

UNITED NATIONS

**REPORT OF THE
UNITED NATIONS
COMMISSION FOR ERITREA**



GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OFFICIAL RECORDS : FIFTH SESSION
SUPPLEMENT No. 8 (A/1285)

Lake Success, New York
1950

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Geneva, 8 June 1950

Sir,

The United Nations Commission for Eritrea has the honour to communicate to you herewith its report in accordance with section C, paragraph 4, of resolution 289 A (IV), which provides that the report of the Commission shall be communicated to the Secretary-General not later than 15 June 1950 for distribution to Member States.

We have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient Servants,

(Signed) Aung KHINE (*Burma*)
Carlos GARCÍA BAUER (*Guatemala*)
Erling QVALE (*Norway*)
Mian ZIAUD-DIN (*Pakistan*)
F. H. THERON (*Union of South Africa*)
Petrus J. SCHMIDT (*Principal Secretary*)

Mr. Trygve Lie
Secretary-General
United Nations
Lake Success
New York, USA

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
CHAPTER I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, ESTABLISHMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION FOR ERITREA		<i>Section V. Drafting of the Report</i>	7
<i>Section I. Historical Introduction</i>		MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY THE DELEGATIONS OF BURMA, NORWAY AND THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	
(a) Submission of the Question of Eritrea to the United Nations	1	PART I: FACTUAL REVIEW OF THE PROBLEM OF ERITREA	
(b) The Question of Eritrea at the Third and Fourth Regular Sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations.....	2	I. <i>Introductory Statement</i>	9
(c) Terms of Reference of the United Nations Commission for Eritrea.....	3	II. <i>Eritrea, Its People and Economy</i>	
<i>Section II. Organization of the Commission</i>		A. Geography and population	
(a) Composition of the Commission and Secretariat	3	Size and location.....	9
(b) Rules of Procedure.....	3	Topography and density of population....	9
(c) Election of Officers.....	3	The diversity of the Eritrean people.....	9
(d) Subsidiary Bodies	4	The administrative and judicial system... ..	11
CHAPTER II. SUMMARY OF THE MAIN ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMISSION		Educational standards of the Eritrean people	11
<i>Section I. Programme of Work</i>	5	Other communities in Eritrea.....	11
<i>Section II. Information from and Relations with the Administering Power</i>	5	Capacity of the people for self-government	12
<i>Section III. Information from Representatives of the Population of the Territory, including Minorities</i>		B. Eritrea's farming resources	
(a) Communique to the inhabitants of Eritrea..	5	Climate, land-use and waterworks.....	12
(b) Request that the British Administration issue a Proclamation	5	Farming output and productivity.....	13
(c) Hearings and Visits.....	6	Farming regions	13
(d) Resolution of Thanks to the People of Eritrea	6	European farming concessions.....	14
<i>Section IV. Consultations with the Governments of Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Italy and the United Kingdom</i>		C. Other economic activities in Eritrea	
(a) Invitation to the Governments of Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Italy and the United Kingdom..	6	Employment outside farming.....	14
(b) Consultations with the Government of the United Kingdom	6	Manufacturing industry	14
(c) Consultations with the Government of Ethiopia	7	Mining	14
(d) Consultations with the Government of Egypt	7	Transport, foreign trade and balance of payments	15
(e) Consultations with the Government of Italy..	7	Taxation and finance.....	15
(f) Consultations with the Government of France	7	Is Eritrea economically viable?.....	16
		III. <i>Political Wishes of the People</i>	
		A. Recent changes in political groupings in Eritrea	16
		B. Assessment of the political wishes of the parties and people	17
		C. Views of the principal political parties and associations	17
		The Unionist Party and allied parties....	17
		The Independence Bloc and allied parties	18
		Moslem League of the Western Province	19
		D. Hearings of the local population.....	19
		E. Membership and support of the political parties	20
		F. Summary finding on the wishes of the people	21

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
IV. <i>The Views of Interested Governments</i>		<i>Consultations with the Government of Ethiopia</i>	
Ethiopia	21	Annex 6. Document A/AC.34/SR.43, appendix A	46
Egypt	22	Annex 7. Extracts from documents A/AC.34/SR.43 and A/AC.34/SR.44	54
France	22	Annex 8. Document A/AC.34/R.187	58
Italy	22		
United Kingdom	23	<i>Consultations with the Government of Egypt</i>	
V. <i>Peace and Security in East Africa</i>	23	Annex 9. Document A/AC.34/SR.46/Part 1, appendix A	64
PART II: PROPOSALS FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF ERITREA		Annex 10. Extract from document A/AC.34/SR.46/Part 1	64
VI. <i>General Conclusions</i>	24	<i>Consultations with the Government of Italy</i>	
VII. <i>Proposals by the Delegations of Burma and the Union of South Africa</i>	24	Annex 11. Document A/AC.34/SR.47, appendix A	66
Suggestions by the delegation of Burma....	26		
VIII. <i>Proposals by the Delegation of Norway</i>	26	<i>Consultations with the Government of France</i>	
MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY THE DELEGATIONS OF GUATEMALA AND PAKISTAN		Annex 12. Document A/AC.34/R.182	69
<i>General Political Situation in Eritrea</i>	29	<i>Report of Sub-Commission I</i>	
Disorders at Asmara on 21 to 23 February 1950	29	Annex 13. Document A/AC.34/R.188 and Corr.1	71
<i>Wishes and Welfare of the Population</i>	29	<i>Rules of Procedure</i>	
The Italian minority.....	31	Annex 14. Documents A/AC.34/R.4 and A/AC.34/R.153	91
<i>Peace and Security in East Africa</i>	32	<i>Declaration by the Commission on Disorders at Asmara on 21-22 February 1950</i>	
<i>Economic Situation in Eritrea</i>	32	Annex 15. Document A/AC.34/L.1.....	95
<i>Conclusions</i>	35	<i>Lists of documents, visits and hearings of the Commission</i>	
		Annex 16. List of Commission Documents....	96
		Annex 17. List of Visits and Hearings.....	117
		<i>Maps</i>	
		Annex 18:	
		1. Administrative boundaries and communications.	
		2. Ethnic map showing areas visited by the Commission.	
<i>Consultations with the Government of the United Kingdom</i>			
Annex 4. Document A/AC.34/R.89	40		
Annex 5. Extract from document A/AC.34/SR.50/Part 1	42		

Chapter I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, ESTABLISHMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION FOR ERITREA

Section I. Historical Introduction

(a) SUBMISSION OF THE QUESTION OF ERITREA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

1. Article 10 of the Conditions of Armistice signed by Italy on 3 September 1943 provided that the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces "will establish Allied military government over such parts of Italian territory as he may deem necessary in the military interests of the Allied nations". The administration of Eritrea which had been occupied in 1941 by the Allied armed forces was undertaken by the British Authorities, first through the Occupied Enemy Territories' Administration and later through the Foreign Office Administration of African Territories.

2. Under the terms of the agreement establishing the Council of Foreign Ministers adopted at the Berlin Conference of 17 July-24 August 1945, it was agreed at the Moscow Conference of 16-27 December 1945 that the terms of the Treaty of Peace with Italy would be drafted by the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Soviet Union and France.

3. At a meeting in Paris, the Council of Foreign Ministers adopted, on 3 July 1946, a draft article on the former Italian colonies and a draft joint declaration by the Four Powers, which, in conformity with decisions taken at the Paris Conference of 29 July-15 October 1946, became respectively article 23 and annex XI of the Treaty of Peace with Italy.

"Article 23

"1. Italy renounces all right and title to the Italian territorial possessions in Africa, i.e., Libya, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland.

"2. Pending their final disposal, the said possessions shall continue under their present administration.

"3. The final disposal of these possessions shall be determined jointly by the Governments of the Soviet Union, of the United Kingdom, of the United States of America, and of France within one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty, in the manner laid down in the joint declaration of 10 February 1947, issued by the said Governments, which is reproduced in annex XI.

"Annex XI

"1. The Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, of the United States of America, and of France agree that they will, within one year

from the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace with Italy bearing the date of 10 February 1947, jointly determine the final disposal of Italy's territorial possessions in Africa, to which, in accordance with article 23 of the Treaty, Italy renounces all right and title.

"2. The final disposal of the territories concerned and the appropriate adjustment of their boundaries shall be made by the Four Powers in the light of the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants and the interests of peace and security, taking into consideration the views of other interested Governments.

"3. If with respect to any of these territories the Four Powers are unable to agree upon their disposal within one year from the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace with Italy, the matter shall be referred to the General Assembly of the United Nations for a recommendation, and the Four Powers agree to accept the recommendation and to take appropriate measures for giving effect to it.

"4. The Deputies of the Foreign Ministers shall continue the consideration of the question of the disposal of the former Italian colonies with a view to submitting to the Council of Foreign Ministers their recommendations on this matter. They shall also send out commissions of investigation to any of the former Italian colonies in order to supply the Deputies with the necessary data on this question and to ascertain the views of the local population".

4. The period of one year, referred to in paragraph 3 of the above joint declaration, began to run from 15 September 1947, in accordance with article 90 of the Treaty of Peace.

5. On 3 October 1947, the Deputies of the Foreign Ministers took up the question of the disposal of the former colonies in accordance with paragraph 4 of annex XI of the Treaty of Peace. It was decided that an investigation on the spot by representatives of the Four Powers would be carried out in the three former Italian colonies. The Four-Power Commission of Investigation for the former Italian colonies stayed in Eritrea from 12 November 1947 to 3 January 1948 and its report is dated 31 August 1948. It was also agreed to recognize as "interested Governments", for the purposes of paragraph 2 of annex XI of the Treaty of Peace, the Governments of the other Allied and Associated Powers having signed the Treaty of Peace with Italy, including both India and Pakistan, and also the Governments of Italy and Egypt. It was further decided that interested Governments should submit their views to the Deputies to be studied between the time the Commission left and the receipt of its report. Nineteen Governments were thus invited in the capacity of "interested Governments".

6. In the report of the Deputies of the four Foreign Ministers to the Council dated 1 September 1948,¹ and in accordance with the views held by the four Governments at that time, which have been modified since, France proposed that "with the exception of the territories situated between the Gulf of Zula and French Somaliland, Eritrea should be placed under the trusteeship of Italy" and that "the territories situated between the Gulf of Zula and French Somaliland should be assigned to Ethiopia in full sovereignty". The Soviet Union recommended placing the former Italian colony of Eritrea "under the trusteeship of Italy for a definite acceptable term". The United Kingdom proposed that "Ethiopia should be appointed to be Administering Authority in Eritrea for a period of ten years"—after which "the General Assembly of the United Nations would decide whether, and if so under what conditions, Ethiopian administration should continue indefinitely". There should be set up an advisory council with the right to suspend any legislation on certain reserved subjects introduced by the Ethiopian Administration and a special Eritrean commission of the United Nations to which the advisory council and the Ethiopian Administration would report from time to time; this commission would be quite distinct either from the Trusteeship Council or the Trusteeship Committee of the General Assembly. The United States of America proposed that "the southern section of Eritrea (including the Danakil coast, and the districts of Akkele Guzai and Serae . . .)" be ceded to Ethiopia, and that the Foreign Ministers recommend to the General Assembly of the United Nations that the question of the disposition of "the remainder of Eritrea, that is, the northern and predominantly Moslem portion including Asmara and Massawa, be postponed for one year".

7. While the Soviet Union recommended that, in the case of all three former Italian colonies, the "frontiers which existed on 1 January 1934, fixed in accordance with treaties and agreements in force at that time concluded between the interested Governments concerned" should be maintained, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and France recommended that "the frontier between the territories assigned to Ethiopia and French Somaliland should follow the course of the Wadi Weima".

8. Upon the expiry of the period set in annex XI of the Treaty of Peace with Italy, the Council of Foreign Ministers had not reached any agreement.

¹ Document C.F.M./D/L/48/IC/202 of the Council of Foreign Ministers (Deputies).

² A/645 (*Official Records of the third session of the General Assembly, Part I, Plenary Meetings, Annexes to the summary records of meetings, pages 149-150*).

³ *Official Records of the third session of the General Assembly, Part II, First Committee, summary records of meetings, page 394*.

⁴ Concerning the votes on the various paragraphs, paragraph 3 dealing with Eritrea was voted upon in two parts. The part referring to the disposal of Eritrea except for the Western Province was adopted by roll-call, by 36 votes to 6, with 15 abstentions. The part of paragraph 3 dealing with the disposal of the Western Province was rejected by roll-call, by 19 votes to 16, with 21 abstentions (*Official Records of the third session of the General Assembly, Part II, First Committee, summary records of meetings, pages 393-394*).

(b) THE QUESTION OF ERITREA AT THE THIRD AND FOURTH REGULAR SESSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

9. On 15 September 1948, the Governments of France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics addressed the following communication to the Secretary-General of the United Nations:²

"Paris, 15 September 1948

"On the instructions of the Governments of the United States of America, France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics we have the honour to inform you that in application of article 23 and paragraph 3 of annex XI of the Treaty of Peace with Italy, the question of the disposal of the former Italian colonies is referred to the General Assembly in order that, in conformity with its rules of procedure, the General Assembly may examine this question during the session which is to open on 21 September".

10. The question of the disposal of the former Italian colonies was considered at the second part of the third regular session by the First Committee which, on 13 May 1949, by 34 votes to 16, with 7 abstentions,³ decided to recommend the adoption by the General Assembly of a resolution providing *inter alia* that Eritrea, except for the Western Province, be incorporated into Ethiopia.⁴ However, the General Assembly, by 37 votes to 14, with 7 abstentions, rejected the draft resolution⁵ and decided to postpone further consideration of the question of the disposal of the former Italian colonies until its fourth regular session.⁶

11. At the fourth regular session, the First Committee appointed Sub-Committee 17 for the purpose of studying all drafts and suggestions and to propose a draft resolution or draft resolutions to settle the question of the former Italian colonies.⁷ Due to the fact that the available information on Eritrea was considered insufficient by several delegations, Sub-Committee 17 recommended the establishment of a United Nations Commission for Eritrea.⁸ On the report of this Sub-Committee, the First Committee recommended the adoption by the General Assembly of three resolutions, of which resolution A, section C, approved by the First Committee by 47 votes to 5, with 6 abstentions,⁹ provided for the establishment of this Commission. Resolution A as a whole which dealt with all three former Italian colonies was adopted by 49 vote to 1, with 8 abstentions.¹⁰

⁵ Paragraph 3 dealing with Eritrea had been adopted by 37 votes to 11, with 10 abstentions (*Official Records of the third session of the General Assembly, Part II, Plenary Meetings, summary records of meetings, pages 593-596*).

⁶ *Official Records of the third session of the General Assembly, Part II, Plenary Meetings, summary records of meetings, page 608*.

⁷ A/C.1/498 (*Official Records of the fourth session of the General Assembly, First Committee, annexes to the summary records of meetings, page 24*).

⁸ A/C.1/522 (*Official Records of the fourth session of the General Assembly, First Committee, Annexes to the summary records of meetings, page 25*).

⁹ A/1089 (*Official Records of the fourth session of the General Assembly, Plenary Meetings, Annexes to the summary records of meetings, page 58*).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

12. Section C of this resolution, concerning Eritrea, was adopted by the General Assembly on 21 November 1949 by 47 votes to 5, with 6 abstentions,¹¹ and resolution A as a whole was adopted by 48 votes to 1, with 9 abstentions.¹² This resolution was given the number 289 A (IV).

(c) TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION FOR ERITREA

13. Section C of resolution 289 (IV) reads as follows:

"With respect to Eritrea, [the General Assembly] recommends:

"1. That a Commission consisting of representatives of not more than five Member States, as follows: Burma, Guatemala, Norway, Pakistan and the Union of South Africa, shall be established to ascertain more fully the wishes and the best means of promoting the welfare of the inhabitants of Eritrea, to examine the question of the disposal of Eritrea and to prepare a report for the General Assembly, together with such proposal or proposals as it may deem appropriate for the solution of the problem of Eritrea;

"2. That in carrying out its responsibilities the Commission shall ascertain all the relevant facts, including written or oral information from the present administering Power, from representatives of the population of the territory, including minorities, from Governments and from such organizations and individuals as it may deem necessary. In particular, the Commission shall take into account:

(a) The wishes and welfare of the inhabitants of Eritrea, including the views of the various racial, religious and political groups of the provinces of the territory and the capacity of the people for self-government;

(b) The interests of peace and security in East Africa;

(c) The rights and claims of Ethiopia based on geographical, historical, ethnic or economic reasons, including in particular Ethiopia's legitimate need for adequate access to the sea;

"3. That in considering its proposals the Commission shall take into account the various suggestions for the disposal of Eritrea submitted during the fourth regular session of the General Assembly;

"4. That the Commission shall assemble at the Headquarters of the United Nations as soon as possible. It shall travel to Eritrea and may visit such other places as in its judgment may be necessary in carrying out its responsibilities. The Commission shall adopt its own rules of procedure. Its report and proposal or proposals shall be communicated to the Secretary-General not later than 15 June 1950 for distribution to Member States so as to enable final consideration during the fifth regular session of the General Assembly. The Interim Committee of the General Assembly shall consider the report and proposal or proposals of the Commission and report, with conclusions, to the fifth regular session of the General Assembly".

¹¹ *Official Records of the fourth session of the General Assembly*, Plenary Meetings, summary records of meetings, page 302.

¹² *Ibid.*

Paragraph 1 of section D reads as follows:

"D. *With respect to the above provisions [the General Assembly]:*

"1. *Invites* the Secretary-General to request the necessary facilities from the competent authorities of each of the States in whose territory it may be necessary for the Commission for Eritrea to meet or travel".

Section II. Organization of the Commission

(a) COMPOSITION OF THE COMMISSION AND SECRETARIAT¹³

14. In accordance with resolution 289 A (IV), the Commission consisted of representatives of Burma, Guatemala, Norway, Pakistan and the Union of South Africa. The following representatives and alternates were appointed to constitute the Commission in representation of their respective countries: Mr. Justice Aung Khine and U Maung Maung Soe (Burma), Mr. Carlos García Bauer and Mr. Jose Luis Mendoza (Guatemala), Mr. Justice Erling Qvale and Mr. Ivar Lunde (Norway), Mr. Mian Ziaud-Din and Mr. Mir Mohamed Shaikh (Pakistan), Major-General F. H. Theron and Mr. F. J. van Biljon (Union of South Africa). Their credentials were found to be in due form.

15. The Secretariat of the Commission, totalling twenty persons, was headed by Mr. Petrus J. Schmidt as Principal Secretary, together with a Deputy Principal Secretary, Mr. David Blickenstaff, and two Assistant Secretaries.

(b) RULES OF PROCEDURE

16. At the third meeting, held on 7 February 1950, the Commission adopted¹⁴ its rules of procedure.¹⁵

(c) ELECTION OF OFFICERS

17. All the representatives on the Commission were not present at the first meeting held at Lake Success on 10 January 1950, and as the Commission had not yet considered its rules of procedure, it was decided to elect a temporary Chairman. Mr. Justice Aung Khine (Burma) was unanimously elected temporary Chairman.¹⁶

18. At its third meeting, held on 7 February 1950, the Commission elected Mr. Justice Erling Qvale (Norway) Chairman, and Mr. Mian Ziaud-Din (Pakistan) Rapporteur.

19. At the 36th meeting, held on 31 March 1950, the Commission decided unanimously to amend its rules of procedure to provide that the office of Chairman would be assumed in future by representatives in rotation in the English alphabetical order of the names of the members for a period of seven days at a time.¹⁷ Accord-

¹³ Complete lists of delegations and Secretariat staff are given in annexes 1, 2 and 3 of this report.

¹⁴ A/AC.34/SR.3, paragraph 38.

¹⁵ A/AC.34/R.4.

¹⁶ A/AC.34/SR.1, paragraph 14.

¹⁷ A/AC.34/SR.36, paragraph 2, and A/AC.34/R.153.

ingly, the Chairmanship of the Commission was assumed by representatives as follows:

- 31 March-6 April: Mr. Aung Khine (Burma);
- 7 April-13 April: Mr. Carlos García Bauer
(Guatemala);
- 14 April-20 April: Mr. Erling Qvale (Norway);
- 21 April-27 April: Mr. Mian Ziaud-Din (Pakistan);
- 28 April-4 May: Major-General F. H. Theron
(Union of South Africa);
- 5 May-11 May: Mr. Aung Khine (Burma);
- 12 May-18 May: Mr. Carlos García Bauer¹⁸
(Guatemala);
- 19 May-25 May: Mr. Erling Qvale (Norway);
- 26 May-1 June: Mr. Mian Ziaud-Din (Pakistan);
- 2 June-8 June: Major-General F. H. Theron
(Union of South Africa).

¹⁸ Due to the resignation on 16 May 1950 of Mr. García Bauer, he was replaced for the remainder of his term as Chairman by Mr. Qvale who served as Acting Chairman.

¹⁹ A/AC.34/R.15.

