislative Assembly, and not the opinion which we had before from the Territorial Council, which endorsed blindfold everything which was done or said by other reports. We should like to have this matter discussed objectively in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of Ministers. We can take all kinds of decisions here, but they will be carried out either by the Administering Authority or, after 1960, by the independent State of Somaliland. It is the opinion of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of Ministers which is of major importance at this stage in discussing any matters, especially those dealing with economic development. Therefore, if we adopt recommendations of this type, we shall be achieving some purpose only if such recommendations are dealt with in the period before 1960. All our recommendations may be a voice in the wilderness unless we take into account the opinions and the views of the Somali legislature and the Council of Ministers, or unless they are endorsed by these two bodies.

Some concrete elements in the development of the Territory call for comment. I shall not take up too much of the Council's time in this connexion, but I think that it is my duty to stress certain things.

Cattle breeding is prospering in the Territory, and the growth of cotton and bananas is also increasing. The processing of these resources, however, is not done within the Territory. If it were, it would increase not only the income of the Territory but employment as well. I am sure that that will be one of the first steps that the legislature and the Council of Ministers will take.

An important part can be played by mining. This may be one of the main sources of income of the future independent State of Somaliland. That is why my delegation pointed out at the last session, and we should like to stress again, that in regard to the future development of the economy of the Territory the Administering Authority should show a certain understanding of the needs and problems that will be faced by the population. My delegation has already pointed out that a few years ago the Administering Authority granted concessions for the prospecting for and the extraction of oil for a period of forty-five years to some foreign firms. Prospecting for oil, of course, is a good thing. It may assist in the development of the Territory. But at this point one should not bind the Territory to a commitment which is not endorsed by the legislature. We do not know what the Government in the future will think about the conditions of these concessions. Therefore, to grant a concession for forty-five years, which constitutes a commitment on the part of a population which is not yet responsible for its own affairs is in fact unjustified and may prejudice the interests of the local population.

I may point out that the Trusteeship Council at its last session asked the Administering Authority to submit information on this subject. The Administering Authority has refrained from carrying out this recommendation of the Trusteeship Council. A year has elapsed since then, and no further information has been received.

We think that such a step as the granting of long-range concessions should be carefully discussed in the Legislative Assembly and by the Government of Somaliland. Only when that Government is independent can it take sovereign decisions. You cannot draw upon the population a blank cheque the terms of which may be absolutely unacceptable to the free people of Somaliland. Anyhow, the future Government of Somaliland should not be overburdened by this commitment.

(Mr. Grubyakov, USSR)

I should like briefly to dwell on two further matters: public health and education. The past year did not see a deterioration in the health or educational fields. In both, there was some progress. But as in other matters one can find many reasons to criticize the Administering Authority. One can criticize it for not increasing the number of hospitals or the number of laboratories. Even though the number of schools has increased, the amount does not correspond to the needs of the Territory. As I said before, in this case these questions of public health and education, including their financing, should be transferred to the Legislative Assembly and the Council of Ministers. The Administering Authority can help as it sees fit, but it is the Somali administration which should be responsible for education and health matters. Thus less criticism would be aroused in respect of the Italian administration, and I am sure that the Territory as a whole will benefit from such a transfer of authority.

To sum up, my delegation deems it necessary to point out that it is very glad to see the representatives of the Somali people sitting alongside the representatives of the Administering Authority at this session. I should like to wish them further success in their activities in setting up an independent State of Somaliland.

Mr. MYA SEIN (Burma): We have learned much from the reports or observations of the Somali delegation, the Administering Authority, the Secretariat of this Council, the United Nations Advisory Council, the Visiting Missions, the specialized agencies concerned and last but not least the special representative, all of whom have played a fitting part in the spirit of Chapter XII of the Charter. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to them all. I have no doubt that when Trusteeship ends and autonomy and independence begin in Somaliland in 1960 the peoples of the United Nations will stand up and take note of the good work done.

I have listened with great interest to the statements made by the previous speakers. Like them, I shall now submit the views of my delegation, which may be influenced by the experiences of my country in its struggle for freedom, equality and democracy. My inspiration I shall draw from the Charter, which represents for each and all of us the conscience of the world.

(Mr. Mya Sein, Burma)

We see that much progress has been made in Somaliland. With honesty, we also see that Somaliland has still a long way to go. All in all, my delegation feels that now is the time to look forward, to take stock of current problems and to find their solutions in the hope of shaping a desired future. Accordingly, an objective study of reports and observations available to us poses certain shortcomings and problems. This statement should not be misconstrued to mean the belittling of efforts made and the progress achieved. On the contrary, it is a friendly reminder for a further intensification of efforts, with a view to fulfilling completely the aims of the trust and the hopes of the indigenous peoples.

I shall begin with the political field. In the matter of political institutions and governmental machinery, it is obvious that much ground has been covered. I bear in mind the peaceful elections, the Legislative Assembly and the rapid Somalization in the branches of Government. It is true, of course, that all this took place under the shadow of "reserved subjects", and the Administration veto. But then this is not considered to be contrary to the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement. There is, however, the responsibility for political advancement, to which my delegation attaches importance. By this I mean the political unity of Somaliland. I do not fully know what has been the psychological preparation of Somaliland by the Administering Authority, but one point seems clear. In the name of honouring local customs and traditions, serious omissions are evident. The highly important problem of tribal tensions and dangers flowing out of the allowed existence of a vague customary law, which is not even simplified, is the greatest setback to political advancement and unity. The dangers of this were visible in the indirect male electoral system applied through the tribal councils or shirs. This lack of conditions for political unity is a grave point and, in view of Article 76(b) of the Charter, it is a matter for concern.

Thus, while we see Somalization of the governmental machinery, we do not see a democratization of the electoral system -- a success side by side with a failure. It is, therefore, to be hoped that political division will give place to political unity by 1958, when another general election is due for the Legislative and Constituent Assembly. Direct universal adult suffrage is the answer.

Next to this problem of democratization, and of equal importance, is the frontier problem. No amount of argument can lessen the trust responsibility of returning to the Somali people a well-defined Somaliland in 1960. That is to say, an uncertain frontier in 1960 may mean a breach of trust under Chapter XII in general and Article 76 (a) in particular. I have yet to hear of burning problems of undemarcated frontiers contributing to international peace and security. This responsibility falls on the Administering Authority in the first instance, and on the United Nations in the final instance. I am convinced that the United Nations will treat the problem with deep concern. It is thus imperative that this frontier handicap be removed by 1960.

In passing, at any rate, I feel that regret should be expressed at the non-existence of a census of the Somali population. After many years of administration this is an unusual situation. When I learned about it for the first time it took my breath away. Notwithstanding the difficulties, the need of a census is clear -- the more so because of the transfer of power expected in 1960. And while I am on the subject of a census, I might also point out that it should go farther than the mere counting of heads. It should be comprehensive, taking account, for instance, not only of age, sex, race and religion but also of academic and vocational qualifications, experience, linguistic ability, aptitudes, income, and so on, in order that it might be of assistance in organizing national welfare activities.

I now turn to the economic field. I have stressed the need for a well-defined Somaliland in the political field. Now, in the economic field, I will stress the need for a solvent Somaliland in 1960. The difficulties of a solvent Somaliland relate to the domestic budget and the balance of payments. Should oil resources be discovered the economic position of Somaliland would, of course, improve. This apart, the difficulties are not insuperable, and plans are already taking shape in the form of development programmes, a new system of taxation, and so on.

While these are steps in the right direction, my delegation would like to point out the importance of formulating an equitable land policy with appropriate land legislation. This could pave the way to increased production in agriculture and the settlement of many nomads as well. On the other hand, the balance of trade position is likely to improve from efforts to secure new markets for primary products and from the establishment of processing industries. But this is not enough. In the interests of self-sufficiency a measure for controlling both imports and exchange may have to be introduced. Ways may also be found to save on shipping freight rates. The Somali Government might soon be able to organize banking and insurance, even if on a small scale. This rough catalogue of possibilities has just one aim -- namely, to mobilize the energies of Somaliland to render itself solvent by 1960.

Knowing as we do the limited material and manpower resources of Somaliland, the need for financial aid from outside is a foregone conclusion. What is pertinently important is that Somaliland should get a fair deal. In other words, Somaliland would have a better chance for a fair deal if financial aid could be received from or through the United Nations, because no strings would then be attached to its detriment. For this reason, long-term bilateral agreements, reached without the free consent of the Somalis before Somali sovereignty can find its feet in 1960, could be an act of harm. Thus I would welcome the expected aid from the International Bank meant for the development of Somaliland.

If I remember correctly, I was told by the special representative during the questioning period that there was no data relating to the per capita income of Somaliland. I shall not labour this point but shall only express the view that, in the light of development programmes, it is useful to have such data.

I shall now turn to the social and educational field. Here the position of women in Somaliland seems not to be satisfactory. While I am appreciative of the local customs, I could not help wondering if Article 76 (c) of the Charter must go unapplied. What has been done in other similarly placed countries which are already independent? I do not really know. The Somalis themselves will have to decide what is to be done. It is to be hoped, however, that fundamental freedoms and human rights will be taken into account when the constitution comes to be drafted in 1958 or 1959. In this connexion, franchise for women and equality of opportunity for both sexes are points worth considering.

I shall not dwell at all upon the official language of Somaliland or the need for labour legislation for the simple reason that the Council, at its sixteenth session, has already made suggestions on these points, and because, according to the assurance of the Administering Authority, certain steps will be taken in pursuance thereof.

I should point out, in the matter of public health, that there is again no data relating to the incidence of tuberculosis in Somaliland, although the incidence of the disease is felt to be very serious.

The position of public education in Somaliland is not too unfavourable by African standards. Here again, local custom is standing in the way of larger school attendance. This, in a sense, has led to the under-production of students fit for higher education, and the result is that there is no national university as such in Somaliland. I infer that this state of affairs also goes to explain the lack of newspapers, except for one the exact circulation of which nobody really knows.

That brings me to the end of my statement. On an overall consideration I would venture just one last opinion. If appropriate action could be taken in the aforementioned directions, then it would not be unduly optimistic to expect the success of the Trusteeship System. If, on the contrary, there is only perfunctory implementation without resolution and effectiveness, the story of the Trusteeship System and, along with it, the United Nations will have lost much of its lustre in the eyes of the world.

Mr. KIANG (China): I take great pleasure in speaking in the general debate on conditions on Somaliland in the presence of the President and Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly and the Prime Minister of the First Somali Government. It is my pleasant duty, on behalf of my delegation, to extend a hearty welcome to the representatives of the Somali people.

May I take this opportunity to say that China's position on the attainment by the Trust Territories of the objective of independence is positive and beyond any shadow of doubt. I must also point out that my Government has always attached importance to every provision of Article 76 of the Charter, and is fully aware of the primary task of the United Nations, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security. It is in the interest of the freedom-loving peoples of the

Trust Territories that there should be peaceful and orderly changes towards progress which leave no vacuum or anachronism behind.

My delegation has studied with care and interest the current annual report of the Administering Authority, together with the Advisory Council's report and the observations of UNESCO. We appreciate the elucidations which the special representative has patiently given in his replies to all the questions which my delegation has thought it necessary to ask.

(Mr. Kiang, China)

May I at the very outset express the hope of my delegation that in its relations with the Advisory Council, the Administering Authority will continue to observe the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement under which the Administering Authority has certain specific undertakings towards the Advisory Council.

It gives my delegation special satisfaction to observe that a vigorous stride has been made in the political advancement of Somaliland: the establishment of a Legislative Assembly in place of the Territorial Council and the inauguration of the first Somali Government. This is the most significant progress towards the objective of independence of the Territory. For this achievement, the Administering Authority should be commended for its good faith and farsightedness, and the members of the Advisory Council for their assistance. Above all, it is the Somali people who have, by their own exertion, made this progress possible.

I should like to express our full satisfaction, particularly at some of the words spoken by the President of the Legislative Assembly to the Trusteeship Council. Mr. Osman said:

"The conduct, evolution and outcome of the consultations in Somaliland for the formation of the new Legislative Assembly constitute cause for pride and honour for the Somali people, which has thus proven to the whole world its political and civic maturity." (T/PV.705, page 12)

Mr. Osman went on to say:

"We also would like to assure the Administering Authority that the Somalis have proven themselves worthy of the faith which has been placed in them. We find in that a new incentive to prepare ourselves for the assumption of the major responsibilities of the administration of the Territory." (Ibid.)

The order and security of a territory, essential to its economic and social development, are primarily guaranteed by the definite demarcation of its boundary. It is for this reason that my delegation has viewed with concern the direct negotiations on the question of the definite demarcation of the frontier between Ethiopia and Somaliland. Since the Governments of both Italy and Ethiopia are to report to the eleventh session of the General Assembly on this matter, we shall refrain from expressing any views now but will remind the Council of the measures foreseen in General Assembly resolution 392 (V) of 15 December 1950.

(Mr. Kiang, China)

With the establishment of the Legislative Assembly, the Somali people have assumed for themselves the legislative responsibilities and a more active role in the administration of their own affairs. The Legislative Assembly will certainly come to appreciate and realize the nature and dimension of the problems of the Territory. As I once called attention to the importance of the early submission of the draft legislation on the national status of the inhabitants, may I say that this legislation is a matter of great importance to which, we hope, the Legislative Assembly will give its prompt attention.

Now the Somali people have a Government of their own with definite responsibility. To enjoy the support and confidence of the Assembly, the political parties, to which credit is due for their conduct in the first elections, should send their men of integrity and competence, regardless of politics, to the Council of Ministers. The duty falls upon the political leaders of the Somali people to foster the political traditions and the constitutional development of the future independent Somali State.

In the constitutional development, a matter of major importance is the electoral law. In the light of the experience of the 1955 elections in the shirs, we feel that in the new electoral law safeguards should be devised with a view to eliminating possible irregularities in the general elections to be held in 1958. The electoral law may have to provide for a proper system of the registration of qualified voters of the rural and nomadic populations.

Another matter of importance to which the Administering Authority should give its immediate attention is the new plan of educational development to follow up the first five-year plan. We understand that Professor H. Grandjean had made an important contribution in the formulation and implementation of the first plan. It is also gratifying to know that Professor Grandjean will be further asked to help in the redrafting of the second plan. We hope that the new plan of educational development will soon be completed and put into execution without delay.

Mr. Anzilotti, the Administrator, has warned us that it seems unlikely that the Somali Government will succeed in balancing its ordinary budget by 1960. His warning has brought into focus the finances and economics of the Territory. The dangers inherent in a deficit budgetary operation are quite obvious in all the years since the inception of the Trusteeship administration. While we can hardly

recommend any curtailment of the present development programmes, which should in fact be expanded in view of the Territory's impending independence, we think that the military expenditures, still a substantial item in the AFIS budget in spite of recent cuts, could be further reduced and the money so saved diverted to other capital investments. Another practical measure is to increase internal revenue by imposing new taxes, such as a cattle tax, and by effectively collecting the existing taxes. In the matter of tax collection, the Somali Government should also exert its fruitful efforts.

It would be a calamity to the Somali people if they should have to face an economic crisis unprepared when they attain their political independence in 1960. If this were to happen, it would be no credit to the Administering Authority. We believe that the Administering Authority knows perfectly well that the recent transfer of power and responsibility to the Somali people by no means absolves it of its obligations for the financial solubility and economic viability of the Territory, which are express provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement. Political independence means much to the Somali people, but independence with economic security will mean more.

We await with anxiety the findings of the survey mission of the International Bank, which should be able to propose practical measures for financing the economic development plans for Somaliland. Until we have seen and digested the report of the International Bank's mission, any discussion of the economic problems of the Territory now and here would be unrealistic. But during the imminent transition to independence between now and 1960, much could be done to pilot the economic development of the Territory and solutions could be found to many urgent problems. It is for this reason that my delegation supports the proposal of the representative of the United States that the report of the International Bank's mission on Somaliland should be included in the agenda of a special session of the Council, if there is one before the next regular session of the Council.

Mr. CUTTS (Australia): In making its contribution to the Council's debate on the Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration, my delegation would like first to express its pleasure and appreciation at the manner in which the Council has been assisted by the presence here of the representatives of the Somali people, including the Chairman of the newly-elected Legislative Assembly and the Prime Minister of the newly-appointed Somali Government. We are happy to have had these gentlemen with us and wish them all success as they enter upon their new duties and responsibilities.

The Council has also had the advantage, as on previous occasions, of the presence here of the members of the Advisory Council for Somaliland whom we would again wish to thank most warmly for their assistance.

Finally, we would wish to express our appreciation to the Administering Authority which has provided the Council with a voluminous and well-prepared annual report, and which has arranged for the attendance at the Council of a distinguished delegation, including our Vice-President and the special representative, Mr. Zado'bi, with whom members of the Council are well acquainted.

I should like to say at the outset that my delegation would not wish to examine in too meticulous a fashion the details of the annual report before us. We feel that the important story in relation to developments in Somaliland during 1955 and the early part of this year lies not in the details but in the broad outlines.

In the political field there has been what we must regard as a most significant and decisive transfer of power from the Administering Authority to newly-established Somali institutions. At previous sessions of this Council my delegation has noted the gradual development of the political institutions of the Territory, which appeared to us at the time to be leading to an effective assumption of full political responsibility by the Somali people. We are most happy, therefore, that recent developments have, it seems to us, more than borne out our earlier optimism. It now appears to us quite clear that, provided the Somali representatives rise, as we would expect them to rise, to the responsibilities which now lie upon them, the achievement by Somaliland of complete independence in 1960 is, at least as far as the political institutions of the Territory are concerned, assured. The first Legislative Assembly of the Territory, comprising sixty members, was elected early in this year by a complex electoral procedure involving both direct and indirect voting.

The Administrator of the Territory, when he addressed us last week, referred to, in his own words, "the truly remarkable discipline and order which have been maintained during the long election period". My delegation agrees with the Administrator that this is a most significant aspect of the whole proceedings and one which reflects great credit upon the political leaders, the political parties and the whole of the Somali people. It is true, as the Administrator has pointed out and as several delegations in their addresses to the Council have remarked, that the counting of heads in the shirs has given some startling results when compared with what is known about the density of the population in certain areas of Somaliland. It is also true that the discovery of certain irregularities in the polling made it necessary to invalidate some of the shirs. However, we feel that it would be unwise to attach too much importance to these matters. The fact is that for the first time the Somali people have had the experience of nation-wide democratic elections. It was to be expected that in some respects these would fall short of perfection, particularly as statistical information regarding the populace of the Territory is far from complete. But the significant thing is that they have been effectively carried out without undue disturbance. We accept the view of the Administrator, which he expressed before this Council, that the results of the elections have provided what he refers to as "a fairly accurate representation of the trend of opinion of the people at large".

The new Assembly has been given full legislative power subject to the sanction of the Administrator, which we regard as a formal retention of responsibility by the Administering Authority rather than an effective limitation on the powers of the new Assembly and the further limitation regarding the initiation of legislation which is specifically temporary in character.

Following the election of the Legislative Assembly, the Administering Authority decided to take what we would regard as a momentous step forward in the development of responsible Somali institutions of government. This was the formation of the first Somali Government. The arrangement is that a Prime Minister possessing the confidence of the Legislative Assembly has been selected by the Administrator and that he in turn has selected the five Ministers who, with the Prime Minister, will make up the new Somali Government. The Cabinet as a whole was then obliged to seek a mandate from the Legislative Assembly.