(d) SUBSIDIARY BODIES

20. Sub-Commission I, comprising representatives of all five members of the Commission, was established by a resolution adopted at the seventh meeting, held on 18 February 1950, to investigate all the economic aspects of the evidence presented and available to the Commission.¹⁹

21. Sub-Commission I elected Mr. van Biljon (Union of South Africa) and Mr. Maung Maung Soe (Burma) as Chairman and Rapporteur, respectively. It held twenty-two meetings and submitted its report to the Commission on 8 May 1950.²⁰

22. The Commission also set up three working groups at various stages in its work. When it became necessary, the Commission divided itself into two field groups.

²⁰ *Reservation by the delegation of Guatemala:*

"In the meeting held on 29 April 1950, the Guatemalan delegation requested that the part of the rules of procedure relating to the rotation of Chairmanship should be applied in Sub-Commission I. The Chairman, Mr. van Biljon, refused to apply this rule."

Chapter II

SUMMARY OF THE MAIN ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMISSION

Section I. Programme of Work

23. The Commission held seventy meetings, of which forty were public meetings and forty-four private in all or in part.²¹ The first and last meetings were held on 10 January 1950 and 8 June 1950 respectively.

24. On 15 February 1950, at 10 a.m., the flag of the United Nations was raised at the gate of the Palace grounds at Asmara by the Principal Secretary. The Chairman of the Commission addressed those attending the ceremony, who included members of the Commission and the Secretariat, officials of the British Administration and local Press representatives.

25. The Commission established a Working Group to prepare a programme of work and visits which was adopted and later adjusted as circumstances required. A complete schedule of the day-to-day meetings, visits and hearings of the Commission, detailing the witnesses heard, is included in annex 17.

Section II. Information from and Relations with the Administering Power

26. The Commission addressed to the British Administration-Eritrea four questionnaires or requests for information²² on political, economic and ethnographic subjects.

27. Following a communication from the British Administration,²³ the Commission, at its 12th meeting, held on 24 February 1950, adopted²⁴ the following statement:²⁵

"The Commission has no intention to disclose at the moment any information received from the British Administration. The papers submitted by the Chief Administrator will be given a restricted circulation and their contents will not be disclosed until the drafting of the report of the Commission, when disclosure might be necessary for that purpose."²⁶

The British Administration thereafter addressed a series of replies to the Commission's communications.²⁷

28. Further, the Commission communicated with the British Administration on various subjects when clarification or explanations were required in connexion with its work or that of its subsidiary bodies and when it was considered that the Administration could provide information on the matter.

²¹ *Reservation by the delegation of Guatemala:*

"The Guatemalan delegation places on record that it was always opposed to the practice of holding private meetings without justified reason as it considers this contrary to the tradition of the United Nations."

²² A/AC.34/R.21, A/AC.34/R.28, A/AC.34/R.58 and A/AC.34/R.84.

²³ A/AC.34/R.27.

²⁴ A/AC.34/SR.12, paragraph 14.

²⁵ A/AC.34/R.34.

Section III. Information from Representatives of the Population of the Territory, including Minorities

(a) COMMUNIQUÉ TO THE INHABITANTS OF ERITREA
29. At the fifth meeting, held on 14 February 1950, the Commission approved the following communiqué:²⁸

"Communiqué by the Commission to the inhabitants of Eritrea inviting written statements by individuals or groups:

"The United Nations Commission for Eritrea extends its greetings to the people of Eritrea.

"The Commission has been appointed by the General Assembly of the United Nations with instructions to ascertain the wishes and the best means of promoting the welfare of the inhabitants of Eritrea, and to report to the General Assembly with proposals for the future status of Eritrea.

"In carrying out its responsibilities, the Commission will ascertain all the relevant facts and will consult the present Administering Power, other Governments, and representatives of the population, including such minorities, organizations and individuals as it may deem necessary. The Commission will take into account the views of the various racial, religious and political groups of Eritrea.

"The Commission has, therefore, decided to invite any individual or any group of individuals from among the inhabitants of Eritrea who so desire to send, as soon as possible and not later than 28 February 1950, to the Commission at its headquarters in Asmara any written statement relating to the future status of Eritrea.

"Such statements may, if it is desired, give the names of representatives whom the Commission might invite for oral hearings. The Commission may, in the future, issue further invitations with regard to the consultations which it may desire to hold with the inhabitants of Eritrea".

(b) REQUEST THAT THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION
ISSUE A PROCLAMATION

30. At the 12th and 13th meetings of the Commission, the representatives of a political group requested guarantees that all persons should be allowed to appear freely before the Commission, and an allegation, sub-

²⁰ *Reservation by the delegation of Guatemala:*

"The Guatemalan delegation was opposed to the adoption of this resolution because this secrecy obstructed or made difficult the necessary verifying of information received from an interested source."

²⁷ A/AC.34/R.47, A/AC.34/R.49, A/AC.34/R.81 and Add. 1, A/AC.34/R.68, A/AC.34/R.69, A/AC.34/R.70, A/AC.34/R.101, A/AC.34/R.132, A/AC.34/R.133, A/AC.34/R.129, A/AC.34/R.163, A/AC.34/R.166.

²⁸ A/AC.34/R.9.

sequently denied by the persons concerned, was also made that the leader of the parties of the group had been prevented from appearing by the Administration. The following resolution was adopted by the Commission at its 15th meeting, held on 25 February 1950:²⁹

"The United Nations Commission for Eritrea

"Decides

"That in order to avoid all likelihood of certain allegations as made yesterday before the Commission, the Commission requests the British Administration in Eritrea to issue a proclamation to the population that all persons are free to express to the Commission their views about the future of Eritrea, and that any such expressions will not render them liable to disapprobation of any kind on the part of the Administration, and that they will receive all possible protection".

31. A letter dated 28 February 1950³⁰ was addressed by the Administering Authority to the Principal Secretary together with the following draft notice to the public:

"The Chief Administrator wishes to emphasize that all persons resident in Eritrea enjoy the utmost freedom to express to the United Nations Commission their views about the future of Eritrea, and that they will be afforded all possible protection by the Administration in the expression of such views both at the time and subsequently during the continuance of the British Administration. He wishes also to mention that, because of the limited time available to the Commission, and the importance of the work on which they are engaged, all statements made should be relevant to the terms of reference of the Commission and should, furthermore, when dealing with matters of fact only consist of such information as can be substantiated. He regrets to observe that many statements have been made in public to the Commission which are untrue and can be of no value to the Commission in their difficult task".

The Commission, at its 18th meeting, held on 3 March 1950, took note of the British communication.³¹

32. The Administering Authority published the proclamation in the Eritrean Press on 19 March 1950.

(c) HEARINGS AND VISITS³²

33. The Commission heard representatives of the various political parties, of commercial and other organizations, of the Coptic Church and Moslem religious personages, at Asmara. It visited the other main centres of Eritrea and toured the countryside, either as a whole or in two field groups, and held sixty-four hearings at thirty-seven centres with the local representatives of the inhabitants. Where possible, the Commission inspected manufacturing and other establishments of interest.

(d) RESOLUTION OF THANKS TO THE PEOPLE OF ERITREA

34. The Commission, at its 42nd meeting, held on 6 April 1950, adopted the following resolution:³³

"The United Nations Commission for Eritrea

"Resolves

"To thank the people of Eritrea for their hospitality and co-operation with the Commission and for their commendable conduct at the hearings in Asmara as well as in the field, thus contributing largely towards the completion of its task in this country".

Section IV. Consultations with the Governments of Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Italy and the United Kingdom

(a) INVITATION TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF EGYPT, ETHIOPIA, FRANCE, ITALY AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

35. Pursuant to General Assembly resolution 289 A (IV), section C, the Commission decided to invite the Governments of Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Italy and the United Kingdom to express their views concerning the future of Eritrea and to provide such information as they might believe useful to the Commission. Suitable letters were addressed to these Governments on 3 March 1950 in which it was indicated that the Commission would be prepared, provided the respective Governments so desired, to engage in direct consultations with each of them:

(a) At Addis Ababa during the first week of April (letter to Ethiopia);

(b) At Cairo during the second week of April (letter to Egypt);

(c) At Rome during the third week of April (letter to Italy);

(d) During the first three weeks of April at a time and place found to be mutually convenient (letters to France and to the United Kingdom).

The programme of work was subsequently modified and the changed dates for the visits were later communicated to the respective Governments.

(b) CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

36. The following letter, dated 24 February 1950,³⁴ was addressed to the Principal Secretary by the Special Liaison Officer of the British Administration-Eritrea to the Commission:

"I have, as agreed between us, consulted my Government informally as to the manner in which they wish, as an interested Government, to place their views before the Commission and I have been informed that they are quite willing to present them in written form to the Commission here in Asmara, provided that those views are not published so long as the Commission is actually in this territory. They would wish of course to be in a position to answer any questions upon their views and to submit any supplementary oral testimony at a later stage, but to avoid complications it would be preferable if this stage could be delayed until the Commission has written its report, which I understand will take place in Geneva.

²⁹ A/AC.34/R.35.

³⁰ A/AC.34/R.40.

³¹ A/AC.34/SR.18, paragraph 1.

³² See annexes 17 and 18, Map 2 of this report.

³³ A/AC.34/R.175.

³⁴ A/AC.34/R.32.

"Perhaps you would let me know what the next step should be".

37. The Commission, at its 16th meeting, held on 28 February 1950, adopted the following resolution:³⁵

"Considering the letter from the Special Liaison Officer, B.A.E., dated 24 February 1950.

"The United Nations Commission for Eritrea

"Decides to inform the British Administration that the Commission will gladly accept the views of the United Kingdom Government in written form here in Asmara, and

"Agrees not to publish these views so long as the Commission is actually in this territory".

38. The Special Liaison Officer, British Administration-Eritrea, transmitted to the Commission a "Statement of the views of His Majesty's Government regarding the disposal of Eritrea laid before the United Nations Commission for Eritrea at Asmara on 18 March 1950".³⁶

39. Further, the Commission, during its 50th meeting, held on 28 April in Geneva, heard the representative of the United Kingdom Government, Mr. Frank E. Stafford, Special Liaison Officer.³⁷

(c) CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA

40. The Commission, at its 24th meeting, held on 13 March 1950, adopted the following resolution:³⁸

"The United Nations Commission for Eritrea

"Decides

"To visit such other towns and places in Ethiopia besides Addis Ababa as can be conveniently arranged in consultation with the Ethiopian Government".

41. The Commission further discussed the matter of its consultations with the Government of, and its visit to, Ethiopia at its 29th, 30th, 31st, 34th, 36th, 37th and 42nd meetings and it adopted various resolutions.³⁹ In this connexion, a number of communications⁴⁰ were received from the Government of Ethiopia, and the Commission at its 31st meeting, held on 25 March 1950, heard Mr. Deressa, the Ethiopian Minister of Commerce and Industry.

42. In conformity with its revised programme of work,⁴¹ the Commission was in Ethiopia, on the invitation of that Government, between 9 and 12 April, when it visited Gondar, educational, medical and other establishments in and around Addis Ababa and the Ethiopian Air Force training school at Bishoftu.⁴²

43. At the 43rd meeting of the Commission, held on 10 April,⁴³ Mr. Aklilou Abte Wold, the Minister for

Foreign Affairs, made a statement giving the views of the Ethiopian Government.⁴⁴ Consultations with the Government of Ethiopia continued during the 44th meeting, held on 11 April,⁴⁵ and a letter dated 28 April 1950, transmitting "Supplementary remarks and observations" was addressed to the Commission by the Ethiopian Minister of Foreign Affairs.⁴⁵

(d) CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF EGYPT

44. The Commission visited Egypt between 12 and 17 April 1950. At its 46th meeting, held on 15 April, it heard Mohamed Salah El-Din Bey, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who made a statement giving the views of the Government of Egypt.⁴⁶

(e) CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF ITALY

45. The Commission visited Italy between 17 and 20 April. A letter dated 17 April from Count Sforza, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, giving the views of the Italian Government, was addressed to the Chairman of the Commission.⁴⁷

(f) CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE

46. On 20 April 1950, in Rome, a letter was received by the Chairman of the Commission from the French Ambassador to the Italian Government, transmitting a communication from Mr. Robert Schuman, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs and giving the views of the French Government.⁴⁸

Section V. Drafting of the Report

47. The general debate on the question of the disposal of Eritrea took place at Geneva during the 51st, 52nd, 58th, 59th, 63rd and 64th meetings held between 3 and 17 May 1950.

48. After the draft of chapters I and II of the report⁴⁹ had been considered in the first reading, the Commission discussed the procedure to be followed with regard to subsequent chapters of the report and adopted, at its 65th meeting, held on 19 May 1950, the following resolution:⁵⁰

"The United Nations Commission for Eritrea

"Decides

"That its report to the General Assembly will contain chapters I and II of the draft report as they will be approved in the second reading, to which will be attached any memoranda submitted individually or jointly by the various delegations, setting forth their views regarding the relevant facts and the solutions which they consider appropriate for the disposal of

³⁵ A/AC.34/R.43.

³⁶ A/AC.34/R.89 (annex 4 of this report).

³⁷ A/AC.34/SR.50, Part I (see annex 5 of this report).

³⁸ A/AC.34/R.73.

³⁹ A/AC.34/R.119, A/AC.34/R.122, A/AC.34/SR.36.

⁴⁰ A/AC.34/R.98, A/AC.34/R.99, A/AC.34/R.118, A/AC.34/R.128, A/AC.34/R.156, A/AC.34/R.158.

⁴¹ A/AC.34/R.157.

⁴² A/AC.34/R.169.

⁴³ See annex 7 of this report.

⁴⁴ A/AC.34/SR.43, appendix A (annex 6 of this report).

⁴⁵ A/AC.34/R.187 (annex 8 of this report).

⁴⁶ A/AC.34/SR.46, Part I (see annexes 9 and 10 of this report).

⁴⁷ A/AC.34/SR.47, appendix A (annex 11 of this report).

⁴⁸ A/AC.34/R.182 (annex 12 of this report).

⁴⁹ A/AC.34/R.183/Rev.1, A/AC.34/R.186, A/AC.34/R.192, A/AC.34/R.195.

⁵⁰ A/AC.34/R.197.

Eritrea, and a volume of annexes, containing the documents which the Commission may decide to include;

"That delegations are requested that their memoranda should not exceed twenty-five double-space typed pages per delegation;

"That these memoranda will be conveyed to the Rapporteur as early as possible and not later than 2 June 1950 and will be distributed by the Secretariat to the members of the Commission as soon as they are received;

"That after the receipt of the memoranda by the Rapporteur, a meeting of the Commission will be convened for the purpose of including these memoranda in the report and of approving the ultimate paragraphs of the report and its subsequent presentation".

49. Draft chapters I and II as approved during the first reading⁵¹ were considered in the second reading at the 66th meeting of the Commission, held on 20 May 1950. The memoranda submitted by the various delega-

tions on 2 June 1950, in accordance with the above resolution, were subsequently included in the report and not discussed by the Commission.

50. The final draft report, drawn up in accordance with the above resolution, was submitted to the Commission during its 67th meeting held on 6 June 1950, and was approved by the Commission during its 69th meeting, held on 8 June 1950.

51. The Commission desires to express to the British Administration-Eritrea, and to the Governments of Egypt, Ethiopia and Italy its appreciation for the courtesies and facilities which were extended to it during the course of its work.

52. The Commission also expresses its appreciation of the work of the Secretariat and the service which it rendered in the arduous task of the Commission.⁵²

⁵¹ *Reservation by the delegation of Guatemala:*

"The delegation of Guatemala while recognizing the worthy and valuable contribution of a certain part of the staff of the Secretariat regrets that it is not able to accept a declaration of such general character."

⁵¹ A/A.C.34/R.196 and Add.I.

**MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY THE DELEGATIONS OF BURMA, NORWAY
AND THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA**

Part I: Factual Review of the Problem of Eritrea

I. INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

53. In terms of resolution 289 A (IV) of the General Assembly, the Commission's report has to be in the hands of the Secretary-General not later than 15 June 1950. By 19 May 1950, the Commission had, however, only concluded the first reading of the two opening chapters of the report. The drafting of the substantive chapters of the report had not even been commenced; indeed, their draft outline had not by then been examined by the Commission in order to give a guide to the Rapporteur.

54. The Commission had concluded its general debate on the problem of Eritrea, but this discussion had shown that, as between some delegations, there were marked differences in regard to essential factual matters, and no way of bridging them had been revealed. An objective approach to the facts of the case, leading to a measure of agreement on them, is clearly a prerequisite to the formulation of the best solution for Eritrea. But in the circumstances mentioned, an agreed factual report by the Commission was precluded.

55. In addition, only three more weeks were available to the Commission and it was obvious that a far longer time would be needed for the Commission to prepare a comprehensive report, with the lengthy discussion, roll-call votes and numerous reservations which would certainly have been entailed.

56. The delegations of Burma, Norway and the Union of South Africa accordingly felt themselves compelled to support a resolution by the Commission on 19 May 1950, that chapters I and II, together with joint or separate memoranda on their views by the various delegations and a selected appendix of documents, be submitted as the Commission's report.

57. The delegations of Burma, Norway and the Union of South Africa herewith submit a memorandum consisting of two parts. Part I outlines the facts surrounding the problem of Eritrea. Part II contains the proposals by the three delegations for a solution of the problem.

II. ERITREA, ITS PEOPLE AND ECONOMY

A. Geography and population

Size and location

58. Eritrea is about 50,000 square miles in size. It adjoins Ethiopia along a broad front on the south,

largely following the upper reaches of the Gash and Setit rivers. It stretches northwards triangularly, along the bulging Sudan border on the west and from the south of Port Sudan for 200 miles along the Red Sea to the Gulf of Zula. Below Zula, Eritrea has a long, narrow appendage, a strip of Dankalia desert, stretching a further 250 miles south along the Red Sea as far as French Somaliland, but only some 40 miles inland along an imaginary line parallel to the coast and forming Eritrea's western border with Ethiopia.

Topography and density of population

59. The Ethiopian uplands abut into Eritrea on its south, to form the central Eritrean plateau, often fragmented by sheer mountains and with an altitude ranging from 6,000 to 8,000 feet. These highlands comprise the administrative Divisions of Serae and Akkele Guzai in the south and the Division of Hamasien, with the capital, Asmara, towards the north. Though only 24 per cent of the area of Eritrea, these three Divisions have 56 per cent of the population.

60. The central highlands fall off steeply to the east where Massawa and the surrounding area, together with the Zula peninsula and Dankalia, form the Red Sea administrative Division, a dry, torrid and scantily populated region. It represents 22 per cent of the total area but has only 11 per cent of the population of Eritrea.

61. North of Asmara, around Keren, the altitude falls to 4,000 feet and the mountains become very broken. In the far north they become hilly in their descent to the Tokar region of the Sudan; to the east they slope steeply to the Red Sea plain but to the west more gradually to the Sudan plains. This whole area forms the Western Province Administrative Division, comprising 54 per cent of the area of Eritrea and a third of its people. The eastern Red Sea plain of this Division, like the northern hill country and the north-western steppe region, is dry and hot; only the Keren mountain area and the hilly and wooden region between the Setit river bordering Ethiopia and the Gash river have a better climate.

The diversity of the Eritrean people

62. The indigenous Eritreans are estimated at one million and, according to available statistics, have trebled in the last fifty years. The two principal language groups are in origin Semitic and their Tigrinya and Tigré languages, like Amharic which is spoken in Central Ethiopia and is the official language of the Ethiopian Empire, spring from a common root, Geez, the ancient language of Ethiopia which has survived

only in Coptic liturgy. Tigrinya uses Geez characters; Tigré can be written both in Geez and Arabic script. The Tigrinya and Tigré languages are based on a common origin and structure rather than on recognizable similarity, and as now spoken they are mutually unintelligible. The Tigrinya-speaking people are mostly Copts and the Tigré-speaking groups mostly Moslem. In the west and east of Eritrea are representatives of the race habitually using languages of the Hamitic type, principally the Beni-Amer tribes, some of whom still use Beja, the tribes of the Danakil who speak a language of their own, and possibly the tribes on the eastern edge of the central plateau speaking a language called Saho; most of these tribes are Moslem. Arabic has been adopted as a second language by sections of the western tribes to whom Arab culture has spread, and it is almost the *lingua franca* of the Mohammedan quarter in the Eritrean towns. Neither the Hamitic nor Semitic linguistic groups are racially pure; they have absorbed so much alien blood from each other and from negroid and other groups that the term race is hardly applicable to them. A distinctive racial group is represented by small tribes of negroid or nilotic origin in the south-west of Eritrea.