We simply do not feel that any useful purpose would be served by examining too closely the detailed provisions of the constitutional enactments which have brought the new regime into being. To do so, as for instance we observed the representative of the USSR doing, would tend, we think, to obscure the overriding political significance of these recent developments. It is true that the Prime Minister must enjoy the confidence of the Administrator as well as of the Legislative Assembly, and that technically, therefore, he may be dismissed by the Administrator. It is also true that the Administrator retains an ultimate power of veto over legislation as well as the power to summon the Assembly in an emergency or dissolve it if it should fail to discharge its functions. To us it seems that the important thing is not the precise definition of these legal powers which after all are very much in line with what is provided for in some form or another in almost any constitution, but what is important is the manner in which by conventional tradition they come to be exercised. As I pointed out during the questioning period, my delegation believes that from the political point of view whatever may be the strict constitutional position, the Administrator would find it extremely difficult, to say the least, to exercise any of these reserve powers against the wishes of the Somali Government and legislature.

(Mr. Cutts, Australia)

In fact, from the political point of view it seems to us that the Administering Authority has put itself in the position in which, for the remainder of the period of trusteeship, it is committed to the exercise of its responsibilities under the Trusteeship Agreement, which continue, naturally, with the consent of the representatives of the Somali people.

Mention has been made in the Council today of certain other limitations on the complete transfer of sovereignty. Mention has been made of the ten seats reserved in the Assembly for national minorities. Mention has been made of the appointment by the Administrator of counsellors for each of the five Ministers. Well, frankly, my delegation just cannot get excited about this at all, because this, we feel, is a matter which is already in the hands of the Somali people. If either of these matters, for instance, as they are arranged at present, should turn out not to be to the satisfaction of the new Somali Parliament, there is nothing in the world to prevent them introducing new legislation to change all this. If the Administrator should take the risk of denying them the right to introduce such legislation, they will be able to introduce it without his consent in 1957 and, as I pointed out, my delegation would feel that if the Somali Parliament did pass legislation to alter the present arrangement in the manner I have suggested, the Administrator would find it extremely difficult not to give effect to that legislation.

As we see it, these matters are now in the hands of the representatives of the Somali people, and my delegation hopes that in handling these matters, in deciding on their future course of action, the Somali people will use their own judgment as to the usefulness of these arrangements and not be stampeded into action by such criticism of them as may be voiced around this Council table.

The recent constitutional developments in Somaliland constitute, we think, a most dramatic development of which the Council should take note in clear and appreciative terms. The motives which led the Italian Government, on its own initiative, to the formation of the first Somali Government were set out quite clearly before the Council by the Administrator of the Territory. In the first place, it seemed logical, in view of the election of a new legislative body, that the principle of a responsible executive should be established. Secondly, there was a desire to give the Somalis an opportunity to learn by practice the art of government. We feel that by taking this step at this stage, approximately three and a half years before the Somali people will be obliged to assume full

(Mr. Cutts, Australia)

responsibility for their own government, is a statesmanlike measure designed to give the Somali people the fullest opportunity to rise to the responsibilities which will shortly devolve upon them.

As we see it, the present situation is a challenge to the Somali people and, particularly, to their leaders, the members of the Legislative Assembly and the new Government. If they do rise to the challenge which confronts them and accept with a firm hand the responsibility now offered them, we can look forward with confidence to a smooth and effective final transfer of authority in 1960. Presumably between now and 1960 further steps will be taken by the Administering Authority, with due regard to the experience with the present arrangement and to the practical requirements of the situation. The elections to be held in 1958 will provide a further opportunity to improve the facilities for the exercise of democratic franchise, particularly, we would say in parenthesis, if steps are taken between now and 1958 to improve the statistical information which is available regarding the Somali population.

We would also like to refer to another matter which we believe the Council should note with satisfaction, that is, the further satisfactory development of the process of Somalization of the administrative services, both at the higher and at the lower levels. The Administering Authority has persevered with its efforts in this field, despite considerable difficulties, and has earned, we believe, the commendation of the Council.

Before leaving the political field, I should like to put on record, somewhat parenthetically, some views of my delegation regarding the political objectives of the Trusteeship System, particularly insofar as they apply to Somaliland.

We simply do not believe that these objectives would be achieved in Somaliland or elsewhere by the establishment and consolidation of a Somali or a local, as distinct from an Administering Authority's, government and administration. It has often been asserted in this Council, as elsewhere, that self-government, whether well or badly organized, is better than foreign rule. In fact, I believe I heard a few days ago in this Council the statement that self-government is, after all, the right to govern one's self ill or well, as one chooses. This is a point which, as a general philosophical assertion, I just would not care to argue, but I should like to say that, so far as the Trusteeship System is concerned -- and I emphasize that my remarks are limited to this -- we believe that this System will have failed if all it produces is badly organized

(Mr. Cutts, Australia)

The basic objective of the Trusteeship System, we feel, is the establishment and consolidation of a democratic system of self-government, and I emphasize the word "democratic", wherein the executive is responsible to the legislature, and the legislature to the people. The transfer of authority which takes place in Somaliland in 1960 must, in our view, be a transfer of authority to the people of this new State, and not merely to an individual leader or collection of leaders. This is a point which I believe the representative of Burma also had in mind when he spoke a few minutes ago. As we see it, in Somaliland the democratic forms have taken rapid shape in recent years, and it is our earnest hope that in the three and a half years that remain the Administration, with the full co-operation of the present political leaders of the Territory, will instill into the minds, and, indeed, into the hearts of the Somali people an understanding and appreciation of and an abiding devotion to the principles of democracy.

With regard to the boundary dispute between Ethiopia and Somaliland, to which some reference has been made, my delegation would not wish, in view of the negotiations at present in train between the Administering Authority and the Government of Ethiopia, to add anything at this stage to the views it has previously expressed on this question, except to say we do view with concern the continued existence of this dispute and believe that its early settlement is of the utmost importance to the Trust Territory.

Without wishing to appear over-optimistic, we would express the cautious hope that the two Governments will have some favourable reports to give to the General Assembly at its eleventh session, as they are called to report under the General Assembly resolution in question.

With regard to the economic aspects of the Annual Report before us, I indicated during the questioning period that my delegation feels it would be somewhat unrealistic to attempt a detailed analysis of the economic situation in the Territory without the benefits of the report of the mission of the International Bank which recently visited the Territory for the purpose of surveying its economic potential. It is true, as the representative of the Soviet Union has pointed out, we have other material before us to provide the basis for an examination of the economic affairs of the Territory, but, frankly, my delegation has little heart for a detailed examination of material which will no doubt be superseded by the International Bank's report.

If it should be decided, for whatever reason, to hold a special session of the Council later in the year and if at that time the Bank's report were available, my delegation would be prepared then to take up the questions associated with the future economic development of the Territory. Of course, if there should be no special session for any other reason, or if the Bank's report should not be available at that time, then these questions will have to be taken up at the forthcoming session of the General Assembly. Here I agree with the representative of the USSR that one could hardly consider the recommendations of the International Bank without having before one at the same time the comments thereon and the views of the Somali representatives. We certainly would hope -- we do not stress it because we feel that it goes without saying -- that when the time comes for the Bank's report to be considered in the Council or in the General Assembly, the Administering Authority would arrange to have also before the Council, in some fashion or other, the views of the Somali Government and the Legislative Assembly. We not only hope, but we presume that this will be done.

At this stage we would not wish to say more than that while considerable progress appears to have been made during the year under review, the general economic situation of the Territory appears far from satisfactory and gives the Council little cause for confidence that the Territory will be economically viable in 1960. There is still a very considerable budgetary deficit, which is made up by a substantial contribution by the Italian Government. Everybody who has spoken on the subject seems agreed that it is most unlikely that it will be possible to close this gap by 1960. There is also a serious balance-of-payments problem. The Administrator of the Territory frankly indicated to the Council that Somaliland will require, after 1960, financial aid on the scale of roughly between 4 and 5 million dollars a year. He went on to say, and again I use his exact words:

"Not only must such aid be provided after 1960, but we must be sure that we can depend on it; else most of our work in Somaliland must be held up since there would be no sense in leaving the Government of Somaliland burdened with a number of public works and enterprises it would be unable to carry on or even to keep up." (T/IV.703, page 11)

It goes without saying, in the view of my delegation, that the new State's prospects of obtaining assistance in an acceptable form and on the scale required will be affected to a considerable extent by the degree of confidence which it can inspire, and to the degree that the Somali Government and people have themselves done everything possible as far as their own sources permit. This is an issue with which the new Government and the Legislative Assembly will have to grapple in the near future. They will be required to investigate all possible measures of increasing revenue, including the obvious means of imposing new taxes. We agree with other delegations who have expressed the view that the imposition of new taxes is something that must be undertaken before 1960 rather than be left to the newly independent State.

In addition, the new Parliament and Government will be required to scrutinize closely all expenditure in the budget and particularly the very high level of personnel costs. Presumably, they will wish to re-examine the scale of salaries paid to administration personnel, with a view to bringing these into line not only with the Territory's financial situation but also with the level of salaries paid by Governments of neighbouring countries. This is the first challenge which faces the new Somali Government and Parliament and we believe it is indeed a vital one.

I was extremely interested in what the representative of India had to say in the course of a most penetrating and valuable analysis of the situation in Somaliland, and with particular reference to this aspect of the problem. He took the view -- with which my delegation entirely agrees -- that having decided that Somaliland shall emerge from tutelage in 1960, the United Nations as a whole has assumed a responsibility in which its prestige is intimately involved, to ensure that this is done in a way which is not a mockery of its intentions. To receive political independence on the conditions which would involve permanent bankruptcy and a standard of living out of keeping with the standards generally accepted in this generation or, on the other hand, permanent dependence on the support of others, would leave a bitter taste, we feel, in the mouths of the Somali people and reflect grave discredit upon us all.

The representative of India did make a few remarks on the manner in which other delegations had viewed this question of Somaliland independence in 1950. I am not quite certain of the way he put it, but I do not think he put it that this problem would have been less serious if Somaliland had become independent in 1950,

as the delegation of India, as he informed us, had urged at the time. In this connexion I would also say, somewhat parenthetically, that while it is true that the Somali people and the Somali Government will have carefully to scrutinize the form of economic aid which they accept to ensure that acceptance of this aid does not involve compromise in any way of their hard-won independence.

Despite this, it does occur to us that some members of the Council do intend to advise the Somali people to take what we would regard as an unnecessarily suspicious approach to bilateral assistance. We do not feel that it is impossible and should be ruled out of the question that bilateral assistance could be offered to the Somali people in such a form and on such terms as would not prejudice their political independence. However, that is indeed a matter for the Somali people themselves.

Whatever the situation regarding these various matters I have mentioned, it is the responsibility of us all to ensure that when Somaliland becomes independent in 1960, it is in circumstances involving real and dignified nationhood and without the risk, as I said, that newly-won independence might need to be compromised to ensure economic survival. As to the steps which will have to be taken to this end, my delegation does not feel that it can say anything usefully until it sees the report of the Bank's mission. When that report is before us, we will be prepared to give the most serious consideration to its recommendations and to any other recommendations regarding the economic development of Somaliland and, as a Member of the United Nations, we will not be unwilling to face up to our share of the collective responsibility which I have mentioned.

We share with the representative of India the sincere hope that ways and means will be found to increase the productivity of the Somali nation, to ensure its ultimate economic viability. We agree with the representative of the United States that this is a problem for 1957 and not for 1960. The solution to this problem, it seems to us, will have to come from two directions: firstly, from the determination and will-power of the Somali people themselves, and on whom the heaviest responsibility lies, and secondly, from the goodwill and assistance of the friends of Somaliland in providing the aid which will be necessary, although we feel that so far as the recurrent normal budgetary expenses of the country are concerned, the aid needed might not be so great, nor for so long as some members of the Council appear to fear.

(Mr. Cutts, Australia)

In the social and educational fields -- which I shall treat together, as they were treated during the questioning of the special representative -- the situation is also one which cannot entirely reassure the Council and which poses many extremely serious problems for the future.

The principal social problem is, of course, the nomadism. The fact that nearly three-quarters of the population is nomadic appears to us to lie at the root of all other problems and to impose a very serious restraint upon efforts to improve living standards and labour conditions, to stimulate the spread of education and elevate the status of women in the Territory. The approach to this problem must, of course, be largely on the economic front. As the special representative has pointed out, the nomads pursue their wanderings because of economic pressures, and the provision of adequate water supplies and opportunities for cultivation are necessary before any change can be made in this situation.

However, at the same time, it does seem necessary to stimulate the spread of education among the nomadic peoples, to give them a glimpse of the advantages offered by a more settled existence, and to persuade them to forsake their centuries-old tradition of roving.

So much remains to be done in the field of education that one can fairly say that, despite the constant efforts of the Administering Authority, the surface has hardly been scratched as yet. I would remind the Council that the special representative has confirmed my delegation's assessment of the situation that by 1960 only some 25 per cent of the urban population -- that is 8 per cent of the population as a whole -- will have attended or will be attending school. He was able to hold out few hopes for any significant extension of educational facilities to the nomadic population. In 1960 those who will be receiving a secondary education will be in the vicinity of 2,000, while few will be receiving higher education.

We do not recite these facts to persuade everybody to be pessimistic. We do not recite these facts to add gloom to the burden which is being shouldered by the Administering Authority and by the representatives of the Somali people, but we do mention them to emphasize the magnitude of the challenge which, as we have said before, we believe faces the leaders of the Somali people. This is a problem which clearly cannot be resolved by 1960 with all the will in the world and with all the

(Mr. Cutts, Australia)

financial assistance in the world. It is a problem which will be residual after 1960 and which will have to be met by the Somali people; and the manner in which they face up to this challenge will, we believe, determine in large measure their success, or the reverse, as an independent country.

Finally, I feel obliged to say a word about this question of the Somali language -- only because it has been referred to, to my surprise, by other representatives on the Council. It is true that this Council considered this question of the Somali language at previous sessions. It made recommendations to the General Assembly. These, in turn, were considered by the Somali people, who took a certain view about them. This view was expressed to us by the Chairman of the Legislative Assembly. That, as my delegation sees it, disposes of the matter. It is true that we representatives on the Council may feel that the Somali-represented institutions are misguided in this matter. We may believe that they will regret this decision. We may even hope that they may find cause to revise this decision. But the fact is that it is a matter which must be decided by the Somali people themselves. They having come to a certain conclusion, we feel, frankly, that any further debate on this question in this Council is somewhat presumptuous, if that is not too strong a word.

The meeting was suspended at 4.5 p.m. and resumed at 4.25 p.m.

Mr. RIFAI (Syria): I believe it is unnecessary for me to preface this statement with the reiteration of my country's deep interest in the future of all Trust Territories, nor for that matter to open the past record of our unrelenting labour for their welfare. Syria will never swerve from its endeavours inside or outside this Organization to bring about the realization of the objectives of our Charter. We shall not rest until we see its noble ideals translated into living realities.

Having said this, I might perhaps be permitted to stress a particular frailty. The historical and cultural ties that bind us to the Somali people make their cause and destiny a question of special concern to the people of Syria. In my country, the independence of Somaliland has always been looked upon with fraternal sentiments, and it is awaited with no less fervour by us than by the Somalis themselves.

We are happy to say that at no time since Italy assumed the Administration of the Territory did we entertain any doubts as to Italy's sincere intentions to discharge its noble duty with efficiency and honour. Therefore, our main anxiety during this period of transition has been not whether Somaliland will emerge as a sovereign and independent State when this period expires but rather whether the years of tutelage will have prepared the Somalis for a life of genuine and sustained freedom. After all, we should remember that it is not freedom par se which is at stake, but how to live free under the strenuous conditions of our modern world. In no other sense could the idea of international trusteeship find moral justification. Freedom in itself is an inalienable human right, and no nation or group of nations can morally take it from or bestow it on others.

The task before us, then, is the preparation of Somaliland technically and materially for its independence -- or, better, the creation of conditions in that Territory whereby it can become a viable, political entity in the present world.

Six years have already elapsed since we launched this worthy endeavour. Every one of us is well aware, I am sure, of the many social, economic and political problems which beset the Territory at the inception of the Trusteeship period. During this span of time, a great deal was accomplished, although until this year

the pace of progress did not seem to us the best under the circumstances. We are happy to state, however, that the latest developments in the Territory have been the source of great satisfaction to us. Politically, at least, the evolution seems to be in the right direction. The establishment of the Legislative Assembly was the most notable achievement in this connexion. The fact that the elections were conducted in a calm and responsible atmosphere proves beyond a shadow of doubt that the Somali people were worthy of the added confidence placed in them and of the new responsibilities that have thus devolved on their shoulders. We wish to congratulate them for their high sense of duty, and to commend the Administering Authority for taking this important step in the political life of that country.

In speaking of the Legislative Assembly, we should like to express our surprise at one of the limitations to its legislative powers. Although it is intended to last only until 1 May 1957, the necessity of obtaining the Administrator's approval before the Assembly can take the initiative in proposing draft laws does not seem to us necessary under the circumstances, particularly when the Administrator already has the power of sanction. But now that a provision of this nature is there, we hope that the Administering Authority will not allow it to act as a hindrance or impediment to the initiative of the Assembly, and that the approval of the Administrator will prove in practice to be merely a sort of a preliminary advice.

(Mr. Rifai, Syria)

My delegation welcomes also the establishment of the first Somali Government. We share the view of Mr. Anzilotti, the Administrator, that this step was not only logical but also appropriate for the smooth functioning of the machinery of government after the establishment of a Legislative Assembly vested with appreciable powers. With four years remaining for the Somalis to become independent, the formation of an executive nucleus could no longer be ignored. It was time for the Somali people to begin to acquaint themselves with the various problems which confront their Territory today and which may continue to confront it even after independence is attained. But while expressing our satisfaction at this development, we should like also to state that the position which the Italian counsellors occupy in the operation of the Somali Cabinet is still a source of puzzlement to us. The special representative has attempted, during the questioning period, to allay the fears expressed by several delegations in this connexion. One must confess, however, that the role which the counsellors play in the Cabinet deliberations has not been fully justified. Having said this, I should like to add that while we are critical of this limitation of both the legislative and executive powers of the Somali people we do not consider them as detracting in any sense from the importance and the value of the new development in the Territory.

Another source of satisfaction to us is the remarkable progress in the Somalization of local government. We have always stressed in the past the importance of such action in the development of Somali capacity for independence. The speedy Somalization of the administrative machine is not only useful from this point of view but is also an important and necessary contribution to compressing the territorial budget within the limits fixed by the Territory's assets. My delegation hopes that this Somalization process will soon affect the remaining positions which are still occupied by Italians in the armed forces and the central Government. We are sure that the Administering Authority will spare no effort to effect this change without causing any harm to the efficiency of the machinery of Government.

With the new changes which have taken place in the Territory and which have considerably increased the participation of the Somali people in the conduct of their affairs, one may hopefully expect that by 1960 Somaliland will have a solid foundation on which a free and democratic Government can operate smoothly. In this

(Mr. Rifai, Syria)

connexion it might be advisable to start directing one's thoughts towards the elaboration of a Constitution for the Territory. My delegation believes that preliminary studies for this purpose should not be delayed until 1958, as I was told was contemplated by the Administering Authority. A great deal of difficulty is usually encountered in the framing of any constitution. The difficulty obviously would be immeasurably greater in the case of a new nation. For this reason alone it might not be too hasty to think of this question very soon. The Legislative Assembly could easily establish a special committee which, with the help of the Administering Authority, would start to prepare the ground for the eventual drafting of the Constitution.