63. These various population groups have different economic habits, different forms of social organization and largely live in different areas though the boundaries are blurred by seasonal migrations and overlapping of tribal areas. The central Eritrean highlands have a practically solid block of some 470,000 settled cultivators, Coptic in religion and Tigrinya-speaking. They live in villages, nestling against the mountains with a Coptic church prominent on the hill-top. These people are organized in kinship groups of families claiming descent from a common ancestor, but they, in effect, form small territorial units since the hereditary land right is corporate and vested in the kinship group. Elected councils of elders manage the communal affairs and chiefs were unknown until appointed by the Italians. There are close affinities between the highland dwellers and those of the adjoining Tigray Province of Ethiopia. Their language and religion are the same; inter-marriage is frequent, and so is migratory use of grazing in the Tigray. The central highlands have only 72,000 rural Moslems; some are settled in small groups throughout the area, but the main concentration is toward the eastern escarpment where the semi-nomadic Saho-speaking tribes live. In winter they move to the Red Sea foothills for grazing where, if possible, some cultivate quick-maturing crops, returning to the plateau in the summer.

64. Adjoining the Saho tribes are the Danakil tribes, pure nomads speaking Danakil, a language distantly related to Saho. Both groups are organized on a kinship basis, with an elective chieftainship for each kinship group. Appointed tribal chiefs were introduced by the Italians. The Saho-speaking tribes never acquired any unity. A common language and religion and a common need for protection have developed a sense of cohesion amongst the Danakil.

65. Western, northern and eastern Eritrea are inhabited by numerous nomadic tribes of greatly varying size and language, yet united to some extent by the common religion of Islam. The Beni-Amer tribes predominate in numbers and mostly speak Tigré, but some speak Beja or are bilingual. With the advent long ago of new tribes in the north-west, a division of society into aristocratic and serf classes occurred, which in part still exists although feudal dues have been abolished by the British Administration. Tribal organization on a territorial basis is precluded by the nomadic nature of the tribes; it, therefore, developed on a kinship basis, with elective councils of elders and elective chiefs. Tribal chieftainship by appointment was introduced by the Italians and still exists.

66. The Keren mountain area, owing to its better rainfall, is largely inhabited by sedentary peasants. There is a block of Tigrinya-speaking Copts south of Keren in the so-called Abyssinian Districts, and a distinctive Beilin-speaking tribe lives around Keren. The negroid or nilotic groups of Eritrea are located in the south-west, between the Setit and Gash rivers; they are mainly agriculturalists, speak two languages of their own and are still regarded as an inferior race by their Coptic and Moslem neighbours.

67. The bulk of the population of Eritrea is rural and 847,000 or 78 per cent of the estimated total of 1,067,000 are so classified. Since 1933, considerable urbanization of the indigenous Eritreans has, however, occurred. The main concentrations are in the capital, Asmara, and in the Red Sea port, Massawa, which respectively account for 126,000 and 26,000, or for a total of 152,000 of the estimated urban population of 219,000. The indigenous population of Asmara is predominantly Coptic, that of Massawa and other centres mainly Moslem. Many rural Eritreans have become detribalized and in their new surroundings have acquired a use of Italian.

68. In the light of the foregoing, the population statistics of Eritrea are tabulated below, showing the diversity of the situation in broad outline:

ESTIMATED GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION, RELIGION, LANGUAGE AND WAY OF LIFE OF THE ERITREAN PEOPLE BY ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

Grouping	Highlands	Red Sea	Western Province	Total
(a) <i>Size and density:</i>				
Percentage of total area	24	22	54	100
Percentage of population:				
Rural	53	8	39	100
Rural + urban	56	11	33	100
(b) <i>Religion of indigenous people:</i>				
Moslem	104,000	105,000	315,000	524,000
Christian	470,000	2,000	34,000	506,000
Pagan	—	—	8,000	8,000
TOTAL	574,000	107,000	357,000	1,038,000

ESTIMATED GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION, RELIGION, LANGUAGE AND WAY OF LIFE
OF THE ERITREAN PEOPLE BY ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS (cont.)

<i>Grouping</i>	<i>Highlands</i>	<i>Red Sea</i>	<i>Western Province</i>	<i>Total</i>
(c) <i>Rural population:</i>				
(i) <i>Way of life:</i>				
Settled agriculturalists	388,000	17,000	80,000	485,000
Nomadic	62,000	47,000	254,000	363,000
TOTAL	450,000	64,000	334,000	848,000
(ii) <i>Language:</i>				
Tigrinya	387,000	—	9,000	396,000
Tigré	—	29,000	243,000	272,000
Saho	63,000	7,000	—	70,000
Belein	—	—	37,000	37,000
Danakil	—	28,000	—	28,000
Other	—	—	45,000	45,000
TOTAL	450,000	64,000	334,000	848,000
(d) <i>Urban population:</i>				
Moslem	31,000	41,000	17,000	89,000
Christian	93,000	2,000	6,000	101,000
Asiatic	5,000	1,000	2,000	8,000
European	19,000	1,500	500	21,000
TOTAL	148,000	45,500	25,500	219,000
TOTAL RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION (c(i)+(d))...	598,000	109,500	359,500	1,067,000

The administrative and judicial system

69. In view of the form of social organization existent in the village communities and amongst the nomadic kinship groups, their day-to-day affairs are regulated internally through that medium. District and tribal chiefs, appointed and paid by the Administration as in Italian times, are, however, responsible for the relations with the Administration of the groups of villages and nomads under their control. These chiefs act as the general agents of the Administration in their areas and tribes, collect the annual Native tribute, perform certain judicial functions and convey administrative orders to the population. The chiefs act through unpaid subordinate chiefs, village headmen and heads of tribal sections designated by the Administration. It maintains direct contact with the rural communities through senior divisional officers, assisted by divisional officers. The main towns of Eritrea are generally divided into European and non-European quarters; the affairs of the former are conducted by municipalities under close supervision of the Administration, while the latter are administered through chiefs appointed and paid by the Administration.

70. Apart from the employment of Eritreans in subordinate clerical and other grades, the British Administration has sought to train Eritreans for superior posts, but few have the requisite education. Eighteen Eritrean administrative assistants are being trained to replace British administrative officers and other Eritreans are being recruited. In the police, fifty-five Eritreans hold posts of police inspectors, and in accordance with their capacity some of them have been put in charge of the smaller police stations.

71. In the judicial system, the Eritreans play a growing role. The tribunals which have jurisdiction in all

civil cases as between Europeans, and as between Europeans and non-Europeans, have Italian judges appointed by the Administration. The village headmen and heads of tribal sections appointed by the Administration have jurisdiction as judges of the first instance in civil cases between parties of the same religion and community. Sharia courts administer Sharia law in civil cases as between Moslems. The British Administration has, in addition, created Native courts, whose members are Eritreans, with jurisdiction in penal cases against non-Europeans under specific Italian or British laws, and also in civil cases between non-Europeans if customary law is applicable. There are three courts of appeal in the territory, presided over by European judges.

Educational standards of the Eritrean people

72. The educational standard of the Eritrean people is low. According to the Intellectual Association of Eritreans, only one of whose members holds a university degree, some 70 per cent of the people are illiterate. As yet, a little less than 10,000 Eritrean children attend school, which is approximately 6 per cent of the Eritrean population of school age.

Other communities in Eritrea

73. There are small Greek, Arab, Jewish, Indian and Sudanese communities in the Eritrean towns, mainly engaged in trading, though many of the Arabs are labourers. The Italian communities are larger and occupy a special position in that they supply the country with artisans, technicians, professional men and *entrepreneurs*, in view of the inadequate standards of education and training of the Eritreans. Before the preparations for the Italo-Ethiopian war, the number of Italians living in Eritrea, mainly in the towns but sometimes as farm colonists, was limited to about 5,000. Thereafter

the number of Italians increased considerably but figures of the Italian civil population are not available. Since the British occupation of Eritrea, the Italian population has progressively declined, from 60,000 in 1941 to 20,000 by March 1950. The *Associazione Meticci dell'Eritrea* estimates that the territory has 25,000 half-castes (including Eritrean mothers); many of them are associated with the Italians in the economic role they play in Eritrea.

Capacity of the people for self-government

74. Despite its small population, Eritrea is, therefore, a mosaic of religious and linguistic groups, and as will be shown later, acute political differences have now arisen on the basic question of its future. To govern such a country would be no easy task and the fact cannot be escaped that at present the Eritrean people lack the capacity for the self-government of Eritrea entirely on their own. There is no Eritrean intelligentsia to draw on for the purpose; the bulk of the people are illiterate; and only 6 per cent of the children attend school. Moreover, the leaders of the community have no knowledge of the responsibilities of government and possess no administrative or judicial experience other than in the regulation of tribal affairs and the application of customary law.

B. *Eritrea's farming resources*

Climate, land-use and waterworks

75. The rainfall map published as appendix D of annex 13 is based on official Italian and British rainfall records since 1938. It shows that the territory is largely sub-desert, and not a tenth of it receives twenty inches of rain a year, the minimum needed for stable crop production in warm climates.

76. The Red Sea plain receives winter rains, almost nil in Dankalia and only eight inches in the north, so that the whole area is largely desert; in summer the heat is intense. The rest of Eritrea has summer rains, except a small area on the eastern slopes of the highlands, around Ghinda and Fil-Fil, which receives summer and winter rains; with a total of forty inches this small area is a green oasis. On the highlands, the climate is equable and a rainfall of twenty inches fairly assured, but it is torrential and restricted to three to four months; the other months are dry and dusty. Around Keren the rainfall declines to fourteen inches, and to less in the north and south-west, so that most of the extensive western lowlands are too dry for crops; in summer they are hot and malarial. In the south-western corner, between the Setit and Gash rivers, the rainfall averages twenty inches, but it rains in strips and there are wide seasonal fluctuations so that crop production is shifting and precarious; the scarcity of underground supplies of drinking water, common to the adjoining Sudanese plains, is a further obstacle.

77. The low rainfall permanently limits crop production in Eritrea. It severely hampers afforestation too as seedlings in plantations actually have to be watered in the dry months, otherwise less than 15 per cent sur-

vive after three years; in addition, the highland mountains which need re-afforestation most have often been eroded down to the bare rock. On account of the low rainfall, most of Eritrea is fit only for a migratory form of animal husbandry. The pattern of land-use is as follows:

POSSIBILITIES OF LAND-USE IN ERITREA

	Acres	Percentage
Cultivable land	780,000	2.6
Wooded	1,520,000	5.0
Scrub	1,843,000	6.0
Grazing	23,069,000	74.7
Waste land	3,525,000	11.5
Mineral reservations	55,000	0.2
TOTAL	30,792,000	100.0

The low percentage of cultivable land in Eritrea is common to other arid regions of Africa and not to its centre or south. In comparison with other African countries, however, the pressure of population in Eritrea is inordinate; the density of population per square mile of cultivable land is 700 in Eritrea, as against 30 in Ethiopia⁵³ where the rainfall is much higher, and 1,420 in Egypt⁵⁴ with its assured water supply and fertile delta.

78. The low rainfall, furthermore, limits the possibilities of irrigation in Eritrea. There is not a single river that runs for more than three months of the year, except the Setit on the frontier which originates in Ethiopia. River irrigation takes the form of flooding. The flood water is diverted to adjacent banked-in fields, either by means of a series of earth banks in the river beds as in the eastern lowlands, where little water now reaches the sea, or by permanent works as at Tessenei on the Gash river; most of its water which has not to be diverted to the Sudan cotton fields by agreement between the Governments is used by the Ali Gidr estate at Tessenei. On the Setit, to the northern bank of which Eritrea has access, little irrigation development has yet occurred and would involve pumping.

79. Extensive waterworks and hydro-electric development in the territory are also precluded by the low and seasonal rainfall. Twenty years ago,⁵⁴ the popular theory was that the many gorges from the highlands to the eastern lowlands should be dammed in order to regulate the flood flow. Today, the Eritrean Chamber of Commerce and the Italo-Eritrean Association assert that the deficient agricultural output and the absence of power supplies could both be solved by series of small dams on the highlands, to catch the run-off by means of canals and to regulate the flow to the eastern lowlands for irrigation purposes, coupled with hydro-electric works along the steep decline. The author of this plan, however, declared that security conditions had prevented him from traversing the territory to test "its real possibilities". It does not in any case seem to bear examination. Regularity of flow is a first principle of hydro-electric generation, whereas the lowland cultivators need the water over a few months; surplus flood water which now disappears in the sandy river-beds, moreover, feeds the water-holes of the nomadic herds-

⁵³ H. Shantz, "Agricultural Regions of Africa", *Economic Geography*, March 1943, page 157.

⁵⁴ G. Dainelli, "The Italian Colonies", *The Geographical Review*, July 1929.

men lower down. Furthermore, the recordings at the series of catchment dams supplying Asmara show an annual evaporation loss of 50 per cent, with the high altitude of 8,000 feet and warm cloudless days. The optimistic view of the Italo-Eritrean Association⁶⁵ that apart from the projected long-term waterworks, it would be possible to raise Eritrea's cereal yields sevenfold by planting the seed in rows instead of sowing it, has no basis in fact.

80. While the Eritrean highlands have the best rainfall, the region is very broken except around Asmara and in the Serae, where they flatten out. In consequence cultivable soil is extremely scarce. The small fields hug the mountain sides and are very stony so that the steel-pointed wooden plough, drawn by two oxen, and merely scratching the meagre soil, is the only suitable implement in most of the highlands. Rudimentary terracing is practiced but proper levelling is rare and the communal system of land tenure does not make for improvement as it provides no individual security of occupation. The highland mountains have themselves long been denuded of trees and soil. In result, this densely populated region, so vital to the agricultural economy of Eritrea, has lost much of its fertility and is rapidly eroding further. The flood waters of the Gash river, which originates in the highlands, carry as much as 8 to 10 per cent of soil particles. The soil thus carried away by the seasonal run-off is deposited in the eastern and western lowlands of Eritrea or outside its borders. It is there that irrigation is practised on the rich alluvial soil, to the extent that the supply of flood water permits.

Farming output and productivity

81. It is apparent that Eritrea is an inherently poor agricultural country. It is short of water, and short of cultivable land where there is water. As a result, an average of only 250 lbs. of cereals and legumes are produced yearly per rural dweller, with an average *per capita* holding of 1½ cattle and 2½ goats. Compared with Egypt's yield of 2.3 metric tons of cereals and pulses per hectare, or 0.8 to 1 metric ton per hectare in the Middle East, Eritrea's yield is only 0.5.⁶⁶ As 78 per cent of Eritrea's population subsists on farming, the effect of its low productivity on the economy of Eritrea as a whole is obvious, both now and in the future, since no large-scale alternative form of employment exists.

⁶⁵ A/AC.34/SR.26, paragraph 37.

82. In view of shortages and payment difficulties, a determined effort was made by the British Administration, after the occupation in 1941 and the release of manpower, to step up the production of food in Eritrea and reduce the food deficit. By giving priority to cereals over other crops on the concessions and by means of propaganda amongst the Eritreans, the output of cereals and pulses was progressively increased, from the order of 50,000 to 100,000 tons per annum, and the area cultivated from 300,000 to 600,000 acres. Livestock numbers nearly doubled over the same period, and have quadrupled in fifty years with the extended application of animal medicine, though droughts still take their toll. Eritrea, however, still has to import 12,500 tons of cereals yearly, one-eighth of its requirements, and future possibilities of expansion are restricted. Over-stocking is a serious problem in the highlands, and there practically all the available cultivable land is occupied. In the eastern lowlands a modest expansion under flood irrigation is possible and the western lowlands alone still have considerable scope for irrigation development. If and when the 170,000 additional acres capable of being watered in Eritrea have been put under irrigation, the human and animal population would also undoubtedly have grown. The main problem facing Eritrean farming is in fact not an expansion of acreage under irrigation but the rehabilitation of the densely-populated denuded highlands; this represents a task in terracing, levelling, re-forestation and the inculcation of the first elements of rotation and manuring, which will involve very considerable expenditure, labour and time.

Farming regions

83. The table below compares the farm output, livestock, crop land and forestry resources of Eritrea's natural agricultural regions. Although these regions do not coincide with the administrative divisions, the table is complementary to the divisional analysis of the Eritrean population in paragraph 68.

84. There is a natural measure of specialization and hence a degree of inter-dependence between these different farming regions. The western lowlands, for instance, help to meet the total cereal deficit of the other areas. On account of differences in seasons and inadequate grazing on the highlands, the tribes in the south-east move to the Ghinda area of the eastern slopes for

⁶⁶ Yields derived from data in the report of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization Near East Pre-Conference Regional Meeting in Beirut during September 1949. (FAO document C.49/1/6).

ESTIMATED SIZE, OUTPUT AND LIVESTOCK OF ERITREA'S NATURAL FARMING REGIONS

	<i>Highlands</i>	<i>Western lowlands</i>	<i>Eastern lowlands</i>	<i>Total</i>
Area in acres	10,680,000	10,880,000	9,232,000	30,792,000
Acreage cultivated	392,000	135,000	33,500	560,500
Percentage	3.7	1.25	0.36	1.82
Acreage still cultivable	48,000	165,000	6,500	219,500
Total percentage cultivable	4.15	2.75	0.43	2.57
Average output of cereals and pulses, 1947-1949 (tons)	71,760	21,900	6,450	100,110
Cattle	740,000	360,000	100,000	1,200,000
Goats and sheep	900,000	800,000	450,000	2,150,000
Camels	30,800	70,000	5,000	105,000
Horses, mules and donkeys	65,000	17,000	1,000	83,000
Tonnage of timber available	3,600,000	4,500,000	900,000	9,000,000

grazing and cultivation in the winter and those from Keren to the Sheb area. There also is a regular migration of cattle from the Serae and the western lowlands down to the Setit, and when grazing is bad, beyond the river into Ethiopia. On the other hand, many cattle from the highlands move into the Tigray, and Ethiopia, moreover, is the main source of supply to meet Eritrea's food deficit in cereals, coffee, etc.

European farming concessions

85. About 78,000 acres of State lands have been issued under concessions, principally to Italian settlers. Farmed along modern lines, they produce most of the fresh milk, vegetables and fruit needed in the towns and limited quantities of sisal, coffee and tobacco. Sisal and bananas are exported, the latter under preferential arrangement to Italy. A number of the farming concessions have lately been practically abandoned on account of insecurity. The experimental nature of these concessions has been most instructive, but since they often are exceptional in being well-watered, they have had little influence on Eritrean dry-land farming. They, however, provide considerable employment to Eritreans. The Ali Gidr estate at Tessenei is, for instance, worked on a share basis and as the operations are not mechanized, employment during planting and harvesting reaches 5,000.

C. Other economic activities in Eritrea

Employment outside farming

86. As against about 850,000 people dependent on farming, the table below shows the relative importance of the other avenues of employment in Eritrea, except commerce and domestic service for which no figures are available:

PRINCIPAL AVENUES OF EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE FARMING

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Eritreans</i>	<i>Europeans</i>	<i>Total</i>
Manufacturing (1947)	23,900	5,000	28,900
Mining (1947)	3,200	400	3,600
Rail and road transport	900	2,800	3,700
Administration and public utilities	3,500	12,000	15,500

Manufacturing industry

87. Eritrea's manufacturing activities date mainly from 1936. Ancillary to the road construction and building programme launched by Italy, cement, brick and tile factories were established, and many servicing and electrical workshops, food plants, etc., were started to cater for the transport fleet and the enlarged Italian population. Many of the transport and construction works were no longer needed after the liberation of Ethiopia and the British occupation of Eritrea, and today, after the departure of two-thirds of the Italian civilians, rows of derelict buildings mark the scene in the smaller towns *en route* to Ethiopia and in the partly demolished Italian and Allied military and naval bases.

88. In the few big towns, however, a new phase of industrial expansion set in after 1943. When the wartime shortages threw the territory back on its own supplies, Italian ingenuity and enterprise played an important role in improvising new factories, to make such

consumer goods as bottles, glassware, matches, beer, wine, paper and soap. The pre-existing cereal factories, edible oil plants, the tobacco monopoly, and chinaware and furniture factories supply food needs and conventional necessities. In addition, there are various fishmeal, mother-of-pearl and dum-nut button factories and vegetable fibre plants which cater largely for export overseas and two large salt-works which export sizeable quantities to Ethiopia and overseas. Also the beer, wine, glass, chinaware and match factories have come to rely on export, principally to the Sudan and to a lesser extent to Ethiopia, for a half and more of their sales. Some of these different factories are modern, but many are not and most are small. Their principal advantage seems to be the low level of Eritrean wages. Child labour, of both sexes, is extensively employed at still lower wages.