Before I turn to the examination of the economic problems of Somaliland I wish to refer to a question which, while not falling strictly within the purview of the political development of the Territory, is nevertheless fraught with danger to its future political stability. I have in mind the border problem with neighbouring Ethiopia. That this problem is an important one is confirmed in many ways. It has been referred to in terms of urgency not simply by the Visiting Missions but also by the Advisory Council, the General Assembly, the Somali people and the Administering Authority itself. Irrespective of all exhortations for its settlement in an amicable and friendly fashion, no progress towards its solution has been reported so far. The situation, as far as we are concerned, appears unchanged. Neither the statement of the representative of Italy nor the communique which was read out by the representative of India on the progress of the present negotiations has reassured us. On the contrary, both from the statements of the members of the Advisory Council and from the statement of the President of the Somali Legislative Assembly, we have gathered impressions which have heightened our concern.

I do not wish to be gloomy or pessimistic in this connexion, but I must confess that no matter how it is sought to justify the present situation I find it a little difficult to understand. The problem is, admittedly, a difficult one with roots going back to the pre-war period when the map of Africa was often altered to satisfy imperialistic ambitions and to give effect to certain political views. Yet, with goodwill on both sides, even such a difficult problem should not escape solution. The danger inherent in the existing demarcation line must, we think,

lead both parties to strive for an expeditious settlement. Owing to the arid terrain, the shortage of water in places for humans and livestock alike, and the fact that the people on both sides of the present line of demarcation are Somalis it is difficult to allow the problem to linger on without its giving rise to many evils. We should not forget what the representative of Egypt on the Advisory Council, Mr. Salah, told us -- only last year I believe -- after he had visited the disputed border areas, namely, that the people on the Somali side of the line were showing signs of desperation and were threatening to attempt to settle the dispute themselves. Without any review of the history of this question before the United Nations, we should not hesitate to state that we have become somewhat perturbed by the slow movement towards its solution. When I recall that during the tenth session of the General Assembly some delegations objected to the mild expression of hope that a settlement might be arrived at, preferably before the eleventh session, I cannot help feeling that something is wrong somewhere.

(Mr. Rifai, Syria)

It is natural for us, as well as for the Somali people, to begin to show some concern in the light of these developments. We wish, however, to discover soon that our concern was unfounded and that only technical problems have caused the delay in the settlement so far. If by the time we meet at the eleventh session of the General Assembly we find that this problem remains unsettled, we shall then feel it our sacred duty to press for some other procedure to ensure the quick solution of this problem in the interest of all.

We must not forget that the General Assembly has already gone on record twice, in 1950 and in 1954, in suggesting mediation between the parties should direct negotiations fail.

I do not want to conclude this part of my statement without addressing again an appeal to the delegation of Ethiopia and to the Ethiopian Government to double their efforts in order to bring this matter to a quick and happy end.

Many delegations have already preceded me in evaluating the economic situation in Somaliland. Almost everyone, including the Administering Authority and the Advisory Council, agreed that here lies the main difficulty confronting Somaliland. Deficits are a common feature of the Territory's economy, both in the budget and in the balance of payments. The Territory for many years will probably need foreign aid, unless the search for oil should lead to the great discovery.

So far foreign aid was secured through the direct and indirect contributions of the Administering Authority and, to a limited degree, by the United States and Egyptian Governments and some specialized agencies. I believe the aid never totalled more than \$7 million in one year. I mention this sum in order simply to allay some of the unwarranted fears for the future of Somaliland. Seven million dollars, even if they were to be needed for a number of years after independence, should not cause us or the Somali people undue concern. But we believe that if the economic development of the Territory is speeded up with the help of some generous international grants and with the maximum contribution of 100 million somalos from the Administering Authority, the deficit in the budget of Somaliland would be appreciably reduced, if not completely eliminated, in a number of years.

We know that various possibilities exist for increasing local production so as to reduce dependence on external sources of supply. The Administering Authority has told us on several occasions that all that it needs is capital in reasonable sums and technical aid to develop the latent economic possibilities of the Territory. If we add to this effort of speeding up the economic development of the Territory the effort to revise its taxation system, we should not be far from our goal of providing Somaliland with a relatively self-sufficient economy.

In connexion with taxes, I should like to support the suggestion of the representative of India, who counselled the revision of the taxation system before the attainment of independence. It is true that the taxable capacity of the Territory is not great and that the Somali people tend understandably to resist the idea of paying taxes. But here again possibilities for increasing the taxes do exist, and we believe that the Somali people will not stand in the way of any action that is designed to strengthen the foundations of their freedom.

I do not have much to say on the social and educational conditions in the Territory. I am sure that development in these fields will continue to progress to our satisfaction now that the Legislative Assembly and the Somali Government have taken to a large degree the responsibilities in these fields.

One should not fail to observe that the problems which still exist in these fields will henceforth constitute a testing ground for the Somali Government, and we hope that that Government will live up to our expectations.

In our opinion, the most difficult problem in these two fields, a problem which has also affected the over-all development of the Territory, is the problem of nomadism. It is unnecessary for me to say that this problem is not as baffling as many seem to believe. With diligent efforts, in which the Somali Government should naturally call on the expert advice of the appropriate specialized agencies, this problem will in a short period of time lead itself to a progressive solution. My delegation has no reason to doubt that the Somali Government, with the full co-operation of the Italian Administration, will devote all its energies to the solution of this problem as well as to the solution of others in the social and educational fields, so that the Territory may not find itself in any way encumbered in the exercise of its independence when the time comes in 1960.

Before concluding my statement, I wish to refer briefly to the question of the language of the Territory. This question has been a controversial issue in the Trusteeship Council. Some of our colleagues have advocated that special efforts should be made to devise a written form for the Somali language in order to make it the official language of the Territory. I do not wish to comment on this question, except to say that we must not be more royalist than the king himself. In the opinion of my delegation, the settlement of this issue must be left entirely to the Somali people themselves. I am in full agreement with the views of the representative of the United Kingdom on this point, as well as with the views of the representative of Australia, who spoke before me today. Any other position in this regard, no matter what its merits are, might smack of a wilful desire on our part to force our own views on the Somali people, a conclusion which I am sure no member of this Council would allow to be inferred.

With this, I end my remarks. I have, as members of the Council have surely noticed, avoided reference to points of detail. This should not be construed as meaning that we have no views to offer on them. We felt, however, that with the assumption of responsibilities for these matters by a national Somali Government, it was only the part of wisdom to leave the problems involved in these details to that Government.

In conclusion, I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express to the special representative, as well as to the Prime Minister, the President of the Legislative Assembly of Somaliland, the Vice-President and the Secretary, the deep gratitude of my delegation for their assistance and co-operation in the course of our consideration of the report on Somaliland.

Mr. ARFNALES CATALAN (Guatemala) (interpretation from Spanish): My delegation does not intend at this time to make a brief statement. At the previous meeting of the Council on Friday, 15 June, the representative of India, Mr. Krishna Menon, made a statement, with the general terms of which my delegation is in agreement, although there were some details with which my delegation cannot agree.

(Mr. Arenales Catalan,  
Guatemala)

It was not only Mr. Krishna Menon who spoke of this, but there were other delegations which expressed similar viewpoints this afternoon. My delegation will therefore devote itself and limit itself to repeating certain questions mentioned by other delegations in order to give these important points more emphasis. We may sometimes give a different meaning to certain of the questions raised, and perhaps we may raise some new questions ourselves.

However, before going into a careful study of the question, I should like to make three general observations. First of all, if the fundamental political objective in the Trust Territory is the achievement of independence or self-government, such a fundamental political objective in the case of Somaliland under Italian administration has by no means disappeared but, subject as it is to the time-limit adopted and approved by the Administering Authority, the political problem, if it does not disappear, at least changes in its aspects. Therefore, the other fields of development in the Territory, such as the economic, social and educational fields, at the same time also change their perspective, acquiring new proportions. On this basis our delegation, as well as a number of others, considers that the main difficulty and the main obstacle in the path of the United Nations and the Administering Authority, as well as in the way of the Somali people themselves, is to be found in the economic field. This is all the more true if we take account of the social and educational development which have to undergo certain changes and solve certain problems which little by little will be solved either by the Somali people or by the Administering Authority before the time-limit, with the co-operation of persons and institutions of good will.

However, if the economic problem is not solved, this will not permit the crystallization of the true independence of the Territory according to Chapters XII and XIII of the United Nations Charter.

My second observation is of a general character which perhaps I should have started with and it is this. The special character of the Trusteeship Agreement on the Somali Territory, no matter what reflections we may make on this point, confronts us with a fait accompli. This fait accompli naturally has certain consequences. One of these, and certainly not the least important, is that the observations and recommendations of the Council are usually addressed to the Administering Authority for a period of three and a half to four years, and it is obvious that with nearly four years ahead of it it is impossible for the

(Mr. Arenales Catalan,  
Guatemala)

Administering Authority to solve all the problems that may crop up in the Territory of Somaliland. Therefore, the observations or recommendations of the Council must carry a double weight. On the one hand, they are addressed to the Administering Authority specifically if they are recommendations that imply immediate action. On the other hand, although this may not be the intention of the Council, they are also addressed to the people and Government of Somaliland. We have had a number of proofs of the civic conscience of the people of Somaliland. Undoubtedly, when they weigh the problems of their country and when they endeavour to find solutions to those problems, they will no doubt take into account the opinions given in the United Nations not only from now on, but those opinions which have been registered since the beginning of the problem and since the setting up of the Organization. This does not mean that my delegation or any other delegation here has any intention of giving advice to the people of Somaliland. We know full well that the people of Somaliland have their own Government although that Government as yet still has certain limitations to its powers. In other words, this remark up to a certain point justifies the abstention of my delegation from making recommendations or suggestions. We will limit ourselves to general observations only or, in problems that require immediate action, concrete recommendations.

The third remark that I wish to make refers to two or three very general problems. These problems are extremely serious and have repercussions on all four fields under which we in the Council usually classify a territory. In other words, they have repercussions on the social, political, educational and economic life of the Territory. Among these problems is that of the nomadic population, the relative poverty of the land or economy and, perhaps concurrently with that, mass education. My delegation intends to circumscribe its statement to observations on this matter. We shall not make any specific recommendations except, as I said before, in cases in which we feel immediate action is required.

Under the framework of educational development I should like to make a few remarks with regard to education as it crops up in Somaliland. I should first like to touch on language. During the question and answer period my delegation mentioned the unheard-of fact that the leaders of the Somali people themselves rejected their own vernacular language as the language in which teaching should be given. My

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Guatemala)

delegation prefers to interpret this as a mere rejection of the Somali language as an official language or a language of administrative work, but that they have not rejected the possibility of using the Somali vernacular in teaching. In some programmes of mass education specifically, that would tend to contribute to the solution of the problem of the nomadic population.

This leads me to my second remark under the heading of educational aspects. The contribution that a special programme of mass education might represent towards the solving of this grave problem of the nomadic population should be carefully weighed. I agree entirely with other delegations that the root of this problem is essentially an economic one. But the trouble there is that economic phenomena have to a great extent conditioned the social and political aspects of life and this limits the educational aspect to a large extent. However much we may try to stress the different forms of social and political organization, it is very difficult to uphold the idea that the preservation of nomadism might in any contribute to the greater happiness of the Somali people. I am positive that this is a problem of such complexity that we have to get at it from all possible angles. It is because of this that I take the liberty of suggesting that one of the ways in which we can tackle this problem is from the educational angle, but not in the orthodox and traditional meaning of the word "educational". I am referring to "educational" as it is based on a special study which would set forth a concrete plan of action and, if I may be permitted to touch on a rather sensitive nerve centre, it could apply to other Territories. It would be a plan of action that might include such a thing as a time-limit. My delegation is positive that we might surely count on the co-operation of UNESCO in the drawing up of such a plan. The problem of a nomadic population is, to my mind, one of the two most important problems confronting that Territory, and it goes hand in hand with the problem of the poverty of the land. The nomadic population has been estimated by some to be 80 per cent of the population and 70 per cent by the special representative in some of his answers. If it has not already caused it, it is causing the complex and thorny problem of the élite, which caused so many misunderstandings at previous sessions because the danger of social stratification, which we stressed in our statements at the seventeenth session of the Council, is no longer a danger in Somaliland. It is a fact and it is being faced.

(Mr. Arenales Catalan,  
Guatemala)

The stratification of classes in the Somali society has now crystallized, and the line, naturally, is drawn between the nomadic population and the sedentary or urban population. It is obvious that the barrier that exists between the two parts of the population will become higher and higher as a result of the greater coefficient of evolution in the urban population, which receives social and educational services and which is closer to the sources of production and also closer to political participation in the government of the Territory.

Although I have apparently slipped into the field of social development, because I am talking about stratification and the élite, it is obvious that, contrary to what happened in the Territories we studied at the seventeenth session of the Trusteeship Council, the solution of the problem of this profound social division will not be found exclusively nor, primarily, in education or in educational policy, if we use that word in its orthodox sense. Any education of a European character that might be given to the urban population would not contribute to but rather diminish the possibility of a solution to this complex problem. But there is another aspect in which we may consider that education can play a special and important role in the question of the nomads. I am not referring to the programme of mass education, which I mentioned earlier, but to the possibility of setting up a system of scholarships. I do not refer to scholarships for courses in the humanities or post-graduate courses in agricultural techniques, but rather scholarships that would give the possibility of leading the nomad populations into communities or smaller groups so far as the Territory is concerned, in a land in which the energy and dynamism of the leaders, with economic and technical knowledge, has set up a sedentary economy.

In his statement, which unfortunately I was unable to hear, although I have read it very carefully, the representative of India stressed what is happening in the Gobi Desert. May I point out that that is not only the desert of the world where the hand of man and his energy has caused miracles. What my delegation does want to stress, however, is that, without denying the advantages of scholarships in other fields of study or human activity, and without denying the advantage of technical assistance through the help of experts, if a member of a community could see examples and learn of the experiences of other communities that have faced and solved similar problems, the social impact on him when he returned to his own community would be immeasurable.

(Mr. Arenales Catalan,  
Guatemala)

At previous meetings the Council has recommended to the Administering Authority that the leaders of the Somali Government should be given an opportunity of seeing how democratic governments and administrations function elsewhere. The suggestion we now make is on the same lines, but we do not refer to the Government but to elements of the nomadic populations on which we are now focusing our attention.

Before I leave social questions, I should like to cite some of the opinions of my colleagues on this subject. We were very encouraged by the fact that the Visiting Mission reported that the population of the Territory showed a great desire for an improvement in social services. Undoubtedly this desire, sooner or later, will give rise to direct action in a struggle for the common ideal of collective improvement, although once again the shadow of nomadism hangs over this, because there are groups of the population which will find it difficult to receive the benefits of social services.

Second, with regard to problems of public health, my delegation is extremely satisfied to note the efforts made by the Administering Authority to combat certain diseases such as tuberculosis, malaria, leprosy and other endemic sickness. However, we do hope that these efforts will be intensified even further according to the needs of the people, the place and the time, and, more specifically, we would stress the need for plans of hygiene and health, not limited only to cities and municipalities but integrated and co-ordinated in a general plan under the supervision of technical organizations. This preoccupation is, I think, justified because on page 107 of the report of the Administering Authority it is stated that tuberculosis of the lungs has increased rather than diminished. Furthermore, we hope that, within this plan of improving health and combating sickness, the number of rural hospital services will be increased and that the number of indigenous doctors will also be increased. We know that because of the distribution of the population the difficulties of the problem are extremely great, but we have learned, from a number of petitions submitted to the Council, that patients have had to leave hospital before they had completed the treatment for which they first entered the hospital.

Thirdly, we are exceedingly pleased that Somali women are now enjoying all fundamental rights and freedoms and that the moral dignity of woman is respected and honoured on an equal footing with that of man. We understand that because of respect for certain customs or mores of the indigenous population, the inferior

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conditions of women have not been entirely remedied. However, we hope that the Administering Authority will intensify its efforts to educate the people to integrate women into the political life of the country and to prepare the road so that, little by little, women will be able to use their right to vote.

Fourthly, some time ago the Trusteeship Council recommended that special attention be given to the adoption of legislative measures on the question of basic minimum wages and the regulation of labour conditions so that the workers would not only be guaranteed their inalienable rights but would be provided with incentives that would redound to the benefit of the total productivity of the Territory.

My delegation is somewhat saddened by the fact that appreciable progress has not been achieved during the past few months. As we have pointed out at other sessions, there is no system of protection for the worker. Furthermore, sufficient encouragement has not been given to the organization of trade unions, which has led to the consequence that the trade union movement has not developed spontaneously. Notwithstanding this, the Administering Authority nevertheless has recognized the importance of knowing the desires of the workers so that in due course legislation can be drafted for the Legislative Assembly to adopt.

This might be the right moment to recall some of the answers given by the special representative during the question and answer period, since many of these problems have to be solved by the people of Somaliland themselves. My delegation agrees with the Administering Authority that it has to await the expression of the opinion and will of the people of Somaliland. However, we must say that, so far as legislation is concerned -- particularly legislation that will better protect the future independence of the people of Somaliland -- the Administering Authority might take the initiative, and perhaps should do so before the deadline of 1960 is reached. This being the case, and without in any way prejudicing the action that the Legislative Assembly might take in its expression of the will of the people of Somaliland, the Administering Authority could make use of some of the prerogatives it has reserved for itself to set up certain programmes of law that would lead the Legislative Assembly to discuss conventions with the International Labour Organisation. Such an initiative would in no way prejudice the final decision the Legislative Assembly might take on the matter.

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Guatemala)

Fifthly, and finally within the social aspects of life in the Territory, there are two very different problems that may be linked together by some of their manifestations. My delegation wishes to mention these problems because we feel they will continue to be studied very carefully by both the Government of Somaliland and the Administering Authority. I shall refer firstly to the question of unemployment, and secondly to the problem of delinquency and the treatment of delinquents.

(Mr. Arenales Catalan,  
Guatemala)

I shall now proceed to deal with the question of economic development. We have already stated that we consider the economic and fiscal problem of Somaliland as the key problem in the territory, and I do not think that we are setting forth any new statement. Apparently there is agreement in so far as the problem itself is concerned, namely, the problem of money. That seems to be the main problem in Somaliland. Apparently there is also a majority opinion with regard to the origin or causes of this situation. It is not only a question of what or why, but rather how. In other words, if we are in agreement that this is the problem which must be solved ineluctably, how are we going to solve it?

Recommendations and observations have been made to the effect that this problem should continue to occupy the thoughts of the Administering Authority and the Trusteeship Council. The greater part of that attention will, no doubt, naturally depend on the results of the report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. My delegation shares the opinion of the delegation of the United States that it is urgent that the Council should be informed of that report as soon as possible and, if necessary, that the Trusteeship Council should consider it at the special session in the autumn of this year. In the meantime, however, it is rather difficult to focus attention on the programme of economic development, the question of the budgetary deficits and the fiscal situation of Somaliland as a whole. Notwithstanding this, my delegation wishes to state that it is in complete agreement with the fact that for the time being we ought not to count on oil as a source of income or as an improvement for the Somali economy.

I mention "oil" specifically because perhaps it might be the right moment to make some allusion to the corresponding legislation. Once again I must recall those planned laws which the Administering Authority has kept as its own prerogative. Would it not be time for the Administering Authority to re-study and, if necessary, ratify the laws that will regulate the exploration and exploitation of oil in Somaliland? My delegation feels that if this economic problem is to be solved to permit the political independence of Somaliland, then it must also be solved with that end in view.