89. Lacking domestic sources of supply, imported petroleum and coal are used on the railways and for the generation of electricity, so that in this respect Eritrea has no advantage. The annual output of electricity is now about 22,500,000 kwh, a tenth of which is generated at hydro-electric works, and in view of the low rainfall and seasonal stream-flow, further development is inevitably restricted. Industrial minerals and agricultural and forestry raw materials in the territory are limited, though the marine resources and animal products still offer scope for further industrial development. The severe obstacles to re-forestation have previously been noted and today reliance is largely placed on the limited supply of indigenous trees. The match factory, for instance, has to rely on the euphorbia candelabra tree, which is not very suitable for the purpose and takes fifty years to mature so that, at the present rate of match production, the supplies are visibly diminishing. Again, the dum palms, the nuts and leaves of which are used in industry, occur only in narrow fringes along the river banks of the eastern lowlands so that supplies are expensive to collect and limited, while also occupying some of the land still available for irrigation. The Eritrean market is, moreover, small and while the ingenuity of the Italians in using such raw materials as do exist, including substitutes, is remarkable and the low wage level is of advantage, it would be unwarranted to expect further considerable industrial expansion. The statement by the Italo-Eritrean Association that, given a decision on the future of Eritrea which would provide the requisite political and financial security now lacking, the industrial employment could be readily stepped up to 100,000 people, has not been supported by any concrete facts.

Mining

90. Organized mineral exploration was undertaken in Eritrea late in the Italian regime by three semi-public concerns. One explored for gold in the western lowlands; another for copper, nickel and iron in the north; and the third drilled for oil on the Dahlak Islands off Massawa. No records of the oil drillings are available, but no discoveries are known, and the records of the two other concerns are not complete. The gold veins found and later worked are not of high value and though sometimes thick, they are vertical and often discontinuous. The northern region of Eritrea is potentially mineralized, but it is dry and difficult of access from the sea. The nickel ore located there is of low quality and

the size of the deposits, like those of copper and white asbestos found in association, are not known; traces of manganese, titanium and chromium were also found. Miça, in very broken form, and vermiculite occur elsewhere in small quantities. Small seams of lignite, incapable of commercial exploitation, have been found. The known iron ore deposits total only 17 million tons. Marble and road stone abound. Kaolin and feldspar of good quality exist. The limited area of the torrid Dankalia depression falling within Eritrea, the greater part of it being in Ethiopia, contains sodium and potassium salts in considerable and payable quantities.

91. The limited mineral deposits which have been located and considerations connected with the geological history of the country, of which a certain knowledge was disclosed by the explorations carried out, suggest that Eritrea cannot be considered as a region favoured by mineral wealth. On the other hand, it could not be stated definitely that Eritrea is poor in minerals; her geology is too incompletely known and much further study and capital would be required to complete the task. The Red Sea plain north of Massawa, for instance, has sediments of miocenic age which have not yet been drilled for petroleum. It would, however, clearly be unwarranted and rash to assess Eritrea's economic future on an assumption that oil and mineral deposits of real value are going to be discovered.

92. In view of the limited known mineral deposits, and the fact that most is known of the gold occurrences, their extraction is the principal mining activity. Gold production, which commenced mainly after 1937, reached 17,000 ounces by 1940. Dismantling for war purposes, the damage done to five mines since 1948 by terrorists and the closing of a further nine on account of insecurity and for economic reasons have reduced the gold output to as low as 2,800 ounces. Sale is allowed on the free market at a premium as it appears that working costs exceed the official gold price. Kaolin and feldspar are worked only to the extent of local requirements. No other mines exist.

Transport, foreign trade and balance of payments

93. Eritrea has one railroad. It links the port of Massawa with the highland capital Asmara, and as it was not designed to serve Ethiopian trade, it thence links up with Eritrea's own western hinterland. Traffic on the latter section is scarce, averaging 60 tons of goods and 800 passengers per day; the traffic density is somewhat higher, 220 tons of goods and 550 passengers per day, on the shorter section from Asmara to Massawa harbour, which is conveniently situated for traffic to and from the Tigray and Gondar regions of Ethiopia. Notwithstanding that competing motor transport parallel to the railroad is largely prohibited, the rail traffic barely produces enough revenue to meet current costs, with no provision for depreciation and renewal. The Italian ropeway between Massawa and Asmara is inoperative as there is not enough traffic even for the railway.

94. The Eritrean road system, comprising 485 miles of main roads and 1,400 miles of secondary dirt roads, is an engineering feat. Constructed largely after 1935, the roads not only link the territory internally but also

northern Ethiopia with Massawa, the Dessie region with Assab, and Eritrea's west and centre with the Sudan. The road motor fleet conveys some 70,000 tons of goods yearly to and from Ethiopia and probably 50,000 tons internally.

95. The Eritrean Chamber of Commerce has stressed the importance of the transport earnings on the Ethiopian transit trade and of the additional income secured as commission, harbour revenue, freight and insurance. A related source of earnings is the value added to Ethiopian primary products, resorted, cleaned or processed in Eritrea for re-export. The inward and outward transit trade to and from Ethiopia totals about £3,000,000 a year, compared with Eritrea's own import-export trade total of £4,700,000. From this comparison, the vital economic significance to Eritrea of her location, astride the Red Sea trade route and with the potentially rich Ethiopian hinterland behind her, is self-evident. The *entrepôt* earnings from Ethiopian trade, together with dollar remittances to American personnel in Eritrea, have the result that Eritrea's own adverse trade balance of over £1,500,000 is largely wiped out. For the past three years foreign receipts and payments have been in approximate balance, so that import control has been considerably relaxed.

96. Eritrea's own foreign trade conforms to the pattern of her domestic economy. Her principal exports are hides, skins, salt and other marine products; exports of manufactures are far smaller. On the other hand, due to the low rainfall and scarcity of cultivable soil, cereals and other foodstuffs bulk large in her imports, as do textiles, fuel and tires. As a source of cereals and other foodstuffs, Ethiopia ranks first and enjoys tariff preference. The distribution between countries of the import trade in manufactured goods seems to have been influenced considerably by import control and Britain now is the main supplier. Italy has, however, remained the principal market for Eritrean primary produce.

Taxation and finance

97. The Italian tax system for Eritrea is still in force, with a large variety of direct and indirect taxes. Customs duties (averaging 10 per cent), income tax (levied at progressive rates on incomes over £60 and averaging 10 to 12 per cent), a monopoly tax on tobacco goods of over 100 per cent, and the surcharges on petrol (88 per cent), spirits (89 per cent) and beer (43 per cent) provide three-fourths of the revenue. The annual tax yield of £1,200,000 is only about £1 per head of population. The Eritrean Chamber of Commerce has assessed the incidence of taxation at £46 per head for Europeans and at four shillings per Eritrean.

98. Budgetary expenditure exceeds the revenue of Eritrea, and the accumulated deficit met by the British Treasury over the past nine years is £1,508,200, of which £970,000 were spent on Italian relief and repatriation, leaving a net deficit of £538,000. This figure excludes the costs of the British military forces and further understates the true budgetary deficit in that the administration has been conducted on a care-and-maintenance basis only; no provision for renewal of

capital has been made and avoidable capital expenditure has been deferred. The charges for posts, telegraphs and veterinary services cover costs, but the medical, railway and port services are rendered at rates which would not nearly cover costs if due provision were made for capital depreciation. Inclusive of certain capital expenditure which could no longer be deferred, the estimated deficit for the current financial year has risen to nearly £450,000.

Is Eritrea economically viable?

99. Eritrea is largely sub-desert and an inherently poor farming country. Her known mineral deposits are negligible. She has practically no local sources of power. In the absence of any rich sources of raw materials, of domestic power or of widespread industrial skill, Eritrea can have no real industrial future. A number of manufacturing industries exist, and some can develop further, but they are small and their principal advantage is the low wage level of the Eritreans, including the extensive child labour force. Eritrea's road links with Ethiopia and her two harbours, however, enable her to profit from the conveyance and handling of a large transit trade with Ethiopia, the resultant earnings contributing greatly to offset her own large adverse trade balance. Eritrea is closely linked with the Ethiopian economy in other respects as well. Ethiopian grazing lands are extensively used; Ethiopia is the most convenient supplier of Eritrea's cereal deficit, and if the population of Eritrea's densely-occupied highlands continues to increase, emigration to the sparsely inhabited Ethiopian uplands will become a necessity. Furthermore, Ethiopia and the Sudan provide the largest export markets for Eritrean manufactures. In view of the paucity of her resources, Eritrea regularly has a budgetary deficit, even without provision being made for capital depreciation. The average tax yield is only £1 per head, the Europeans being estimated to contribute £46 each and Eritreans four shillings. The budget deficit cannot, however, be wiped out simply by inventing new tax formulae, since the Eritrean peasantry, comprising 78 per cent of the population, have a very low *per capita* output; crop yields in Eritrea are half those in the Middle East. In these circumstances outside financial assistance had to be provided to Eritrea, first by the Italians and then by the British Administration. Further assistance would be needed for the extension of medical services and educational facilities, for the rehabilitation of the denuded highlands which are the mainstay of Eritrean agriculture, and for exploration to discover minerals. The costs of defence are today met by the British Treasury.

100. Eritrea has, therefore, neither the resources nor the revenue to make her economically viable in the foreseeable future. Her economic dependence on Ethiopian economy is very great. And in view of the absence of any technical proficiency on the part of the Eritreans themselves, the continued presence of a sufficient number of foreign technicians, Italian and other, to operate her manufacturing industries and technical services, is vital to the maintenance of the present level of economic activity as well as for any possible increase in industrial development.

III. POLITICAL WISHES OF THE PEOPLE

A. *Recent changes in political groupings in Eritrea*

101. Since the survey made by the Four-Power Commission in Eritrea in 1947, important changes in the attitude of the different political parties have led to a new line-up of the main political organizations of the territory. These developments have partly altered the situation which existed two years earlier.

102. The main change which has occurred since 1947 is the formation of the Independence Bloc and the subsequent development of new political parties. The Independence Bloc was formed in New York during the 1949 spring session of the General Assembly by a coalition of the Moslem League, the Liberal Progressive Party, the New Eritrea Party (formerly the Pro-Italia Party), the Nationalist Party, the Veterans' Association and the Italo-Eritrean Association. These parties had variously favoured independence, Italian trusteeship or continued British Administration, but now united in a demand for the immediate independence of Eritrea. The Bloc was joined by two new organizations, the Independent Eritrea Party (composed mostly of former Unionists from the Keren District) and the Intellectual Association of Eritreans (composed of a small number of individuals).

103. This concentration of parties and groups around a common programme for independence was soon followed by important secessions from the Bloc and by the establishment of new parties by dissident elements. The groups concerned all stated that they seceded because of their conviction that Italian interests and interference influence the policy of the Bloc, but in some cases personal division of opinion between different party leaders was also a probable cause. The first change of allegiance occurred with the formation of the Independent Moslem League of Massawa, mainly amongst Moslem residents of the Red Sea, Hamasien and Akkele Guzai Divisions; this group has come out in favour of union with Ethiopia under conditions designed to protect Moslem interests. After the arrival of the Commission in Eritrea, three new parties were organized by groups breaking away from the Independence Bloc. Two of these are the Liberal Unionist Party (composed of former members of the Liberal Progressive Party) and the Independent Eritrea United to Ethiopia Party (composed of former members of the Independent Eritrea Party), who both favour union with Ethiopia, the former under certain conditions. The third is the Moslem League of the Western Province (composed of former members of the Moslem League) which advocates the continuance of the present British Administration in the Western Province for a period of ten years, leaving the rest of the territory to decide its future for itself. The Independence Bloc, favouring an independent Eritrea, therefore now consists of seven political parties, of which the Moslem League is numerically the largest.

104. The Unionist Party has remained the biggest single party in Eritrea and has continued to urge the reunion of the whole of Eritrea with Ethiopia. In this it is supported by three smaller parties. Recently, in the circumstances explained more fully in paragraph 110 the Unionist and allied parties signified that, if the majority of the inhabitants of the Western Province

were found to oppose reunion, they would not oppose a separate solution for it, provided that the remainder of Eritrea were then united with Ethiopia.

105. These political shifts are indicative of the state of feeling and uncertainty which has been engendered in Eritrea by the long delay in applying a final political solution. The continued uncertainty also is a root cause of the insecurity and violence which have marked the past months. It must be stressed that while the major political parties are active in propagating their views and enlisting the support of the people, they are not as highly organized as in other countries and have little appreciation of the practical responsibilities of government.

B. Assessment of the political wishes of the parties and people

106. The Commission sought to ascertain the political views and wishes of the population through hearings of representatives of the different political parties and other associations as well as by inquiries in the country. The leaders were called to state their opinions before the Commission in Asmara, and the different parties and associations also submitted written statements to the Commission. Furthermore, during the field hearings in the countryside and other towns, representatives of local branches of the various organizations were questioned by the Commission or its field groups.

107. The questions put to the representatives who met the Commission in Asmara and in the field were designed to establish as much information as possible about the membership and numerical support claimed by the different associations, parties and leaders of the local political groups. The questions were also framed so as to elicit their main political views on the future government of the territory and their wishes with reference to independence, union or association with Ethiopia, trusteeship, continuation of the present Administration, the disposal of the territory as an undivided entity under these different solutions, and partition of Eritrea with the view to according separate treatment to the Western Province. Additional questions ranging over a diverse field were put by the different delegations.

C. Views of the principal political parties and associations

108. The Commission gave hearings in Asmara to the eighteen political and other associations which desired to be heard. The views expressed by the leading parties and allied organizations during these hearings are briefly summarized.

The Unionist Party and allied parties

109. *The Unionist Party*⁵⁷ desired the immediate and unconditional reunion of Eritrea with Ethiopia, basing its claims on the close links of race, geography, history and economy between the two countries. It asserted that this course was favoured by the great majority of the Eritrean population (including 75 per cent of the inhabitants of the Western Province). The Party was against independence without association with Ethiopia,

stressing that real independence for a poor country such as Eritrea could not thereby result. It opposed the Independence Bloc on the grounds that it was a foreign creation and alleged that the Bloc was directly supported and financed by the Italians. The Unionist Party rejected all allegations that the Moslems were badly treated by the Ethiopian Government and maintained that all groups of the population in Ethiopia were accorded equal treatment, which would also be the case in Eritrea after reunion with Ethiopia. The Unionist Party rejected the criticism that it supported terrorism and stated that accusations to that effect were only put forward by the Independence Bloc and its sympathizers in order to conceal their own weakness and lack of support from the population. It did not admit that the economic work of the Italians had been intended to benefit the Eritrean population as such and was opposed to allowing the Italians to exercise any influence or take part in the administration of the country; they and the half-castes would be protected under a democratic constitution, based on international law and human rights, provided that they obeyed the laws of the country and wished to do good for the whole of the country and not merely for themselves.

110. The Unionist Party, in claiming the reunion of the whole territory of Eritrea with Ethiopia, originally rejected the claims of the Moslem League of the Western Province for partition, considering this party only to consist of a few chiefs dependent on the British Administration and in the belief that the Unionists themselves were in the majority in the Western Province. At a later stage,⁵⁸ the Unionist Party informed the Commission that, while not departing from its basic desire for reunion of Eritrea with Ethiopia, it might be that one solution for the whole country would not be considered workable at the forthcoming meeting of the General Assembly. Having also taken note of a recent change of views in the Western Province, the Unionist Party, therefore, indicated that, if the majority of the inhabitants of the Western Province were found to oppose reunion, it would not oppose a separate solution for that Division, provided that the remainder of Eritrea were then unconditionally joined with Ethiopia. It was stated that this decision had been taken by the leaders of the Party, as they were entitled to do in an emergency and since a basic change of policy was not at issue.⁵⁹ The Keren branch, however, protested to the Commission against the action of the party headquarters.⁶⁰ An agreement was reached at the same time between the parties favouring conditional union with Ethiopia and the Moslem League of the Western Province,⁶¹ that neither group would oppose the respective solutions advocated by the other in the event of partition being decided upon by the United Nations.

111. *The Independent Eritrea United to Ethiopia Party*⁶² expressed the same desires as the Unionist Party, except that it was prepared to agree to independence, provided that union with Ethiopia would subsequently be possible. This party, which claimed its main support in Keren and the neighbouring districts of the

⁵⁸ A/AC.34/R.151.

⁵⁹ A/AC.34/SR.42.

⁶⁰ A/AC.34/R.170.

⁶¹ A/AC.34/R.168.

⁶² A/AC.34/SR.14.

⁵⁷ A/AC.34/SR.17.

Western Province, stated that it had broken away from the Independence Bloc and from the Independent Eritrea Party because of Italian interference with the policy of the Bloc.

112. *The Liberal Unionist Party*,⁶³ which claimed its main support in Eastern Eritrea, desired union with Ethiopia on certain conditions designed to preserve the use of Eritrean languages and to safeguard the customs of the country. The members of this Party had originally adhered to the Liberal Progressive Party but had broken away after the latter had joined the Independence Bloc. They stated that they were now opposed to the Bloc because of its Italian affiliations, which clearly showed that the Italians intended to regain control over Eritrea through the Bloc. Representatives of the Party had visited Addis Ababa and had received satisfactory assurances from the Ethiopian Government as to the realization of the conditions they wanted as the basis for the union of the two countries. The Party did not want the Italians or the Italo-Eritrean half-castes to have any part in the political life of the country but stated that they would be free to remain in Eritrea "as workers".

113. *The Independent Moslem League*,⁶⁴ which claimed its main support in Massawa and the eastern lowlands, desired union with Ethiopia under conditions designed to preserve the rights of Moslems and especially assuring equal treatment of Moslems and Copts, recognition of all Moslem institutions and recognition of the Arabic language which should be taught side by side with the official language of Ethiopia. The majority of the members of the party had belonged to the Moslem League, but it was stated that they had broken away when the League joined the Independence Bloc. Representatives of the Independent Moslem League had been to Addis Ababa and stated that they had received satisfactory assurances as to the fulfilment of the conditions they put forward for the union of Eritrea to Ethiopia. This party, too, considered that real independence for Eritrea could be obtained only in union with Ethiopia. It felt that the Italians in Eritrea would be humanely treated by the Ethiopian Government, in the same way as their compatriots now residing in Ethiopia, but refused to state the views of the party as such, declaring that the Italians had their own country, as the Eritreans had theirs.

The Independence Bloc and allied parties

114. *The Independence Bloc*⁶⁵ desired immediate independence for the whole of Eritrea, and that a constituent assembly should determine the form of government. It was claimed that the Bloc and its affiliated parties were supported by the vast majority of the population, who opposed union with Ethiopia, the partition of Eritrea or any form of trusteeship. The Eritrean people were considered fully able to rule themselves. The representatives of the Bloc expressed strong opposition towards the claims of Ethiopia, maintaining that Eritrea had never formed a real part of the Ethiopian Empire, that there were no real racial links between the two countries, and that even the Province of Tigray had been annexed to Ethiopia against the

will of its inhabitants. The Ethiopian Government was accused of supporting terrorist activities in order to prevent the free expression of public opinion particularly in the highlands. Moslems were said to be ill-treated in Ethiopia, and the Ethiopian Government was said to be unable to manage its own affairs. The British Administration was criticized on the basis of allegations that it supported plans for the partition of Eritrea, favoured the Unionists and did not seriously try to prevent terrorism. The Bloc dismissed the claims of the Unionist Party because it considered it to be in the minority, which compelled it to resort to terrorism. The claims of the Moslem League of the Western Province were opposed by the Bloc on the grounds that that party was composed only of chiefs in the pay of the British Administration and because it aimed at the partition of the territory, which was against the wishes of the whole population. The attitude of the Bloc towards the Italians in Eritrea was that they would be treated according to international law and enjoy the same position as other foreign communities. Because of the ties of blood relationship which many Italians had with Eritreans, they would be welcome to stay in the territory.

115. The views of the Bloc were supported in separate statements by the representatives of the *Independent Eritrea Party*⁶⁶ and the *Veterans' Association*.⁶⁷

116. The *New Eritrea Party* supported the declarations of the Independence Bloc,⁶⁸ but was also prepared to accept United Nations trusteeship should immediate independence prove impracticable. The spokesmen of this group made strong accusations against the Unionists for resorting to terrorism in order to prevent opponents from expressing their opinions, and accused the British Administration of seeking to influence the political opinions of the people. The Party was of the opinion that the Italians, whose exodus would spell economic disaster, should remain in Eritrea in accordance with provisions to be inserted in the future Eritrean constitution.

117. *The Intellectual Association of Eritreans*,⁶⁹ which did not claim to be a mass movement, supported the policy of the Independence Bloc. The group would not object to union with Ethiopia if it were approved by a majority in the Eritrean Parliament after independence had first been gained.

118. *The Italo-Eritrean Association*, to which the Commission gave three hearings,⁷⁰ supported the main statements of the Bloc. The Association, which claimed the support of Italians and many half-castes, desired immediate independence for Eritrea, with a United Nations trusteeship for an interim period if the United Nations so decided. Free harbour zones at Massawa and Assab were proposed in order to afford Ethiopia an outlet to the sea. As noted earlier in this memorandum, the spokesmen of the Association stressed the economic inter-dependence of the different regions of Eritrea, the important role the Italo-Eritreans were called to play in the evolution of the country and ways

⁶³ A/AC.34/SR.23/Part I.

⁶⁴ A/AC.34/SR.24, A/AC.34/SR.25.

⁶⁵ A/AC.34/SR.12.

⁶⁶ A/AC.34/SR.13.

⁶⁷ A/AC.34/SR.19.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ A/AC.34/SR.22.