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Guatemala)

But outside of the matter of oil and the Bank's report, we would like to make a few remarks and perhaps stress some possibilities. First of all, I do not think anyone can doubt that for a certain number of years the economy and the financial aspect of the life of Somaliland -- and I draw this distinction between economy and the financial aspect because in Spanish "economy" and "finance" are different -- will have to rely on assistance, be it from international organizations or from a continuation of aid on the part of the Administering Authority or from aid of other Powers. Certainly my delegation does not reject this; on the contrary, it insists that greater scope should be given to the possibility of studying systems of co-operation between the regional economies of that part of the world. I want to say, first of all, that I am not thinking of any country or group of countries or territories in particular, but that I am merely limiting the advantages inherent in possible regional economic co-operation, which in our part of the world has now been termed "economic integration". Naturally, when speaking in that way, my delegation is referring to neighbouring countries, whatever they might be.

Thirdly, we meet the problem of nomadism. I think that with this problem we are touching the very roots and origin of the situation. My delegation feels that even though this problem may be focussed from the point of view of education and the social angle, and it may have its repercussions in the political aspects of the country, we cannot deny that the marrow of the problem is strictly economic. Until the economic root is straightened out, all other efforts will be in vain. But it was in this economic field that my delegation spoke earlier of the need for educational efforts. In other words, the economy of the country must be stable and one of the best ways of making it so is through programmes of mass education which are adequate for the end in view. Another way would be to have a programme of scholarships for non-political elements of the nomad groups, and so on.

In the fourth place, I should like to stress something that is worrying us, the fact that the Administering Authority and perhaps our own delegations may be considering the economic problem of Somaliland with eyes that are somewhat alien and with ears that are somewhat deaf to the intimate desires and aspirations of the people of Somaliland.

(Mr. Arenales Catalan,  
Guatemala)

We have the impression -- it is only a passing impression and I am not making a firm statement -- that the utilization of the criteria of the Administering Authority, or even the opinions of our own delegations, might lead to results that are very far removed from the true economic situation of the Territory, or might even go counter to the profound aspirations of the people of Somaliland. If we could see the needs and if we could view the problems of the economy of Somaliland with indigenous eyes, then we would have a better perspective.

The difficulties with regard to domestic finance and the balance of payments arise, to a great extent, from the super-position of interests and alien criteria which are quite separate from the true interests of Somaliland. The only constructive proposition that comes to our mind at this moment, as regards this question, is immediately to organize a national Somali council composed exclusively of representative elements which are not political but which are representatives of the people of Somaliland, members of the most important fields of production, of the consumer class, of the labouring class, and so on. This body would study the entire financial problem in all its details and propose what measures should be put into practice while the Italian administration is there, so as to facilitate the birth of the new State and formulate the economic and financial policies of the new Government. This council could carry out its work with entire freedom. It could be granted all the necessary facilities; it could be given all the indispensable powers so that its work would be useful and effective.

I do not think I am going too far if I point out that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, when it presents its report, is not going to do anything to stop this; on the contrary, that report is one of the documents that might be the starting point of some of the work of this council.

Fifthly, I should like to express a hope, which is no longer a worry or a concern, that both the Administering Authority and the new independent sovereign State of Somaliland will in due course be able to utilize the co-operation and integration of international programmes of technical assistance in order to prepare legislative plans that will regulate investments of private capital in the Territory so as to attract that private capital, and in order to utilize it in the economic development plan of the Territory or of the State, and also to protect the sovereignty and independence of that future State.

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Guatemala)

Finally, I can only make some concrete remarks with regard to specific problems of the economy of the Territory which are not directly affected by the problem of nomadism. I refer to the high cost of production which is primarily due to deficiencies in the system of the cultivation of crops and perhaps the inadequate manipulation and handling of crops, a problem which is particularly acute as far as crops that are used for export are concerned. Both Visiting Missions to the Territory have stressed the situation with regard to the banana trade. The production of this article has been greatly stimulated by the high prices paid by the Italian State monopoly on bananas. The prices set by that monopoly are higher than those on the world market and they have permitted the Somali producers to be compensated for the very high cost of production.

But that artificial situation is basically undesirable for the Territory because a change in the policy of that monopoly or a decision to stop purchases -- and this may occur on the day of independence -- would place one very important field of Somali trade in a very dangerous position, to the extent that it might be feared that bananas would have no other possibility of being exported, despite the fact that they constitute one of the highest sources of the Territory's income. I do not think that the gravity of this problem need be stressed, but the high cost of production should be combatted by overcoming the deficiencies in the cultivation of the fruit and in its handling when it has been harvested.

I shall proceed to the last part of my statement, namely, the matter of political development. In this I shall be brief because, as I said earlier, we feel that the deadline gives this aspect of the question a very different perspective.

Somaliland will be independent in 1960, at which time we hope and pray that it will take its place in the United Nations as a sovereign State.

I shall not deal with the question of the frontier with Ethiopia. I merely wish to say that we have this matter strongly in mind, and we hope that the negotiations being undertaken by Italy and Ethiopia will result in abolishing this nightmare that today hurts and tomorrow might seriously damage the fate of the Territory. It is with great hope that we await the results of these negotiations.

Nor do I wish to discuss the problem of tension between the different tribes, which occupied the attention of the Council at previous sessions. We are convinced that the Administering Authority will continue to concern itself with this question in the light of the recommendation of the Trusteeship Council which was adopted last year. In the meantime we have taken note of the reply given by the special representative to the representative of Syria to the effect that the problem was brought to the attention of the Commission of Political Parties which was created to advise the Administration. No final decision was taken before the elections, but the Administering Authority had at that time decided to bring this entire question to the attention of both the Government of Somaliland and the Legislative Assembly.

I should like to make one specific observation as to the statistics with regard to population, and that is the fact that there is no census, but that there is what the special representative called an evaluation, and the incongruity in the statistics which the Administering Authority has drawn up, relating to the number of voters and composed of adult men, in accordance with the legislation in force. My delegation does not wish to stress an incongruity which has been referred to a number of times, but, in addition to the need for organizing, programming and carrying out an adequate census of the population, we should like to stress two other problems which are corollaries to any election that may be held. First of all, whatever error may have occurred in estimating the number of the population and the voters, everything seems to indicate that, as far as the nomadic groups are concerned, there were many votes which would ensure a representative character to the present Government of Somaliland. However, if abstention in political voting is a proof of civic immaturity, we cannot but conclude that the extraordinary number of votes, showing many voters among the nomadic groups, is also a proof of sufficient political maturity for the Administering Authority and the present Government of Somaliland to consider the possibility of granting direct suffrage.

My second remark on election questions relates to the female vote. I made some previous remarks on this point, and other representatives have also spoken of it. All I need say now is that we hope that the elections in 1958 will include among the voters all women able and old enough to vote.

In conclusion, I wish to repeat the agreement of my delegation with the fact that the essential problem facing the people of Somaliland, facing the Administering Authority, and facing the United Nations is the economic and financial question, the efforts to solve which have, I think, been assisted somewhat by our remarks, and we hope that it will be aided considerably by a later examination of the report of the International Bank. We repeat that the two circumstances which weigh most heavily are the nomadism and the relative poverty of the soil. We feel that the efforts to solve these problems must come from an organized and integrated attack through all spheres of development in the Territory, programmed and integrated on realistic lines, taking into account all sources of finance and having as its main objective the solution of the economic problem of Somaliland, guaranteeing its independence and serving as a prerequisite to the assured evolution in other spheres of life under the guidance of its own people.

Finally, my delegation wishes to reaffirm its welcome to the representatives of the Government of Somaliland who, in a few years, I am sure, will be able to join us in juridical equality at this table. At the same time, I wish to repeat my tribute to the Administering Authority for the manner in which it is endeavouring to fulfil the task embodied in the Trusteeship Agreements.

The PRESIDENT: The Council will recall that, at its 706th meeting, it decided to extend an invitation to the permanent representative of Ethiopia to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Heywot, representative of Ethiopia, took a seat at the Council table.

Mr. HEYWOT (Ethiopia): First of all, I thank you, Sir, and members of the Council for having extended the courtesy of an invitation to my Government to make its position clear on this vital question of the frontier between Ethiopia and the Trust Territory of Somaliland. As permanent representative of Ethiopia, I take this opportunity, on behalf of my Government, to give expression to the interest which Ethiopia has taken in the discussions in the Trusteeship Council as regards the Trust Territory of Somaliland.

In the first place, I should like to express the very deep sense of satisfaction which my country feels in noting the presence here, for the first time, of officials of the newly-established Government of the Territory and to greet the Prime Minister, the Chairman of the Legislative Assembly, and their colleagues. Ethiopia feels particularly entitled to salute these representatives and to rejoice with them in the progress achieved, since Ethiopia is the sole Member of the United Nations to have a constant record in favour of the independence of the Territory. At the same time, I wish to express the view that congratulations and appreciation should be extended to all Members of the United Nations and placed on record as regards the contribution and the achievements of the Administering Authority to that end.

(Mr. Heywot, Ethiopia)

As the members of the Trusteeship Council are well aware, Ethiopia and Italy have for some time been dealing with a problem of unusual complexity, namely, the frontier between Ethiopia and the Trust Territory of Somaliland. Those negotiations have taken place in a friendly atmosphere, and progress has been achieved notwithstanding the complications involved. At this juncture, I venture to observe that one thing is clear; that is, that Italy is animated by a sincere and firm resolve to fulfil to the letter the terms of the United Nations resolution providing for the independence of the Territory by 1960. We would like to believe that, for its part, Italy has learned from the negotiations that Ethiopia remains firmly attached to the same principle of independence for the Territory, which it has constantly supported. Both sides are desirous of providing an agreed frontier for the independent State to be established in 1960, and the course of the negotiations fully confirm that this objective is sincerely sought by both sides, if I may say so without entering in any way into the substance or form of those negotiations.

As I have just indicated, this is not the time or the place to enter into any discussion of the negotiations under way between the two Governments. However, in keeping with the observations of the Italian representative, I should like to point out -- and I am sure he will agree with me in this -- that these negotiations have not remained on the level of any pious or insincere generalities, but have been directed to the solving of the specific and difficult problems involved in the light of specific requirements and in an attitude of good will and the desire to expedite the solution. Such being the case, I should like, if I may, to address myself briefly to certain comments that I have heard expressed at the Council table these last few days.