⁷⁰ A/AC.34/SR.15; A/AC.34/SR.16/Part I, A/AC.34/SR.26.

and means of making it self-supporting. They averred that annexation to or federation with Ethiopia would be a retrograde step for Eritrea, which had higher social, economic and administrative standards. It was said that agreement had been reached with the other parties of the Bloc that the social and economic rights of Italians and Italo-Eritreans would be safeguarded if independence were granted. They asked that if independence were rejected and another solution, which was not desired, were decided upon, the United Nations should properly safeguard the position of the Italians in Eritrea so that they could remain in the country and freely carry on their activities which were indispensable to the life of the country.

119. The claim for the independence of Eritrea was further supported by the *C. R. I. E.*,¹¹ *The Representative Committee of Italians in Eritrea*, on behalf of the 20,000 Italians then residing in the territory. Should immediate independence not be granted, the Committee considered Italian trusteeship as most appropriate, or alternatively a United Nations trusteeship with wide Italian participation. The statements of the Committee also paid attention to considerations of an economic nature, relating to the inter-dependence of the different parts of Eritrea and explaining how the country could be made self-supporting. The Committee indicated that if the majority of the people after receiving independence wished to join Ethiopia, the Italian group would follow the decision, but did not believe that a majority would be obtained. In view of the prevailing insecurity in Eritrea, which the British Administration was alleged to be unable or unwilling to combat, the C.R.I.E. submitted a request to the Commission, for transmission to the United Nations, that the present Administration not be allowed to remain in the territory any longer.

120. *The Eritrean Chamber of Commerce* submitted several papers of an economic nature, to which reference has been made earlier in this memorandum, in support of its view that Eritrea should not be partitioned and that, if properly administered, it could in a very short time become a self-supporting country.

Moslem League of the Western Province

121. *The Moslem League of the Western Province* claimed to represent the majority of the population of that area, who were stated to be opposed both to union with Ethiopia or with the Sudan. It therefore pleaded for a separate solution for the Western Province. It desired British administration for the area for a period of ten years and subsequent independence. It also requested the establishment of a legislative assembly for the Western Province. In advocating partition, the spokesmen of the party declared that they were speaking only for the Western Province and that the population of the other parts of Eritrea must be left to take their own decisions as to their future.

The party had broken away from the Moslem League because of alleged affiliations of the latter with the Italians, and because the League had abandoned its original programme, which was to promote proposals for independence after a preparatory period of British trusteeship.

D. Hearings of the local population

122. During extensive travels throughout Eritrea, the Commission visited thirty-seven centres and held sixty-four hearings at which the views of political groups of the local population were heard. On the recommendation of the Administration, and in order to avoid clashes and disorder, the procedure followed by the Commission and its field groups was to hold meetings at separate places in the different centres with the local groups representing the main trends of political opinion. In this way two meetings were held at each centre in the highlands and in the eastern lowlands, where the main division was between the parties favouring union with Ethiopia on the one hand, and the parties favouring immediate independence on the other. In the Western Province separate meetings were also held for the supporters of the Moslem League of the Western Province.

123. The spokesmen of the different groups appearing at the field hearings were heard in their capacity as representatives of the local branches of the respective political parties and only exceptionally were hearings accorded to individuals, local chiefs or other persons connected with the Administration. In the main it can be said that the local spokesmen who appeared at the field hearings merely repeated the view expressed to the Commission in Asmara by the political parties to which they belonged; often party leaders and some mobile supporters preceded the Commission in order to be present at these meetings. The procedure followed by the Commission thus differed from that of the Four-Power Commission which had heard representatives of each village, family or tribal unit, in order to ascertain the political views of each such unit and so assist in establishing the real numerical support of the political parties.

124. The attendance at the meetings gave a certain indication of the relative strength of the different parties. The impressions gained in this way broadly confirm the claims of the Unionist Party and allied groups that they have the support of a large majority of the people of the highlands in the Hamasien, Akkele Guzai and Seraye Divisions. The Unionist meetings in this area drew large numbers while those of the Independence Bloc were small, and sometimes none appeared. The representatives of the Bloc nevertheless claimed to have the real support of the inhabitants and attributed the absence of large numbers of people at their meetings to terrorist activities on the part of the "Shifta" gangs, which they alleged were organized from Ethiopia and helped by the Unionists, and to the seasonal absence of the people for grazing purposes.

125. Throughout the Red Sea Division by far the largest attendances were at the meetings of supporters of the Independence Bloc, mostly represented by adherents of the Moslem League. The Unionist Party and the Independent Moslem League, however, also assembled considerable numbers of people, except at Assab. At the end of the Commission's work at Asmara, claims were made by representatives of certain nomadic tribes in the southern Danakil region that the hearings at Assab and Zula had been called without sufficient warning to these tribes, who had therefore been unable to appear in support of the Independent Moslem League.

¹¹ A/AC.34/SR.15, A/AC.34/SR.34/Part I, A/AC.34/SR.41.

126. In the Western Province the Unionist Party seemed to have its main support at Keren and in the immediate neighbouring districts; Unionist meetings in other parts of the Province only showed negligible attendances. The Independence Bloc and the Moslem League of the Western Province were able to muster considerable numbers of supporters at hearings also in the more remote parts of the area, the meetings of the Bloc assembling the largest crowds everywhere in this Division.

E. *Membership and support of the political parties*

127. The information gathered by the Commission and the claims put forward by representatives of the various groups do not provide a basis for an evaluation of the precise number of supporters of the different political parties. Both at the hearings at Asmara and during the field hearings the representatives of all parties made the most exaggerated statements as to the number of their members and supporters. The number of supporters, claimed by the different parties both in the territory as a whole as well as in the different districts, were often considerably in excess of the total population as estimated by the British Administration. Large discrepancies could also be noted between the figures given by the central organizations of the parties at Asmara, and the figures indicated by the local representatives at the field hearings. A tabulation of figures of membership and supporters, claimed by the various political parties in Eritrea at the hearings at Asmara and at the field hearings, shows that the parties claimed to have the support of more than 3.5 million people, while the total population of Eritrea is estimated at not much more than one million. The Unionist Party and allied parties claimed about 1.3 million, while the Independence Bloc claimed more than 2 million supporters. The Moslem League of the Western Province was more modest in claiming the support of about 215,000 people out of the total population of the Western Province estimated at about 360,000. These exaggerated claims were made more conspicuous by the fact that the various parties were unable to give exact information as to how they arrived at them and usually admitted that the number of actually registered members was small as compared with the number of supporters, which included women and children.

128. An approximate general evaluation of the relative strength of the various political parties can, therefore, not be based on the claims put forward by the parties themselves, but must be made on all available evidence and sources of information, including the direct observations which the members of the Commission were able to make during the field trips in the territory.

129. In this connexion account also has to be taken of the extent to which extraneous factors may have influenced the formation and expression of the political wishes of the people of Eritrea. As noted in the earlier summary of the views of the political parties, the pro-Unionist group has indicted the Independence Bloc as being the product of Italian intervention, and not the result of spontaneous growth. Again, the Moslem League of the Western Province alleged, and on occasion produced witnesses to testify, that food, clothing and funds were distributed by the Bloc to draw adherents. On the other hand, there is the counter-charge

by the Bloc against the pro-Unionist parties, that they accepted assistance from Ethiopia and that terrorist practices and the sanctions of the Coptic Church were employed to swell the Unionist ranks and stifle their opponents.

130. There is little doubt that such extraneous influences have been at work. But there is a strong tendency to exaggerate them, and to take refuge behind them in weak situations. No reliable proof ever was adduced, and the Abuna Marcos, head of the Eritrean Coptic Church, consistently denied, that non-Unionist Copts had been forcibly enrolled by threats of excommunication. The two priests who alleged discrimination for political reasons admitted their participation in theological disputes of long standing. The Coptic Church certainly wields considerable influence, but it must not be overlooked that the Unionist movement in the highlands has many of the characteristics of an expanding popular movement. Operating with simple and easily understandable slogans, it reflects the fact that the Tigrinya-speaking Copts undoubtedly consider themselves as Ethiopians. The salute "Ethiopia!" not only resounded at their meetings but met the Commission all along the highways in southern Eritrea, whether from a few tiny children on a hill-top, casual passers-by or village communities massed along the roadside. Such results cannot be produced by transporting large bodies of adherents from one place to another.

It was confirmed by Administration officials that "Shifta" bands have sought to influence political dissidents in some highland districts, but it also is a fact that the bulk of the terrorist outrages in Eritrea have mainly been directed against individual Italians. Moreover, weak attendances at Bloc meetings were too often attributed to terrorism, or to absence on nomadic grazing, when other meetings were well attended, for the excuses to be convincing. In one case,⁷² a solitary witness of the party of the Bloc tried to explain the absence of his numerous supporters by producing a typewritten declaration to the effect that he had himself walked throughout the night to elude his pursuers and reach the meeting, only to admit in an unguarded moment that the letter had been typed before he set out on the journey.

On the other hand, as far as the Independence Bloc is concerned, its close association with Italian political interests is apparent from its composition. After the field group hearing at Mansura, the distribution of food by officials of the Bloc to those who had attended the meeting was actually witnessed. There also is no question that, in the case of the Moslem League, by far the strongest party in the Bloc, religious sentiment has been a powerful aid to unifying political sentiment. However, at most Independence Bloc meetings real enthusiasm was encountered and this invalidates any charge that the Bloc is entirely a creation, and under the direction, of the Italians and does not represent a substantial trend of opinion.

131. It therefore cannot be said that, on account of extraneous influences or propaganda dodges, the Commission's field hearings failed in their purpose of affording a reasonable indication of the views held by the

⁷² A/A.C.34/R.87, questions (c) and (d).

people of Eritrea on the different solutions which have been proposed for the country and which have to quite an extent penetrated their political perception. It would, however, be proper to recognize that, whatever the means which might be employed, it is impossible to gauge accurately the permanence and exact strength of the political persuasions of the people of Eritrea. This is because of the primitive character of Eritrean society, the large-scale illiteracy of the people and the obvious limitations of the political parties as shown by their unblushing claims to many more supporters than there are people and their naive approach to the practical aspects of government.

F. *Summary finding on the wishes of the people*

132. The hearings have shown that, in the three administrative divisions of the highlands, the bulk of the Christian Coptic population strongly favours the reunion of Eritrea with Ethiopia. In addition, a not inconsiderable number of Moslems there support the claim for union, and this is not unexpected in view of the close association of interests with their Coptic neighbours. The Unionist and allied parties have strong support also around Keren and a noticeable adherence through the Independent Moslem League on the eastern slopes and the area around Massawa. The support of these Moslems for the proposal of union with Ethiopia certainly cannot be explained away by such arguments as a reference to the instance where fifteen Copts attended a meeting of the Commission dressed as Moslems. In view of the overwhelming support enjoyed by the pro-Unionist parties in the highlands, and to a lesser extent also in the other areas mentioned, it is not unlikely that a majority of the Eritreans favour political association with Ethiopia. In the circumstances obtaining in Eritrea, however, accurate figures cannot be compiled.

133. On the other hand, there are large groups who oppose the movement for union with Ethiopia, mainly among the Moslems in the Western Province and in the Red Sea Division, including the Danakil desert. Generally, few Copts appeared at hearings of the Independence Bloc, except one whole village group in the Akkele Guzai, whose chief is the President of the Bloc, and another group in the Serae headed by a chief of the same family. With the defection of the Moslem League of the Western Province from the Bloc, there is little doubt that the supporters of the proposal that an independent Eritrean State be created immediately today represent a definite minority of the Eritrean population.

134. Both the pro-Unionist and pro-Independence groups, who together make up a large majority of the population, reject the partition of Eritrea in principle. Attention has already been drawn to the declaration of the pro-Unionist group of parties that a separate solution would be accepted for the Western Province, if the United Nations should decide on a dual solution and a majority in the Western Province want it. The Moslem League of the Western Province asked for such a dual solution but it did not appear that its adherents were in the majority.

135. The alternative possibility of trusteeship was put by the Commission at all hearings. The Unionist Party, however, insisted on reunion as the only solution and

said it would accept no other. The Moslem League in turn requested an independent Eritrea, and declined to express views on trusteeship in the event of the United Nations not acceding to independence. The Representative Committee of Italians in Eritrea intimated that, in the contingency mentioned, Italian trusteeship (which Italy itself no longer supports) would be preferred, failing which direct United Nations trusteeship should be applied. It was definitely established that most of the indigenous population completely reject Italian trusteeship. Indeed, there is a large measure of agreement amongst all parties that there should be no participation by the local Italian population in the future government of Eritrea, no exception being made for Italians born in Eritrea or for Italo-Eritrean half-castes.

IV. THE VIEWS OF INTERESTED GOVERNMENTS

Ethiopia

136. The Ethiopian Government, in its declaration to the Commission, requested the incorporation of the whole of Eritrea into Ethiopia, but said that it would respect the desires of the people in the Western Province for a separate solution for that territory, if a clear majority there want it.

137. The Ethiopian Government referred to the joint history of present-day Eritrea and Ethiopia. It stated that 3,000 to 4,000 years ago the Hamitic and Semitic immigrants into Ethiopia settled in the Tigrai first, that Eritrea has formed a part of the Tigrai, and that the rulers of that area owed allegiance to the Ethiopian sovereign; hence natural and historical bonds of ethnic and social affinities have always existed between Eritreans and Ethiopians, and their language, customs, art and religion are identical. The Ethiopian Government furthermore asserted that there is an overwhelming support, on the part of 75 per cent of the Eritrean people, for union with Ethiopia. Allegations that pressure has been brought to bear to that end by the Ethiopian Government and the Patriarch of the Coptic Church were rejected, as also that "Shifta" terrorists have been condoned by that Government. The Ethiopian Government, on the other hand, insisted that Italy had expended large sums to influence the views of the Eritrean people in favour of so-called independence. In further support of the proposal for incorporation, the Ethiopian Government drew attention to the economic dependence of Eritrea on Ethiopia in the following respects: Eritrean imports are double its exports; a balance is obtained, and the ports of Massawa and Assab can provide a livelihood, only with the help of earnings on Ethiopian transit trade, even though the bulk of Ethiopian foreign trade still passes through Djibouti. Ethiopia is the main source of Eritrea's food imports. Finally, some 90 per cent of the Eritrean people depend directly on Ethiopian pasture lands. In these circumstances, the Ethiopian Government has rejected the validity of proposals "to subject the population of Eritrea to facing the rigours of an artificial independent existence". It declared that Italy is attempting to regain control over the territory of Eritrea "through a formula that at the same time flies in the face of clear economic facts, the wishes of the population, the political possibilities, and the national security of Ethiopia". The statement of the Ethiopian Government added that

"Ethiopia will no longer supinely tolerate through this patent disguise of a so-called Italian independence of Eritrea, any such threat to our existence". The Ethiopian Government also rejected the accusations of discrimination against Moslems. It pointed out that one-fourth of the inhabitants of Ethiopia are Moslem, but that on the other hand one-third of its higher government officials, 17 per cent of the elementary school children in Ethiopia, and 22 per cent of the Ethiopian students studying abroad with government financial assistance, are Moslem. As far as the Italian minority is concerned, the Ethiopian Government drew attention to the presence of thousands of Italians in Ethiopia, who have themselves sought permission to stay rather than return to Italy.

138. In carrying out its responsibilities, the Commission was instructed by the General Assembly, *inter alia*, to take into account the rights and claims of Ethiopia based on geographical, historical, ethnic or economic reasons, including in particular its legitimate need for adequate access to the sea. That the Eritrean highlands geographically form part of the Tigray plateau is evident from any map, and there is no doubt that historical and ethnical bonds exist between the populations of the two areas. These features are present in a lesser degree in other parts of Eritrea. Economically, Eritrea is without doubt closely dependent on Ethiopia. The reverse is also true because of the location of Eritrea between Ethiopia and the Red Sea. Direct access to the sea is, therefore, of considerable economic significance to Ethiopia and of vital strategic importance to her as well. Geographically, the excellent deep-water harbour of Massawa is the natural outlet from, and point of supply to, northern Ethiopia, which includes the Tigray and Gondar. Assab is the nearest port to the Wollo Province, around Dessie. The railway from Djibouti in turn provides the shortest coastal link with Addis Ababa. At present Ethiopian imports and exports go over the following routes:

	<i>Tonnage of Ethiopian imports and exports (1948)</i>
By railroad to Djibouti	180,000
By road to or <i>via</i> Eritrea	39,000
By Bahr River to Sudan	4,000
<i>Via</i> British Somaliland	20,000
Unknown	37,000

139. It is seen, therefore, that the needs of Ethiopia are so intertwined with the future of Eritrea that, in devising a plan for the well-being of the latter, justice demands that suitable provision should be made for the interests of the former.

Egypt

140. The Government of Egypt has confirmed its announcement, made at the Conference of the Deputies of Foreign Ministers at London on 29 July 1948, that it supports the unanimous wishes of the Eritrean people that their country's unity should be safeguarded. At the same time, the Government of Egypt reserved its right to express at a later stage its point of view on the final disposal of Eritrea, as it would be premature to anticipate the results of the Commission's work.

141. However, the Government of Egypt indicated that if the Commission were to confirm the conclusions

previously arrived at by the Four-Power Commission of Investigation, as to the desire of the Eritrean population to ensure the country's unity, the point of view of the Government of Egypt would remain unchanged. If, on the other hand, the United Nations Commission for Eritrea should reach different conclusions owing to new data, or an unforeseeable reversal of opinion ascertained in the course of its investigation, the Egyptian Government would then duly reconsider the question in the light of those new facts and its own historical rights.

France

142. In the communication transmitted to the Commission, the French Government stated that it relied entirely upon the Commission to proceed within the framework of its terms of reference, taking into account the conditions at present obtaining. The Government of France, however, referred to the statements made by its representatives at the third and fourth sessions of the General Assembly, to the effect that the territory of Eritrea was heterogeneous in its population and that Ethiopia was entitled to compensation for the past and to guarantees for the future. It also stressed the desire to conform to the wishes of the indigenous inhabitants, including the Italian minority.

143. The French Government also pointed to its statement in the Political Committee on 1 October 1949, to the effect that any constructive decision should receive the agreement of both Ethiopian and Italian Governments so as to prepare for their future collaboration. Such collaboration would in the opinion of the French Government ensure peace and security and the development of prosperity in that part of the world.

144. Finally, the French Government considered that the necessary measures should be taken to provide adequate guarantees for foreign interests and property.

Italy

145. The Italian Foreign Minister, Count Sforza, informed the Commission verbally that the Italian Government no longer advocated or desired Italian trusteeship over Eritrea. In the note presented by that Government, it was indicated that Italy was deeply interested not only in the welfare of the Italians and their descendants who, having dedicated their activity to Eritrea, are bound to that country, but also in the welfare of the Native population. The Italian Government recognized the right of Eritreans to have their wishes respected and considered that the basic criterion to be adopted in the disposal of Eritrea is respect for the wishes, rights and interests of the population, including the Italians in Eritrea. It was of the opinion that there is no reason why Eritrea should be delayed on its road to independence, if independence corresponds to the historical conditions and the interests of the country, and it saw no reason to believe that if independence were granted it would be against the interests of Ethiopia; it stated that the solution of the Eritrean problem must be accompanied by the protection of the legitimate interests of Eritrea and Ethiopia, the chief common interest of both being to live in peace together and to co-operate fruitfully to mutual advantage. The Italian Government considered that the characteristics and structure of Eritrea are such as to make a strong argument for the

maintenance of its unity. It stated that the various parts of Eritrea constitute complementary elements which give to the whole a large measure of economic and financial self-sufficiency. The Italian Government also emphasized that Eritreans, though divided by race and religion, have in the past lived peacefully side by side, and that they still know how to live together profitably in a community which includes them all and which is based on collaboration and peace.

146. The Italian Government denied that any part of Eritrea occupied by Italy was taken from Ethiopia. It stated that the Danakil, where Italy first established itself, was occupied after agreements with the local sheiks; that the northernmost part, including Massawa and the Dahlak Islands, was part of the Ottoman Empire; that the western lowlands were acquired by Italy by a tripartite agreement between Italy, Great Britain and Ethiopia in 1903; and that the highlands were not considered as an integral part of the Ethiopian Empire inasmuch as King Menelik of Ethiopia invited the Italians to occupy the district of Asmara, while the highland zones south of Asmara were recognized as part of Eritrea by the Italo-Ethiopian treaty of 1900.

United Kingdom

147. The Government of the United Kingdom reiterated the view previously expressed at the General Assembly, that the Red Sea Province, including Massawa, and the Hamasien, Akkele Guzai and Serae Divisions should be incorporated in Ethiopia subject to safeguards for the Italian and other minorities, including appropriate municipal charters for the city of Asmara and the port of Massawa. The United Kingdom Government did not put forward detailed proposals to safeguard minorities and for municipal charters but stated that if the idea were accepted in principle, the details could be worked out. In proposing the inclusion of Massawa in the area to be ceded to Ethiopia, it pointed out that this is the natural port of the plateau and could not be separated from it or from Asmara without grave economic disruption. It supported the incorporation of the port of Assab and the Danakil coast because of the absence of lateral communication with the rest of Eritrea and the close racial, geographical, and linguistic affinities of this region to the adjacent Danakil areas of Ethiopia.

148. As regards the Western Province, the United Kingdom Government did not consider that the inhabitants should be incorporated in Ethiopia contrary to their expressed wishes, nor that the Province could justifiably be placed under a separate trusteeship looking to its future existence as a separate State. It, therefore, supported its incorporation in the adjacent Sudan, as being the best solution on ethnic, geographic and religious grounds.

149. The Government of the United Kingdom was firmly of opinion that the establishment of an independent Eritrean State is not a practicable solution. It stated that the territory is not and never has been economically viable and that it possesses neither the national, religious, racial, linguistic, nor geographical unity which would be prerequisites of such a State.

The Government stated that it could not support any proposal involving the return of an Italian Administration to Eritrea in any form.

150. The United Kingdom Government expressed its opposition to trusteeship, either for a definite or an indefinite period, and stated that on account of the facts given above trusteeship could have no aim or purpose since the inhabitants of Eritrea could not, in the foreseeable future, be in a position to take over their own government from a Trustee Power. It stated through its representative that it would not accept the responsibilities of trusteeship for the whole or any part of the territory.

V. PEACE AND SECURITY IN EAST AFRICA

151. The Commission has been directed to take particular account of the following factors in examining the problem of the disposal of Eritrea:

- (a) The wishes of the inhabitants of Eritrea;
- (b) The best means of promoting their welfare;
- (c) The capacity of the people for self-government;
- (d) The rights and claims of Ethiopia;
- (e) The interests of peace and security in East Africa.

The facts pertaining to the first four items have already been set out in this memorandum. The interests of peace and security in East Africa remain to be considered.

152. Eritrea is a very rugged and broken country, and this fact has throughout made adequate policing difficult and costly. Strategically, the external defence of Eritrea is rendered complicated by her long coastline and flat coastal plain and by the absence of natural frontier barriers in the interior. Whether or not peace and security could be maintained in such conditions would, however, be influenced less by pure strategic considerations than by the ability of the territory to meet the costs of policing and defence, by the degree of internal unity or dissension and by the political relationships with neighbouring countries.

153. There is an acute internal political division amongst the people of Eritrea on the basic question of the future of the country. This division of opinion has recently led to an outbreak of political violence between groups of Moslems and Copts in Asmara, while "Shifta" bands have over a period committed sporadic outrages in various parts of the territory. The security position in Eritrea is, therefore, perilous. The fact must be faced, moreover, that the movement for union with Ethiopia has many of the characteristics of a popular movement, and it is more than likely that outright frustration of these wishes would make the position of internal security in Eritrea untenable. Nor would it in that event be unrealistic to expect assistance for the unionist groups from Ethiopia, in view of that country's own espousal of the same cause.

154. It has, in addition, been demonstrated that Eritrea is not economically viable and lacks the resources and financial means to become such in the foreseeable future. In such circumstances and in view of the acute internal political division and state of tension in Eritrea, the conclusion is ineluctable that the creation of a separate Eritrean State entirely on its own would contain all the elements necessary seriously to prejudice the interests of peace and security in East Africa, now and in the future.

Part II: Proposals for the Solution of the Problem of Eritrea

VI. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

155. A fair and lasting solution for the problem of Eritrea must be realistic and take into account all the salient facts of the case. They were, therefore, examined in detail in part I of this memorandum.

156. Attention is, firstly, drawn to the fact that Eritrea is a poor country, without any prospects of progressing as a separate economic entity, and dependent in most vital respects on Ethiopia's rich farming resources and transit trade. In the view of the delegations of Burma, Norway and the Union of South Africa, these facts preclude a solution which has as its aim the creation of an entirely separate Eritrean State, whether in the immediate future or after an interval of international trusteeship.

157. Secondly, attention is drawn to the expressed political wishes of the people. With the defection of the Moslem League of the Western Province from the Independence Bloc, the protagonists of an independent Eritrean State, who were probably close on half the total population before, are now in a definite minority. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that an over-all majority of the total Eritrean population favour reunion with Ethiopia, in view of the support for this course by the overwhelming mass of Christian Copts and by sizeable numbers of Moslems living next to them in the highlands and in the Red Sea Division.

158. Thirdly, attention is drawn to the legitimate aspirations of Ethiopia for access to the sea, both on economic and security grounds, and for the reintegration of the Eritrean people, many of whom have the most intimate bonds with the people of northern Ethiopia.

159. The close affinities between large sections of the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples, the strong demand for reunion by probably the majority of Eritreans, the common strategic interests of the two countries and the fact that Eritrea lacks the resources to protect herself, have convinced the delegations of Burma, Norway and the Union of South Africa that, in the interests of peace and security in East Africa and of the welfare of the Eritrean people, the best solution for Eritrea must be based on close political association with Ethiopia. Economic and financial association also is a *sine qua non*, in view of the dependence of Eritrea on the rich Ethiopian hinterland and of Ethiopia on the transport and harbour facilities of Eritrea, and in view of Eritrea's poor resources, weak finances and inability to maintain itself without aid from a strong partner.

160. It is appreciated that a solution, based on the principle of economic and political association with Ethiopia, may not at the moment command general support in Eritrea, where passions have been inflamed by political propaganda and the resort to violence by irresponsible elements. These activities do not, however, reflect the true feelings of the people. Although Eritrea's boundaries are the product of colonial expansion in the 1880's, so that it is neither a geographical unit nor an economic whole, a common past and seventy years of common rule have had potent unifying effects not only between the diverse peoples of Eritrea but also in their

relations with the Italian settlers; such amity cannot readily be destroyed and there is no doubt that resort to violence is repugnant to the deep-rooted desire of all sections in Eritrea to continue to live in peace side by side. The delegations of Burma, Norway and the Union of South Africa, in condemning the resort to murder and violence by irresponsible elements, must emphasize that they believe this in large part to be a direct consequence of the unfortunate delay in settling the future of the country. They truly fear that the situation would, perhaps irretrievably, go from bad to worse unless a final settlement is effected soon.

161. In view of this paramount need for an early and final solution, the delegation of the Union of South Africa has decided to relinquish the suggestion it made to the Commission during the general debate. It then proposed that the highlands and Red Sea Division be placed under Ethiopian trusteeship with a view to eventual self-government as a federal part of Ethiopia, and that British Administration be temporarily continued in the Western Province until the people there are able to make up their minds between joining either Ethiopia or the Sudan since an independent State in the Western Province would be fantastic. The course suggested would, however, involve a further period of suspense before a permanent settlement of the problem could be effected, and in order to avoid this the delegation of the Union of South Africa has decided to join with the delegation of Burma and support its federal solution which would permanently and effectively meet the exigencies of the case.

162. The delegation of Norway, like the delegations of Burma and the Union of South Africa, subscribes to the principle of political and economic association between Eritrea and Ethiopia, but differs from these delegations in regard to the precise formula to be applied to that end. The delegations of Burma and the Union of South Africa, therefore, submit their joint recommendations below, and these are followed by separate recommendations by the delegation of Norway.

VII. PROPOSALS BY THE DELEGATIONS OF BURMA AND THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

163. In the course of investigations, it soon became apparent that the crux of the problem in Eritrea is the conflict of two ardent forms of nationalism, namely, the desire of the Unionist groups to join Ethiopia and the striving of the Independence Bloc for an independent Eritrean State. These respective claims have the stamp of validity and they have been steadfastly put forward by these two political groups. As these claims are irreconcilable, it is impossible fully to satisfy the demands of either group without causing a grave miscarriage of justice to the other. A fair but effective compromise is, therefore, necessary.

164. For the reasons stated in conjunction with the delegation of Norway, the delegations of Burma and the Union of South Africa are convinced that a solution for Eritrea must be based on close political and complete economic association with Ethiopia. On the other hand, the delegations of Burma and the Union of South Africa are emphatic that such a solution should be designed so as also to satisfy to a material extent the

political sensibilities of the Moslem population of Eritrea, who on the whole are afraid to join Ethiopia, and to safeguard the position of the Italian settlers and Italo-Eritrean half-castes who have a permanent stake in the country.

165. The delegations of Burma and South Africa are not satisfied that the rights and interests of the large Moslem community would be fully safeguarded in every respect, and if they were that the general body of Moslems would believe it, if Eritrea were to be incorporated outright into Ethiopia, as the Unionists desire. The two delegations consider, however, that the overriding aims of political and economic association between Eritrea and Ethiopia and of effective safeguards for the rights and interests of the Moslems and the Italian and other minorities could be achieved by means of a federation of Eritrea and Ethiopia. Such a federation should take place on terms compatible with the self-respect and domestic autonomy of both countries and provide for joint responsibility and collective action in such fields as defence, external affairs, taxation, finance, inter-State commerce and communications. A customs union and a general rule of non-discrimination would also be pre-requisites.

166. A federal plan of this nature received considerable attention in Sub-Committee 17 of the First Committee of the General Assembly, and the Ethiopian delegation then indicated to the Political Committee⁷³ that it did not reject it in principle. In the opinion of the delegations of Burma and the Union of South Africa a federal solution would answer the two most vital issues of the Eritrean problem, to which all other considerations are subordinate, namely, (a) the wishes and welfare of the people of Eritrea and (b) the maintenance of peace and security in East Africa. For such a plan recognizes the inalienable right of the people of Eritrea to fashion their own destiny, in conjunction with their federal partner on certain common problems, without the wishes and aspirations of either of the two main sections of the people of Eritrea being subordinated to those of the other. This is as it should be, since the two main religious and linguistic groups of the territory have in the past shown striking proof of their ability to co-operate with each other, and the delegations of Burma and the Union of South Africa are convinced, notwithstanding the vicissitudes of Eritrean politics, that the people can and will collaborate to serve the interests of their common land in the future, when a final decision to institute federation is given by the General Assembly. This desire to continue to live side by side is strongly evidenced by the reluctance of all groups and parties in Eritrea to assent to the partition of the country. Although the Unionist and allied parties and the Moslem League of the Western Province recently accepted partition on a conditional basis, this took place as a direct alternative to completely abandoning their respective points of view, without a possible synthesis and compromise to safeguard the rights of all groups having been considered. The federal plan put forward by the delegations of Burma and the Union of South Africa accordingly seeks to preserve the unity of Eritrea, thus encouraging her people to pattern their loyalty and patriotism to one single design and to find expression for their energy and skill in a united Eritrea within the framework of a federal constitution.

167. By this means recognition will, therefore, be accorded at one and the same time to the twin facts that Eritrea is the common motherland of the highland Copts and lowland Moslems and has close historical, ethnical and social associations with Ethiopia. In that way alone can peace and security be preserved in this part of East Africa. By strengthening the existing close economic ties between Eritrea and Ethiopia, the welfare of the people of Eritrea will, moreover, be actively promoted and Ethiopia's legitimate claim for adequate access to the sea satisfied.

168. The joint review by the delegations of Burma, Norway and the Union of South Africa has shown to what considerable extent the level of Eritrean economy is dependent on the technical proficiency and managerial activities of the Italian settlers. To a lesser extent this is also true of other foreign communities, but they are smaller and it is an advantage that many urban Eritreans understand the Italian language, while many Italians are conversant with the vernacular and customs of the indigenous people. The continuance of Italian enterprise in Eritrea is vital also for the further development of the territory, and the delegations of Burma and the Union of South Africa, therefore, consider that the personal and property rights of the Italian and other foreign communities in Eritrea should be safeguarded in the federal constitution. In order to be fully effective, the delegations urge that, on the suggestion of the General Assembly, this question should form the subject of friendly discussion and agreement between the Governments of Italy and Ethiopia. In view of the declarations of these two Governments to the Commission there is every reason to believe that a harmonious understanding would be welcomed by both. This is highly necessary. Without Italian technical guidance, Eritrea would sustain a serious economic setback, and that would be the very negation of the upliftment programmes of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

169. The proposal for federation by the delegations of Burma and South Africa, therefore, holds tangible promises for the future. This cannot be said in respect of two other solutions which are widely canvassed. The total integration or incorporation of Eritrea into Ethiopia would arouse popular Moslem antagonism and might lead to internal strife with possible external intervention. The immediate or future independence of Eritrea, without close political association with Ethiopia, must result in the economic disruption of Eritrea and in political upheaval on the part of the Coptic population. Nor have the people of Eritrea developed a sufficient capacity for self-government to stand on their own. In federation with Ethiopia, the administrative and financial burdens of government would, however, be shared on important questions of mutual concern to the two countries.

170. The delegations of Burma and the Union of South Africa accordingly submit to the General Assembly the following proposals, which accord with the Commission's mandate and would make it possible to settle the urgent problem of Eritrea in a manner which would be both fair and effective:

(a) Eritrea to be constituted a self-governing unit of a federation of which the other member shall be Ethiopia, under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian crown;

(b) Each member shall possess local legislative and executive autonomy, but full authority shall be vested

⁷³ A/C.1/W.8/Add.2, page 140.

in the federal government with regard to such matters as defence, external affairs, taxation, finance, inter-State commerce and communications;

(c) A customs union between the two members shall be obligatory;

(d) A common citizenship shall prevail throughout the federation. No discrimination shall be practised as regards religious, personal, civic or property rights and equal rights and privileges shall be guaranteed in the constitution for all minorities;

(e) The federation shall be established following a transitional period not exceeding three years. During this period the current affairs of the territory shall continue to be conducted by the present Administration, subject to the understanding that residents of Eritrea shall be inducted in office as much as possible, and that the General Assembly shall appoint an advisory council consisting of the United Kingdom, Ethiopia and Egypt to arrange for the transfer of power to the people of Eritrea and, in conjunction with the Government of Ethiopia and an elective assembly of Eritreans to be established for the purpose, to ensure the formulation of the federal constitution;

(f) The establishment of the Federation of Eritrea and Ethiopia shall be declared by the General Assembly of the United Nations as soon as its advisory council certifies that the federal constitution has been adopted by the Government of Ethiopia and the Eritrean Assembly.

Suggestions by the delegation of Burma

171. The delegation of Burma is in agreement with the delegation of the Union of South Africa that the General Assembly should cause the details of the proposed federal plan to be worked out. For the guidance of the Assembly, the delegation of Burma submits the following detailed provisions which, it suggests, might find a suitable place in the federal plan and constitution:

(i) The governmental structure of the two States of Ethiopia and Eritrea shall be federal and shall consist of a federal government and governments of Ethiopia and Eritrea, with the Emperor of Ethiopia as the constitutional Head;

(ii) Among the organs of government there shall be an executive body, a federal legislative body and a federal court;

(iii) The federal legislative body shall be composed of two chambers;

(iv) Election to its first chamber shall be on the basis of proportional representation of the population as a whole;

(v) Election to its second chamber shall be on the basis of equal representation of the Ethiopian and Eritrean people;

(vi) The federal legislative body shall be empowered to legislate on all matters entrusted to the federal government;

(vii) Legislation shall be enacted when approved by a majority of votes in both chambers of the federal legislative body;

(viii) Full authority shall be vested in the federal government with regard to defence, external affairs, taxation, finance, and inter-State commerce and communications;

(ix) The executive branch of the federal government shall be responsible to the federal legislative body;

(x) The federal court shall be the final court of appeal with regard to constitutional matters;

(xi) The members of the federal court shall be appointed by the Emperor with the approval of both chambers of the federal legislative body;

(xii) All decisions of the federal court shall be final;

(xiii) There shall be but one citizenship throughout the federation;

(xiv) The constitution shall guarantee equal rights and privileges for all minorities, irrespective of race or religion;

(xv) The two States of Ethiopia and Eritrea shall enjoy full powers of local self-government in all matters other than defence, external affairs, finance and inter-State commerce and communications and shall pass such local laws and regulations as may be desirable, subject only to the provisions of the federal constitution.

VIII. PROPOSALS BY THE DELEGATION OF NORWAY

172. The delegation of Norway subscribes to the factual review elaborated in agreement with the delegations of Burma and of the Union of South Africa and to its ample demonstration of the necessity for the political association of Eritrea with Ethiopia. The delegation of Norway, after close examination of all sides of the problem, finds, however, that such association would be best secured, to the mutual benefit of both countries, by their complete and immediate reunion.

173. We are fully satisfied that the overwhelming majority of the people of Eritrea are in favour of such a reunion. It is true that different views have been expressed by the spokesmen or leaders of groups or parties who proclaim a desire that Eritrea obtain autonomy as an independent State. Apart from the absolute impossibility of checking the figures given by the various groups as to the number of their adherents, we find it more important to consider the fact that the people especially of the highlands always considered themselves as Ethiopians, and that before 1946 no political division existed in the country. Except for the Unionists, who in 1941 under the name "Patriotic Association for the Union of Eritrea with Ethiopia" had already manifested their views, the opposition parties did not appear until 1946 and 1947; they were obviously born out of the political possibilities presented by the discord between the Powers about the future of Eritrea, and were created by a handful of ambitious Eritreans, partly former officials in Italian service, who by uniting in their groups the apparently greater part of the Moslem population have undeniably succeeded in giving to the newborn political activity an aspect of religious differences. Not only did no political division exist before 1946, but there had, indeed, never before existed any political feeling at all; except for the popular movement which, after the liberation of the country in 1941, sprang from the then awakened national consciousness of the Eritrean people and tended quite naturally towards reunion with the country they felt they belonged to. Nor did there ever exist any hostile religious feelings. The townspeople as well as the rural population, Moslem and Christian, lived in perfect harmony, the rural dwellers, regardless of their different creeds or tribal customs, being fully occupied with their

tasks of cultivation and grazing, as indeed they are until this day in Eritrea and—what is worth mentioning—also in Ethiopia. It can therefore safely be said, we think, that the situation which has now been created is to a great extent artificial; it is not founded on serious political considerations, but is partly the result of a confusion in the mind of the primitive masses who are supposed to support the independent movement as to the true meaning of the word "independence" in opposition to the word "union".

174. We feel convinced that if Eritrea and Ethiopia, after their liberation from Italian domination in 1941, had been united together, such a union would have met with no opposition. We believe that this solution, for what has since become the problem of Eritrea, would still respond to the wishes of the people as dictated by their real interests.

175. On account of the economic interdependence of the two countries, which embraces all fields of their activities, and because of the similarity in the natural conditions of both countries, the union of Eritrea to Ethiopia would secure to the Eritrean people, nomadic or settled, the undisturbed continuation of their customary livelihood. Moreover, and this is not of least importance, the possibilities would thereby be created for progress and development along lines consistent with their traditions and economic realities, by the mutual effort of the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples, who are so closely related and whose contacts are so congenial. That would mean, in our opinion, the welfare of all the inhabitants of Eritrea.

176. Having regard to the fact that the Eritreans are so far removed from the stage where they could govern themselves, that, regardless of the number of the claimants, the claim for independence has to be dismissed, we consider the reintegration of Eritrea into Ethiopia as the only rational and satisfactory solution. In principle this solution should apply to the whole territory of Eritrea. It seems to us impossible to give way to the separatist wishes of that part of the population of the Western Province which, in refusing union either with Ethiopia or Sudan, aims at the setting up in this area of a separate independent State. This can only be characterized as a utopian and unrealistic dream. In case it should be found, however, that the opposition of the Western Province presents an obstacle to the union of Eritrea with Ethiopia, we would not be opposed to its provisional exemption from such a union, nor to its continued administration by the British Government for the period required to give the people of the Western Province the opportunity of deciding in fuller knowledge which of their two neighbouring countries they wish to join. It should be noted in this connexion that if, in determining the future status of Eritrea, the Western Province were excluded, the adherents to the Independence Bloc in the rest of the country would find themselves reduced to a trifling minority compared to the numerical strength of the Unionists, since the parties opposing union with Ethiopia have most of their adherents in the Western Province.

177. The reunion of Eritrea to the "mother country" would, in our opinion, offer the best guarantees for the peaceful existence of Eritrea's inhabitants, native or foreign, and give them the best conditions of security.

On the other hand, it is certainly to be feared that an independent Eritrea, poor as it would be and helplessly exposed to interference from many sides, would soon become the scene of serious discord and internal strife.

178. We do not share the apprehensions which have been expressed by certain groups of the population, and especially by some political groups of Italians, with regard to possible discrimination which could be expected from the government of a united Eritrea and Ethiopia. No other foreign communities voiced such fears, and there is no reason to believe that Italian residents in Eritrea would be prevented from carrying on their trade or industry, which is so important for the economy of the country, any less freely than do thousands of Italians until this day in Ethiopia itself. Taking into account the repeated declarations made by the Government of Ethiopia that it is fully prepared to respect and maintain the rights of all minorities, we do not consider it necessary to try to establish any system of special safeguards or guarantees of such rights. On the contrary, we believe that stipulations of that nature might only create new possibilities for dissension and so imperil the position of the minorities they were meant to protect.