The Chairman of the Legislative Assembly of Somaliland has expressed his appreciation of the attempts of Ethiopia and Italy to reach an agreement, but he asks that the negotiations under way be abandoned in favour of other procedures. I must state with all respect that there is some obvious difficulty with such a suggestion, which, in effect, will immediately suspend if not put an end to the negotiations between Ethiopia and the Administering Authority. My Government has repeatedly stated -- indeed it has done so so often in this Organization that I

(Mr. Heywot, Ethiopia)

surely have no need to insist on the point -- that it has always been prepared to negotiate directly with the Somali Government itself. However, if we are to negotiate now, as we are asked to do, we must necessarily negotiate with the Administering Authority which alone has competence today in the matter. Perhaps the negotiations have not proceeded as fast as Ethiopia or the Administering Authority or others had hoped. But I can assure everyone here that they are being pressed with the utmost sincerity and with a determination to succeed. I fail, therefore, to see with what justification we are now asked to abandon the only acceptable normal procedure. Moreover, the Chairman of the Legislative Assembly will himself recall that he and others had particularly requested, along with the Administering Authority, that members of the local government be added to the negotiating parties. Our only difficulty then was of a purely technical nature, namely, whether such members could negotiate in regard to a matter which, by the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement, fell exclusively to the Administering Authority, as Italy has repeatedly stated. When a solution was reached permitting their participation in the delegation, they were most cordially welcomed in Ethiopia. I am positive that the Chairman is well aware of the fraternal welcome extended to those members of the delegation. As and when an agreement is reached on the relevant principles according to where the line of the frontier is to be drawn, then, as I have repeatedly stated here, there should be no reason why that frontier should not be properly delimited and the entire question settled to the satisfaction of all concerned.

I now turn briefly to the remarks made by the representative of Egypt on the Advisory Council. First of all, I wish to dispose of a reference which he made to a letter which I addressed to this Council on 22 July of last year. The representative referred to alleged events that he asserts have taken place in "the disputed Ogaden area", and then he quoted a paragraph from my communication, at the same time, I am afraid, lifting it out of context. I deeply regret that the representative of Egypt should have chosen to do so, for, if I may say so, his comments appeared to me to be quite unwarranted. My letter of last year referred to remarks made in the Council by certain representatives concerning certain regions in the interior of Ethiopia, such as the "Ogaden, the Reserved Area and the Haud".

(Mr. Heywot, Ethiopia)

Naturally, every Member of the United Nations is entirely justified in opposing discussion of its internal affairs, and I am sure that my colleague from Egypt would be the first to do so were similar questions to arise regarding his own country. However, he has again compounded the injury by introducing his remarks on 12 June last with a fresh reference to a term reserved exclusively for a well-defined region of Ethiopia. Were I to suggest that there were any doubts as to whether Egypt could lay claim to any of its territory, I am sure that the representative of Egypt could take clear exception to my remarks. I make no such inference, and I feel entitled to expect the same consideration from my colleague from Egypt.

The representative of Egypt has stated the view that the fears and anxieties of the Somali people have their roots in the frontier question. It seems that the representative of Syria has associated himself with the concern expressed by the representative of Egypt. This concern, I am afraid, is somewhat exaggerated, to say the least. The representative of Egypt showed concern with respect to "attempts by certain foreign Powers, both African and non-African, to bind the independence of Somaliland to their chariot". (T/PV.704, p. 11) I do not interpret this last statement as directed against my country. However, for the benefit of those here present, I should recall to you that whereas for years foreign Powers have had substantial missions and personnel in the Territory, and whereas those missions have given risen to not inconsiderable comment abroad, Ethiopia, on the contrary, has been criticized for not having any official or other connexion with the Territory. Only in the last few months has Ethiopia had a liaison officer in the Territory. Even today, whereas there is an intricate network of airlines and radiocommunications between Ethiopia and surrounding territories, there are no such links between Ethiopia and the Trust Territory. This is so not out of any lack of fraternal interest on the part of my country but out of our sincere desire to avoid influencing in any way the full and free exercise of the right of political choice and self-determination within the Territory.

(Mr. Heywot, Ethiopia)

However, my colleague from Egypt, in his oral remarks, has made a reference which, by definition, appears to apply to the neighbours of the Trust Territory. He alluded to the ambitions of those who seek territorial expansion. Inasmuch as Ethiopia borders directly upon the Trust Territory, I cannot allow this reference to pass by in silence. As representatives are all aware, this Territory is bounded by Ethiopia, Kenya and British Somaliland. It would, of course, be highly impertinent for me to speak about other territories, but with regard to Ethiopia I must assert that my Government emphatically and indignantly rejects any implication such as that which the Egyptian representative seeks to draw against its neighbour. For the very reason which I have just indicated, relations between Ethiopia and the Trust Territory are more limited than those existing with other countries far removed. On the other hand, my colleague from Egypt seems to have forgotten -- rather conveniently, I might add -- that the history of the frontier question as raised at the United Nations is totally inconsistent with any so gratuitous an implication. It is inaccurate that, as he has asserted, the frontier question has appeared before the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council since 1950. In fact, it has been discussed since 1949, when Ethiopia repeatedly drew the attention of the United Nations to the fact that no agreed frontier existed, and that it would, in consequence, be extremely difficult to envisage the establishment of trusteeship without a well-defined and agreed frontier, if for no other reason than that the occupying Power would be necessarily compelled to hand over possession according to some arrangement.

I stated a moment ago that this is necessarily a matter that vitally concerns Ethiopia. Yet the United Nations chose in 1949 to determine that this matter was unimportant. The representative of Egypt at that time abstained on the issue. Ethiopia remains deeply grateful for the sympathetic support and consideration given to it on this vital question by the Soviet Union and others. However, the majority having decided otherwise, and notwithstanding the rebuff and scant consideration given to Ethiopia's views, we loyally accepted the line adopted by the Trusteeship Council and have at no time claimed any territory beyond the line adopted by the United Nations itself. And yet my colleague from Egypt, perhaps unintentionally, has impugned the purity of Ethiopia's motives. I do hope that,

(Mr. Heywot, Ethiopia)

out of considerations of accuracy and friendship, he will withdraw his remarks. In that case I shall be pleased to ask to have the paragraph of my remarks devoted to this question deleted.

Finally, my colleague from Egypt has remarked that the negotiations with the Administering Authority were deadlocked and that no agreement whatsoever was reached. He is no doubt aware of the joint communique issued by the two negotiating parties which states, on the contrary, that "substantial agreements on fundamental points have been reached". He was not aware that the representative of Egypt was a party to those negotiations or that he was in a position to contradict what was affirmed by the parties themselves. His statement really is completely unjustified by the facts. I can only refer the Egyptian representative to the very fair statement made by the representative of Italy to the effect that the two delegations agreed to suspend their work in order to allow the Italian representative to report verbally to his Government and receive further instructions.

I am grateful to the representative of India for having drawn the attention of the Council to the terms of the communique in question. It seems to me that, in his customary way, Mr. Jaipal has brought the discussion back to its general high level where negotiations between Ethiopia and Italy have placed it. I am also grateful to Mr. Krishna Menon, the distinguished statesman of India, for having introduced into the Trusteeship Council discussion his wise counsels and advice, to which we are accustomed to listen attentively since we deeply respect his views. Speaking from wide experience, and with his usual ability to grasp and solve difficult problems, he carefully showed the need for a greater understanding of this delicate frontier problem, and left with confidence the task of seeking a solution to the Governments of Ethiopia and Italy.

We have noted with satisfaction that most of the members of the Trusteeship Council have also approached the problem with a sense of realism and objectivity. I can assure members of the Council that my Government will leave no stone unturned to reach a satisfactory solution of the frontier problem, which is of great concern equally to us and to the future independent State of Somaliland. As Ethiopia pointed out to the United Nations as long ago as 1949, the frontier issue is not an easy one to solve. With Italy, we have deployed and will continue to deploy our best efforts for the attainment of an early solution. However, we cannot surely

(Mr. Heywot, Ethiopia)

be expected to succeed if at every turn we are confronted with false and gratuitous accusations such as the assertion that the negotiations have been deadlocked and that no agreement has been reached. I feel quite entitled to ask that our will that the negotiations succeed be reciprocated and shared by the States here represented. Anything less will lead to precisely that deadlock which some members would appear to solicit. Such an attitude is far from contributing to the solution of the problem. Neither will it serve the best interests of our Somali brothers, whose welfare and progress we deeply cherish. We believe that they will grow and prosper only through disinterested assistance. For our part, we wish to extend to our Somali brothers a wholehearted, fraternal co-operation in their effort to attain full independence in 1960, and in achieving and maintaining the social and economic advancement of the Territory.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Ethiopia, and call now on the representative of Egypt.

Mr. SALAH (Egypt) (Member, Advisory Council): In view of certain comments which the representative of Ethiopia has made on my statement, I should appreciate it very much if the Council would afford me an opportunity to make some observations on those comments at a later stage.

The PRESIDENT: I was going to make an announcement to the Council in this connexion. I have been informed by the representative of Italy and the special representative that they would wish to make their statements and replies on Wednesday. For that reason, I should like to assure the representative of Egypt that he will be given an opportunity to do so on Wednesday.

At tomorrow's meeting, we shall first hear a statement by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the subject of community development. Following that statement, the Council will begin its examination of conditions in the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands. In this respect, the Council will hear the opening statement of the representative and the special representative of the Administering Authority, and we might perhaps begin our questioning on political advancement. The Council will then conduct its hearing of the Ngondo Traditional Assembly of the Douala People of the Cameroons under French administration. It has come to my knowledge that their representatives have now arrived in New York. If time permits and if the Council so agrees, the Council will then examine the draft report to the General Assembly prepared by the Secretariat (T/L.683).

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.