179. As for the external peace and security of this part of Africa, it is evident and needless to demonstrate that this could not possibly be better secured than by the unification of the economic and defensive resources of both these territories in the hands of one Government, which would be in a position to impose respect for its rights.

180. The claims of Ethiopia, so clearly expressed at many previous occasions and lately revived with ample justification before the Commission, should not be confused with an imperialistic attempt towards colonial expansion. They are based as much on geographical, economic and ethnic reasons as they have their background in the history of Ethiopia and of the much disputed territory which now forms Eritrea. There is no need to go into the remote history of this subject, and it is sufficient to recall the events through which Italy came to Eritrea. In 1869 it acquired a strip of coast near Assab; in 1885 it occupied Massawa, till then held by the Egyptians on a kind of lease from the Ethiopian Emperor; next came the Italian defeat in 1887, when the garrison at Dogali, near Massawa, was destroyed by the Emperor's Governor of Eritrea; further battles and treaties finally led up to the Italo-Eritrean Treaty of 1900, by which the Ethiopian Government ceded the southern part of Eritrea of today to Italy. These facts prove the exercise by Ethiopia of its sovereignty over the Eritrean territory right down to the Red Sea, and offer ample justification for the historical claim for its reintegration.

181. The return of Eritrea does not, therefore, mean its submission to the domination of an alien Power; reunited to Ethiopia, Eritrea would be rejoining the independent Ethiopian Empire, remaining as independent as Ethiopia itself, and participating in the Government with equal rights and responsibilities. The proposal to reunite Eritrea to Ethiopia is not a new one. It has always been in the centre of the discussions at the United Nations General Assembly, now favoured by various Governments and then again abandoned. We believe that any further attempts to by-pass this solu-

tion, e.g., by introducing any form of trusteeship with a view to later independence which materially would prove impossible, would only be an expedient causing useless postponement of a final solution. The same would be true of proposals to establish a trusteeship over Eritrea with the view of future self-government in federation with Ethiopia. Both these solutions imply the perpetuation of an Eritrean State as a separate entity, although there is no doubt that within its present borders it is not in a position of ever becoming a viable State. Eritrea was an artificial creation by the Italians, and the first thing they did when they occupied Ethiopia was to split up Eritrea and to link certain parts of it with the neighbouring Ethiopian province. To establish Eritrea as an entity, either independently or as a self-governing federal Province, would make it impossible to effect the necessary adjustments in its administration.

182. We further believe that, in order to ensure a harmonious development, it must be left to the Ethiopian State to adopt the constitutional provisions which would be best suited to conditions in this part of Africa. To impose obligations on Ethiopia to organize its relation

with Eritrea on the basis of a federative status, without any knowledge as to whether this would be the best constitutional solution, could easily lead to future conflict and unrest, and in the end endanger the peace of East Africa. It must here be stressed that the suspense in which the establishment of the status of Eritrea is being held, and would continue to be held under trusteeship, seriously hampers its normal life and gravely endangers the security of its people. It is therefore imperative that a final and definite decision be taken now. The immediate reunion of the two countries would end this highly dangerous state of affairs and, in our opinion, it offers the only realistic and rational solution of the problem, conforming to the wishes of the people, securing their welfare, and serving the interests of peace and security in this part of the world.

183. The delegation of Norway, therefore, proposes that the whole territory of Eritrea be reunited to Ethiopia, it being understood that, in the conditions and for the purposes set forth earlier, the Western Province could provisionally and for a limited period of time be left under the present British Administration.

MEMORANDUM⁷⁴ SUBMITTED BY THE DELEGATIONS OF GUATEMALA AND PAKISTAN⁷⁵

GENERAL POLITICAL SITUATION IN ERITREA

184. Before reaching Eritrea the Commission had learnt from various sources that the political situation in the country was tense and that several bombing incidents and murders had taken place during the previous year or two.

185. During its stay at Asmara the Commission learnt with regret of several murders, road hold-ups, arson and other violent crimes in which the victims were mostly either Italian colonists or supporters of the Independence Bloc. The attempted assassination of Italians and others continued throughout the period of the Commission's stay in Eritrea, and, according to information received at Geneva, the situation remained the same even after its departure.

Disorders at Asmara on 21 to 23 February 1950

186. On 21 February the Commission heard with dismay that large-scale rioting between Copts and Muslims had started in the town of Asmara, the immediate cause of which was the throwing of a bomb near the headquarters of the Unionist Party, at the funeral procession of a Muslim who was opposed to Unionists and who had been murdered the previous day by a gang of "Shifita."^{76,77} The consequence was three days of bloody rioting in which about fifty persons lost their lives and a large number were wounded.

WISHES AND WELFARE OF THE POPULATION

187. The Commission found the following organized parties, representative of three different policies with regard to the future of Eritrea:

(a) *Parties advocating independence for the whole territory:*

Muslim League
Liberal Progressive Party
New Eritrea Party
Italo-Eritrean Association
Veterans Association
Intellectual Party
National Party
Independent Eritrean Party

(b) *Parties advocating union of the territory with Ethiopia:*

Unionist Party
Liberal Unionist Party
Independent Eritrea united to Ethiopia Party
Independent Muslim League (of Massawa)

(c) *Party advocating trusteeship by the United Kingdom for the Western Province prior to independence:*

Muslim League of the Western Province

188. The parties wanting independence of the territory have grouped themselves into what they call the "Independence Bloc", although they continue to maintain their original identity.

189. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the exact numerical strength of the different political parties. Their leaders and spokesmen always gave evidently exaggerated figures to the Commission. This was carried to such an extent that, if the figures supplied to the Commission were added up, the total would be several times larger than the whole population of the territory.

190. The Commission held hearings at numerous places in Eritrea in order to ascertain the wishes of the population with regard to the future of the country. These hearings took place in specially arranged settings, the groups being separated from each other by several kilometres, and in such a way that the Commission could not announce its arrival sufficiently in advance. Generally, the same people, including spokesmen of different groups, were constantly seen at the different places. It was noticed at our field hearings that the representatives who came to make statements repeated the same answers to questions put to them and gave the impression that they had been carefully rehearsed. Whenever questions were put to persons in the crowd, the answers were confused and unintelligible. It was evident at the hearings held in the highlands, where the bulk of the adherents of the Unionist Party are found, that the organization of those present was semi-military. Quite a number of them wore uniforms and distinctive marks, notwithstanding an order from the British Administration prohibiting the use of uniforms on such occasions. It was apparent that the Unionist cause enjoyed the favour of the Administering Authority in that region.

order and that the Tigré Province was used by them for rest and perhaps sanctuary. The British Administration was good enough to make available to the members of the Commission, for their information, secret reports relating to the activities of the gangs. These reports, which could not be made public, showed clearly that many of the gangs came from Ethiopia into Eritrea and that, if some of their members were wounded, they were treated in the hospitals in Ethiopia. A formidable list of political outrages was presented to the Commission by Mr. Ibrahim Sultan, Secretary-General of the Independence Bloc. The Commission was not informed of any steps having been taken by the Ethiopian Government for the suppression of these gangs in their territory. The statement of the Foreign Minister of Ethiopia mentions that terrorism will increase if the problem is not solved in accordance with the will of what he considers to be the "majority".

⁷⁴ Original: English-Spanish.

⁷⁵ The notes appearing at the foot of the pages in the name of one delegation are the responsibility of that delegation. It should be understood that the other delegation subscribing to the memorandum does not necessarily share those points of view. In drafting this memorandum we have avoided repeating information appearing in the report of the Four-Power Commission.

⁷⁶ "Shifita" means political terrorists in Eritrea.

⁷⁷ The delegation of Pakistan wishes to add the following: Information received from the British Administration from time to time was that the "Shifita" bands mainly attacked those persons who were opposed to union with Ethiopia. It was common knowledge in Eritrea that these gangs withdrew from Eritrea into Ethiopia whenever they were pursued by forces of law and

191. The influence of religion is a preponderant factor in the development of political trends in Eritrea. In that connexion, the Commission was able to verify what had already been observed by the Four-Power Commission, which visited the country in 1947.⁷⁸ The religious beliefs of the inhabitants is closely connected with their political adherence, which mainly accounts for the fact that the majority of the Christian Copts advocate the annexation of the territory to Ethiopia. With regard to the influence of the Coptic Church in favour of annexation, it is important to point out that the Coptic Church of Eritrea depends hierarchically upon Ethiopia. The Commission was informed about interference by religious authorities of that Church in favour of annexation and of the ideas of the Unionist Party. It also heard complaints about threats and reprisals by the leaders of the Coptic Church of Eritrea against those who opposed annexation.

192. The Commission heard allegations to the effect that several Copts had been excommunicated because they did not hold the same political views as those of the Unionist Party. At nearly all the gatherings of the Unionist Party a large number of priests were seen with church emblems, and it was obvious that the clergy was using its influence over the laity. At some places priests and monks complained that they had been threatened or actually excommunicated by the Abuna of the Coptic Church for refusing to support the Unionist Party.

193. Terrorism, which has developed in Eritrea in the form of a system to support a particular policy, is another important factor leading to the grouping of the inhabitants into political parties. Some people who were opposed to the annexation of the territory of Eritrea have been subjected by the terrorists to attacks on their person and property. Others, out of fear, have been compelled to follow the parties which advocate annexation. Prominent leaders of political parties favouring independence have been attacked, such as the President of the Independent Eritrea Party, Mr. Woldemariam, on whose life four attempts have been made. Such criminal practices make it difficult to ascertain even approximately the true desire of those who now declare themselves in favour of annexation, as it cannot be said that, in every case, the spontaneity of their political affiliation is guaranteed.

194. In these conditions, the political conviction of many of the inhabitants who support the Unionist cause cannot but be viewed with doubt. This is even more understandable if one takes into account the scant knowledge of political questions possessed by the majority of the inhabitants, which is natural in a country that has been administered as a colony and where, up to recent times, a number of them were still serfs.

195. The Commission questioned the representatives of the various groups, both in Asmara and at many other places in Eritrea, for which it had to travel thousands of kilometres. It endeavoured, within the limit of its possibilities, to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants with regard to the following fundamental matters:

- (a) Independence of the territory;
- (b) Trusteeship of the territory;
- (c) Annexation of the whole territory to Ethiopia;

⁷⁸ Report of the Four-Power Commission, paragraph 39, page 96.

(d) Partition of the territory and annexation of the eastern part to Ethiopia and the Western Province to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

196. The great majority of the inhabitants of the eastern and western lowlands, and groups of varying importance in the plateau, were in favour of immediate independence. When they were questioned as to which Administering Authority they would prefer if it were considered that the country was not ready for independence and it were decided to place the territory under the Trusteeship System, the majority expressed the desire that the United Nations be directly entrusted with the administration of the territory.

197. The case for annexation of Eritrea to Ethiopia found strong support in the provinces of the plateau, where, judging by the demonstrations, a considerable majority favours that solution. Opposition to partition of the territory, such as the annexation of the highlands and the Red Sea Division to Ethiopia and the Western Province to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, was almost unanimous. One political party, the Muslim League of the Western Province, advocated trusteeship by the United Kingdom for that province, with a view to independence. Even the groups which formed this League expressed their opposition to the annexation of the Western Province to the Sudan.

198. All observations lead to the conclusion that it is necessary to maintain the unity of the territory. The highlands and the lowlands, linked by railroad, a good highway system, and other means of communication, are complementary to each other. The idea of annexing the provinces of Hamasien, Akele Guzai, Serae and the Red Sea Division to Ethiopia and the Western Province to the Sudan has been put forward. We do not find any reasons which would justify the partition of Eritrea. This solution is contrary to the expressed wishes of the inhabitants, would do harm to the economy and the prosperity of the territory, and does not conform to the Charter of the United Nations. In our opinion, separation of the Western Province from the rest of Eritrea will mean the fragmentation of the Muslim population and will not be in the interests of the country. We should point out that, in accordance with this solution, as proposed, it is desired to annex to Ethiopia the province covering that part of the coast line of the Red Sea, where strong resistance and even hostility towards that country prevails among the great majority of the inhabitants. In order to achieve the wellbeing of the population of Eritrea, the unity of the territory must be maintained. The solution to the problem of the disposal of Eritrea must therefore be a single one and must apply to the whole country.

199. The Muslim League of the Western Province, whose importance, even in the only province in which it exists, is relatively small, declared itself in favour of placing the Western Province under United Nations trusteeship, irrespective of the solution applied to the remainder of the country. A separate Western Province will have no means of communication with the sea, as the only railway line and the main road which connect it with the port of Massawa pass through the highlands. Such a proposition would not be to the benefit of the territory, and it would clearly be against the desires of the great majority of the population of the whole territory in general, and of that province in particular.

200. Several parties have declared themselves in favour of the annexation of Eritrea to Ethiopia. The Unionist Party is the most important of this group.⁷⁹

201. We have already mentioned the participation of the Coptic Church in favour of annexation, as well as the part played by terrorism in support of that policy.

202. The population of the plateau has a certain affinity with one of the Ethiopian provinces, namely, the Tigré Province. In that part of Eritrea, as in Tigré, the Tigrinya language is spoken, but this affinity between a part of Ethiopia and a part of Eritrea is not sufficient to justify the absorption of Eritrea by Ethiopia. This language, on the other hand, is not spoken throughout Eritrea, nor is it spoken throughout Ethiopia. Neither is it the official language of that country. No important and general affinity exists between Ethiopia and Eritrea. On the contrary, the inhabitants bear resentment and hostility towards Ethiopia.

203. The economic, ethnic, historical and security reasons,⁸⁰ together with others advanced in favour of annexation, are not sufficient for us to recommend this solution to the United Nations, nor are we convinced that the majority of the population wishes it, or that this would be the best course for promoting the welfare of the inhabitants.

204. In our tour throughout Eritrea, we saw that a large number of people were opposed to the annexation of the territory to Ethiopia and in favour of independence. We were impressed by the way in which these people behaved, as well as by the courage and firmness with which they expressed their views, notwithstanding the risks to which they often exposed themselves. There can be no doubt that, in the eastern and western lowlands, the great majority of the population is in favour of independence and is strongly opposed to any idea of annexation or partition of the territory. All over the country we met groups that were in favour of independence, particularly among the Muslims, but it is evident that their greatest strength is in the lowlands.⁸¹

205. All peoples have the right to be free. The Eritreans have the right to independence, since a majority of the population claims it and there are no juridical reasons justifying any other procedure. Under present conditions there is nothing to justify a different solution for this territory. Independence does not exclude subsequent decisions taken in a democratic way by the people of Eritrea to link their country in the form of confederation or federation, or even of unconditional

⁷⁹ *The delegation of Pakistan wishes to add the following:* The Secretary-General of the Unionist Party, Mr. Tedla Bairu, admitted that the figures which he had supplied relating to the supporters of his party were inaccurate and that the Muslim population of the western lowlands had ceased to support union with Ethiopia. With regard to the eastern lowlands, he preferred not to give a categorical reply until the question had been studied further by his party. Our delegation took care to find out the extent of the Muslim following of this party. From what we observed in the field trips, we noticed that, in all the big gatherings which the party presented to us in the highlands, the Muslims were very few. In the lowlands, at the Unionist gatherings, the total number never exceeded a handful of persons and even among them Muslims were conspicuous by their small number. In order to dupe the Commission, the party resorted to many malpractices. One such which came to light was through the arrest of some Coptic Christian supporters of the Unionist Party disguised as Muslims. At some other places representatives who came to support the Unionist cause were found to be

union with Ethiopia, when it happened to be the unmistakable wish of the people, should the occasion arise. But that is not the case at present and it is not possible to tie the fate of one country to that of another in advance and irrevocably, when a large part of the population rejects that solution and demands independence.⁸²

206. We observed that, while Eritrea possesses trained people, it does not have a sufficient number of them to assume the government of the territory immediately. A period of time is necessary for the political, economic, social, and educational development of the inhabitants, and to ensure the tranquillity of the territory before they are able to take over the government.

207. For cases such as this, the United Nations Charter has provided the Trusteeship System. In Article 81, it establishes that the authority which exercises the administration of a Trusteeship Territory may be one or more States or the Organization itself. The Independence Bloc generally agreed to a limited period of direct United Nations trusteeship. It objected in general to a single Power trusteeship. The Unionist group demanded immediate union with Ethiopia and therefore the question of trusteeship does not arise in that case.

208. Taking into account the difficulties which exist in the designation of one State or a group of States in the particular case of Eritrea, we are of the opinion that the most appropriate course would be for the United Nations to take direct charge of the administration.

The Italian minority

209. We were impressed by the work which the Italians have done and are doing in the territory. The wonderful road system, railway, port facilities and all other kinds of public works are essentially the result of Italian technical skill and enterprise. The industries of importance in the territory, such as the match factory, button factories, glass works, sisal products, brewery, china-ware factory, and electric works belong to and are run by Italians.

210. The Italian agricultural and dairy farming concessions are a model of industry and efficiency in a backward territory.

211. The mines, some of which have had to be abandoned on account of lawlessness, are worked under the direction of Italian engineers. In all these activities considerable native labour is employed. The towns of Asmara and, to some extent, Massawa, can be described as Italian towns and without the Italian population they are liable to crumble and come to an end. The Commis-

hion. The Commission received numerous complaints of imper-sonation by Copts as Muslims at Unionist gatherings.

⁸⁰ See paragraphs 213-218; 252-258.

⁸¹ *The delegation of Pakistan wishes to add the following:* The numerical strength of the population as given is not exact. The figures supplied by the British Administration show that nearly half the population of Eritrea is Muslim and a little under half is Coptic—the difference between the two being a few thousands. These population figures, however, are not based on any census and cannot be regarded as entirely accurate. The Muslim League claims that the total Muslim population of Eritrea is 70 per cent and that even in the highlands they are equal in number to the Copts.

⁸² To the question whether they would be prepared to submit to a test of opinion by a democratic method, such as by setting up a constituent assembly elected by a wide franchise which would have the power and authority of deciding for union with Ethiopia or remaining independent, the supporters of the Independence Bloc welcomed it, whereas the Unionist Party demurred.

sion witnessed the sad state of the town of Decamere, which now appears completely deserted after the departure of a large number of its Italian residents.

212. In order to keep alive the economic life of the principal towns and of Eritrea as a whole, the continuing participation by Italians and half-castes is essential. Many of the former were born in Eritrea and know no other home. They are entitled to protection, which should be of a kind of which they could feel confident. They feel that, in an independent Eritrea, they will be able to live in peace and prosperity. Therefore, from the point of view of this very important minority also, independence is the best possible solution for Eritrea. They are confident that Eritrea can be economically a self-supporting country within a few years, and that partition will do it great harm.

PEACE AND SECURITY IN EAST AFRICA

213. The terms of reference of resolution 289 (IV) of the General Assembly instruct the Commission for Eritrea to take into consideration the interests of peace and security in East Africa in studying the problem.

214. It has often been repeated that Ethiopia needs the control of Eritrean territory for reasons of security against possible aggression from outside. Such a possibility does not exist. The surrounding countries, such as the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the countries on the other side of the Red Sea, and the neighbouring colonial territories administered by France and the United Kingdom, as well as former Italian Somaliland, which is now under the International Trusteeship System of the United Nations, do not present any danger to the peace of Ethiopia, nor, in general, to the peace and security of that area of the world.

215. Trusteeship by the United Nations over Eritrea would be the best guarantee of internal peace and security in that territory and of international peace and security in East Africa. The main groups would live in peace side by side, as they have been living for centuries. In Eritrea, under trusteeship or independence, the minorities are confident that they also would have security. Within the framework of a union of Eritrea with Ethiopia the Muslim majority and the Italian minority feel that they could never be happy. The Muslims and Italians have expressed their views in no uncertain terms.⁸⁸

216. An independent Eritrea—which can never become a military stronghold—could never constitute a threat to Ethiopia.

217. Against a hypothetical future aggression on the part of a great military Power, alien to Africa, there is the international guarantee by the United Nations. If, by any unhappy chance, that guarantee should become ineffective, the control of the territory of Eritrea would not save Ethiopia nor safeguard it against an aggression of that type.

218. On the contrary, the annexation of Eritrea, in part or in whole, to Ethiopia, or the annexation of a part of Eritrea to the Sudan against the will of a large

⁸⁸ Note by the delegation of Pakistan: The apprehensions of the Muslim population of Eritrea are justified by the conditions prevailing in Ethiopia up to the present time.

portion of the Eritrean population, would create constant internal friction, giving rise *inter alia* to police measures of repression and to political persecutions which could jeopardize the internal tranquillity of Ethiopia and peace and security in that part of the world.

ECONOMIC SITUATION IN ERITREA

219. The economic capacity of Eritrea and its possibilities of development have been one of the most discussed points and have, at the same time, served as a political instrument for the support of one or another policy in favour of a given solution of the problem.

220. Thus, those who support the Unionist cause have passionately exaggerated the bad situation, in order to arrive at the conclusion that the territory cannot at present and will never be able to become self-supporting from the economic point of view. On the other hand, those who support the principle of independence have also exaggerated the future possibilities of Eritrea and have asserted, also passionately, that the country will be able to achieve complete economic independence in a short period.

221. Both views are exaggerated and both are erroneous.

222. There is, however, one undeniable fact: that, at present, there hardly exists a country in the world which could be said to be economically independent. The idea of economic interdependence has already replaced the old concept of self-sufficiency.

223. On the other hand, it is very difficult, and would be erroneous, to judge the economic capacity of Eritrea in the light of the present situation only, without taking into consideration the fact that the existing circumstances are abnormal.

224. When the Second World War started, a flourishing economy had already been initiated in Eritrea with the development of important agricultural, industrial and mining activities. Even if it is true that the war produced other industries in the economic life of Eritrea, it also obstructed the progressive course of the methodical development which had been initiated. To this circumstance could be added another no less important. During the last decade nothing has been done towards the economic improvement of the territory, whereas much has been done to the contrary. It may be pointed out, by way of example, that prosperous enterprises, such as the cultivation of cotton, have been abandoned; the more important gold mines have been closed, destroyed, or dismantled; the free development of the growing of tobacco and other plants has been handicapped. All this has been due to administrative action, to which must unfortunately be added some other decisive factors, such as: (a) the uncertainty regarding the future disposal of the territory; (b) political agitation bearing on the same subject; (c) terroristic activities and the complete lack of security for life and property, which have brought about the abandonment of important agricultural and industrial activities, handicapped transport, and caused unrest throughout the country; (d) the continuous exodus of Italians, which has been, in the main, due to (c) above.

225. Among the abandoned agricultural farms, it is enough to mention those of coffee which, in 1940, prom-

ised to meet the local requirements within a short time. The present harvest is less than one-third of that of 1940, not to speak of the abandoned young plants which, today, could be in full production.

226. It is also important to mention, as a further factor, that the complete lack of bank credits for agriculture, manufacturing and trade has greatly hindered the economic development of the territory. The role that credit plays at present in the economic life of any country, including the more advanced ones, is well known.

227. It should also be considered that, since the present Administering Power in Eritrea is interested in a certain political solution of the problem and hopes that at least a part of that territory may be added to its possessions, it should not be surprising that far from improving the existing conditions, that Power is not even concerned about their deterioration, for the more that Eritrean economy suffers, the more probabilities there would be for that Power to carry out its political plans.

228. Any evaluation that may be made of the present Eritrean economy, that did not take into account the circumstances and factors briefly outlined above, would give an erroneous picture of the situation and would lead to an estimation, also erroneous, of the future possibilities.

229. Most of the information on the economic situation of the territory received by the Commission emanates from the British Administration and obviously tends to support the political position of the British Government with regard to the problem.

230. In the present abnormal circumstances, the economic situation of Eritrea is not only bad but deteriorates from day to day. This situation is not capable of change so long as the problem of the disposal of Eritrea remains unsolved.

231. It is true that climatic conditions of the territory are not the most favourable for easy large-scale agricultural development. Rainfall is comparatively scanty and in some areas is insufficient for farming. There is no river that flows continuously, with the exception of the Setit—which in places serves as the frontier between Eritrea and Ethiopia. However, the land is not bad generally speaking, and, in view of the topography of the country, the possibility of storing rain water for irrigation is very considerable and could be carried out comparatively economically. Irrigation by canals would also be possible, using the water of numerous seasonal streams—a system which was begun before the Second World War, with satisfactory results.

232. Thus, though it is not possible to increase the rainfall in a short period of time so long as gradual and extensive plans of re-forestation are not carried out, it is at least possible and relatively easy, through the increased storage of rain water for irrigation and the use of the seasonal running streams to the same end, to increase progressively the percentage of cultivated lands, not only for solving the deficit in the production of grains (one-sixth of the consumption), but even for maintaining some reserves for export.

233. The main agricultural products of Eritrea are grain, vegetable-fibres, coffee, tobacco, cotton, citrus

fruits, tropical fruits, and others. This is one of the few places in the world where the dum palm exists, the nut of which is used for the manufacture of buttons, alcohol, and oil for soap and cattle fodder. The skin of the nut contains tannin in industrial quantities and the shell is used as fuel. From the palm leaves are obtained fibres of excellent quality for marine ropes, and raw material for the manufacture of paper.

234. Cattle breeding is a considerable source of wealth in Eritrea on account of the dairy and meat products and the industry and export of skins. This important item in the economy of the territory is also affected by the insufficient rainfall of the country. The cattle are forced to migrate twice a year for pasture. Any measure taken towards storing rain water would alleviate the situation, with consequent progress for this important industry, which, moreover, is a truly popular source of wealth, since cattle breeding is not concentrated in big farms, but is the patrimony of the individual Eritrean.

235. The agricultural production statistics are incomplete and insufficient and have not the real value which is generally attached to statistics, since the present conditions are not normal, as has already been pointed out.

236. As regards the mineral wealth of Eritrea, one principal fact should be emphasized: there is not sufficient information to form an idea of its extent, quality and value.

237. The fact best known concerning mining is that numerous deposits of gold exist both in the highlands and the lowlands. In 1940, the output, which was beginning to reach a steady level, amounted to 17,000 ounces, with great probabilities of increase. The main mines were destroyed, closed or dismantled and during several years there was no yield. The gold mines have also been greatly affected by terroristic activities and the lack of security in the country. In 1949, the production was only 2,800 ounces.

238. It is also known that there are deposits of iron, copper, nickel, mica, asbestos and other minerals. Traces of manganese, titanium, magnesium and chromium have been found, but the available information, in general, is extremely deficient. In some cases, it has been said that either the material is not of good quality, as for example, nickel, or that its location is difficult of access.

239. There are also deposits of salts of sodium and potassium, of kaolin and feldspar, which are used in local manufactures. There is a great deal of marble, and, although it seems that there is no coal, lignite of low quality has been found.

240. It is also known that, during the last years of the Italian régime, drillings were made to locate oil in the Dahlak Islands off Massawa, but, due to the war, those prospectings were not completed, and no report is available regarding the results. On the other hand, the existence of sediments of the Miocene Age on the coast north of Massawa has been confirmed, but no drillings have been made.

241. While it cannot be said that Eritrea is very rich in minerals, neither can it be said that it is poor. Knowledge about mining in Eritrea and the information available on which to base a judgment are extremely deficient. It is a fact, however, that mining is practically an unexplored field.

242. Eritrea has several hundred kilometres of coast and an important archipelago in the Red Sea—one of the richest seas in the world. The fishing industry and the exploitation, in general, of the marine wealth offer a very ample and promising field for the economy of Eritrea. There are already some industries, such as fish meal, oils, sea-shell products, mother-of-pearl, snails, coral and pearl, with immense possibilities of development.

243. Geographically, Eritrea includes two completely different regions: the highlands of Hamasien, Serae and Akele Guzai and the western and eastern lowlands. Both regions are complementary to each other economically by the diversity of their animal, vegetable and mineral products, by the interchange of industrial raw materials, by the differences of climate and season and by the facilities afforded by one to the other for the seasonal migration of cattle. It should also be pointed out that both regions are linked by excellent highways and railways.

244. Eritrea has a considerable number of industries whose importance is based mainly on the good quality of their products. The industries in Eritrea vary greatly, as can be judged by the following: chemical products, preserved meats, butter, cheese, fish, fish meal, beer, wines, liquors, alcohol, glassware, chinaware and porcelain, matches, paper, medicinal and pharmaceutical products, leather goods, dum-palm and mother-of-pearl buttons, vegetable fibres (sisal and dum-palm), essential oils and shark oils, skins and leather, and gum arabic. The majority of these products are exported. There are also other products for local consumption, such as soap, perfume, cigarettes, and cement products.

245. Most of these industries use local raw materials. There are other industries, merely for processing, which employ mainly imported raw materials, such as wheat-flour, whose exportation reached more than a million kilogrammes in 1948, with a value of more than £76,000.

246. Eritrean industries are not artificial, as they have, on occasion, been characterized, nor do they depend mainly on cheap labour. They are well established and their products, on account of their quality, are well received in the neighbouring markets, such as Ethiopia, Sudan and the countries on the other side of the Red Sea. Many of their products, such as buttons, vegetable fibres, and fish meal, go to European markets. Another industry is that of salt, which has a good market in the Far East, mainly in India and Japan.

247. There is no reason to doubt the success, development and increase of these industries in the future. On the contrary, if they have been able to subsist through the difficult conditions of recent years, it can be logically inferred that they will subsist and develop better in the future, when the conditions of unrest and abnormalcy, pointed out above, disappear.

248. Another industry worthy of mention, on account of its public value and its contribution to many aspects of the economic life of Eritrea, is the electric power industry. Considerable efforts have been made to develop hydro-electric power and there are plans already prepared, the implementation of which was prevented by the war and subsequent conditions, for its expansion to the point where it would be possible to dispense with electricity produced by imported fuels.

249. There is no reason to suppose that foreign markets may be closed to Eritrean products in the future, since the latter are of good quality and some of them, such as buttons and fibres, do not encounter strong competition. Moreover, it could not be said that Eritrea itself is a small or poor market for its own products. In the same measure as the Eritrean people (more than one million) are able to raise their standard of living, their consumption capacity will increase accordingly, particularly with regard to products such as matches, foodstuffs, edible oils and soap. There is no reason to say that the match industry will not be able to subsist because it depends on euphorbia wood, the consumption of which contributes to the deforestation of the country, since the wood used for boxes and sticks can be replaced by cardboard, the manufacture of which is easy and for which there is in the territory adequate raw material. The sticks can also be substituted by cotton fibres coated with paraffin.

250. As has already been indicated elsewhere, Eritrea has an excellent system of communications. Transportation is also, at the present time, affected by the abnormal conditions under which the country suffers and to which reference was made at the beginning of this chapter.

251. The railway has an annual deficit of approximately £25,000, despite the fact that its use is compulsory for most goods traffic and that the use of motor trucks has been prohibited alongside the railways. This deficit, however, is also largely due to the abnormal situation and to the fact that many of the economic activities of the country are paralysed.

252. An important factor in the economy of Eritrea is the transit of goods to and from Ethiopia through Eritrean ports and territory.

253. There is no doubt that there exists a strong community of economic interests between Eritrea and Ethiopia, not only on account of the need of the latter to use Eritrean ports for its foreign trade and the gains which accrue to Eritrea by this transit, but also on account of the markets mutually afforded for their various products. At present, Ethiopia supplies most of the grain deficiencies in Eritrea (one-sixth of the consumption) and, in turn, imports several products manufactured in Eritrea. On the other hand, several Eritrean industries—certain vegetable oil factories, for example—utilize Ethiopian raw materials. Eritrea also carries on certain import and re-export business in some products of Ethiopia and of the Arabian peninsula, after certain processing in Eritrea.

254. These economic ties deserve the greatest consideration and merit the conclusion of appropriate agreements which would facilitate close co-operation and would tend eventually towards a very advantageous economic union for both countries.

255. It should be pointed out that external trade to and from Ethiopia cannot be exclusively channelled through only one of the Eritrean ports. Products to and from the northern region of Ethiopia naturally pass through the port of Massawa, while products to and from Addis Ababa and the central and southern regions of Ethiopia pass through the ports of Djibouti, in French Somaliland, and Assab in Eritrea. The port of

Assab is, therefore, the most suitable one for external trade from the Ethiopian region of Dessie.

256. The transit trade of the Eritrean ports is much greater than the Eritrean trade of those ports.

257. In considering these circumstances, the advantageous geographical position of Eritrea, from the commercial point of view, should be taken into account. In the neighbourhood of important commercial centres such as Port Sudan, Djibouti, Aden, Hodeida and Jeddah, Eritrea has within reach very important maritime routes, such as those uniting the Indian Ocean and the Far Eastern countries with the Mediterranean Sea and the European countries through the Red Sea. Its two ports have good anchorage, size and facilities sufficient for a prominent commercial position, both with regard to the maritime routes themselves and access to and from the rich lands of the interior.

258. This privileged position could be better taken advantage of for the economic development of Eritrea through the establishment of free zones in the ports of Massawa and Assab, which, besides attracting great quantities of merchandise to such ports, would enormously facilitate an extensive commercial exchange and, in a very special way, the external trade of Ethiopia.

259. As is the case in all countries under colonial régime, Eritrea has a decided disequilibrium in her balance of trade. Her exports reach an average of £1,600,000, while her imports exceed £3,000,000. It should be remembered that these figures correspond to the present abnormal period in which, for example, Eritrea, while able to produce enough coffee for its own consumption and even for export of a certain amount, is importing 500 tons annually at a value of £75,000. It should also be remembered that, due to that colonial policy, its imports are subject to special controls and it cannot freely negotiate for the imports of its requirements in the most favourable markets, but only in those which the authorities permit. These are seldom the least expensive or the nearest.

260. The Eritrean Chamber of Commerce has explained that the deficit in the balance of trade is smaller than it seems to be, since important invisible revenue items have not been taken into consideration, and points out the following as concrete instances: (a) revenue derived from transit trade (£25,550); (b) revenue derived from land transportation (£34,000); (c) sea cargo and passenger fares (£27,600); (d) transport insurance policies taken out in Eritrea (£5,000); (e) air cargo (£12,187); (f) tourist trade, including movement of foreigners (£20,000); (g) payment for servicing ships and planes (£12,225). To these revenues should be added the remittances made to their families by Eritrean workers living outside the territory. Consequently, the Eritrean Chamber of Commerce reaches the conclusion that there are a number of invisible revenues, to the extent of approximately £140,000, which should be deducted from the deficit in the balance of trade.

261. It is necessary to stress also that this deficit in the balance of trade, as well as that which at present exists in the budget, which will be dealt with below, is due also in part to the following factors: (a) the complete lack of bank credit for agriculture, industry and trade; (b) the inadequate system of taxation in force;

(c) the customs system in force, which is also inadequate and antiquated and tends to direct the trade to and from specific countries; (d) the lack of proper organization in the ports, which would expedite the traffic of goods and the increase in their volume; (e) the policy of transport, designed only to solve the problem of the operation of the railways; (f) the impossibility of negotiating commercial treaties with other countries at present. In this regard, one cannot fail to note another important factor relating to the imports of foreign products, equal and often inferior in quality to the products of Eritrea. For example, we ourselves saw in the territory matches imported from India and the Union of South Africa, and butter imported from Australia.

262. The budget of revenue and of administrative expenditure has also, as in almost all colonial territories, a substantial deficit—around £400,000 in the current budget—which itself hardly amounts to a total of £2,800,000. It should be emphasized that the greater part of the Eritrean budget is allocated to Police and Prisons to the amount of almost £400,000, while Education receives only £107,000 and Agriculture hardly £56,000. This fact is the more significant because, in spite of the amount allocated to the police service, the Administering Authority has not been capable of maintaining order and security in the territory.

263. The budget deficit, however, will easily disappear with the return to the country of normal conditions and, above all, tranquillity. The normal increase of economic activities will itself balance the budget deficit, mainly through a more careful and less expensive administration than the colonial one, a more just revision of taxes, a more economic and effective system for their collection, the suppression of arbitrary exemptions, such as the one at present applied to officials of the Administration who pay taxes in London and not in Eritrea, in spite of the fact that they receive salaries paid out of the meagre budget of the territory.

264. Finally, Eritrea would be able to maintain, in normal conditions, an economic position which would allow it to live and progress with dignity, to balance its trade and not only to eliminate the budget deficits of the previous years, but even to increase its income in such a way as to be able to take care of the urgent and pressing requirements of its population, in social, educational and agricultural matters and gradually to undertake the work of progress and betterment in all aspects of the life of the Eritrean community, with the technical assistance which could be provided by the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

CONCLUSIONS

265. We believe the best solution for the future of Eritrea to be independence. But, at the same time, we are of the opinion that independence cannot be made effective immediately. Therefore, the welfare of Eritrea can best be promoted by placing the territory under direct trusteeship by the United Nations for a maximum period of ten years, at the end of which it should become completely independent.

266. The Charter of the United Nations provides that territories of certain categories, which include those detached from enemy States as a result of the Second

World War, are to be treated as Trust Territories with the objective of their progressive development towards self-government or independence.

267. Therefore, we recommend to the General Assembly:

(1) That Eritrea, within its present boundaries, shall be an independent sovereign State.

(2) That this independence shall become effective at the end of a period of ten years from the date on which the General Assembly approves this recommendation.

(3) That, during the period mentioned in paragraph 2, Eritrea shall be placed under the International Trusteeship System, with the United Nations itself as the Administering Authority.

(4) That the Administrator who exercises authority on behalf of the United Nations be appointed by the General Assembly and be assisted and advised by an advisory council composed of representatives of the following States:

United States of America (in view of its contribution to the programme for the development of underdeveloped areas and its interest in the future of dependent territories);

Ethiopia and Italy (in view of their well-known interests);

A Muslim country (in view of the proportion of the Muslim population and to ensure geographical distribution);

A Latin-American country (in view of the principle of geographical distribution and of Latin America's interest in the fate of dependent territories).

That, to ensure the representation of the population, a representative of the Coptic Christians, a representative of the Muslims and a representative of the minorities be included in the advisory council.

(5) That economic agreements be concluded between Eritrea and Ethiopia for the primary purpose of facilitating trade and the transit of goods, and with a view to an eventual economic union.

(6) That free zones be established in the ports of Massawa and Assab to facilitate the exchange of goods and the movement of shipping, taking advantage of the special conditions of the two ports and their strategic geographical position.

(7) That, with a view to promoting the integral development of the country, the United Nations send a mission of experts from the various specialized agencies in order to make appropriate studies for the development of the country on a technical basis.

(8) That the present administering Power, on the appointment of the United Nations Administrator, shall initiate immediately all necessary steps for transfer of power to him.

It is further considered opportune to recommend:

(a) That the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization study the advisability of establishing a university with its centre at Asmara, making use of its suitable position, for the benefit not only of Eritrea but also of the neighbouring countries, which do not possess centres of higher education.

(b) That, on receipt of the report of the mission of experts recommended above, appropriate steps be taken for financing the programmes suggested for the development of Eritrea, in accordance with that mission's recommendations.

ANNEXES

LIST OF DELEGATIONS AND SECRETARIAT

ANNEX 1

Delegations

Burma

Representative: Mr. Justice Aung Khine
Alternate: U Maung Maung Soe, Parliamentary Secretary to the Finance Minister of Burma

Guatemala

Representative: Mr. Carlos García Bauer, Permanent Representative to the United Nations.
Alternate: Mr. José Luis Mendoza, Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Norway

Representative: Mr. Justice Erling Qvale, President of the Court of Appeals of the Mixed Tribunals in Cairo
Alternate: Mr. Ivar Lunde, Counsellor of Embassy, Norwegian Permanent Delegation to the United Nations.

Pakistan

Representative: Mr. Mian Ziaud-Din, Barrister-at-Law, Minister Plenipotentiary
Alternate: Mr. Mir Mohamed Shaikh, Pakistan Foreign Service
Stenographer: Mr. Mohd Rauf

Union of South Africa

Representative: Major-General F. H. Theron, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Union of South Africa in Rome
Alternate: Mr. F. J. Van Biljon, Chairman of the National Marketing Council of the Union of South Africa
Secretary: Mrs. P. Scriabine

ANNEX 2

Secretariat

Principal Secretary: Petrus J. Schmidt
Deputy Principal Secretary: David Blickenstaff

Assistant secretaries: Graham J. Lucas
Philippe E. A. Poullain
Information officer: Erwin K. Baungarten ⁸⁴
Administrative officer: Kamil N. Tooni ⁸⁵
Interpreters: Ernest Hediger
Gustavo Rohen y Galvez ⁸⁶
Précis writers: Colin M. Campbell
Catherine Rolfe
Translator: Adriano Vidaurre ⁸⁷
Research assistant: Wilhelm Iversen
Secretary-stenographers Elisa Alvarado
Ita E. Glance
Janine Hamel
Isabel U. Sevilla
Mary Tabachnick
Hendrika Zwecher
Federico Vasquez ⁸⁷
Typist
Clerk

ANNEX 3

Locally Recruited Staff (Asmara)

Interpreters: H. Osman Habib
Ahmed Mussa
M. Yussef Meccavi
Translators: Gladys Baglioni
Carla Sciallero
Chief clerk: George Hadjoglou
Typist: Winifred V. Clayton
Gestetner operators: Mohamed Tahir
K. Ahuned Saad
Drivers: Francesco Grabanti
Giuseppe Sapuppo
Luigi Moretti
Orderlies: Debas Kifle
K. Gheremeskel
Said Mohamed
Yussef Berhano

⁸⁴ Until 2 May 1950.

⁸⁵ Until 18 May 1950.

⁸⁶ As from 26 April 1950.

⁸⁷ As from 26 February 1950.

CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

ANNEX 4

Document A/AC.34/R.89: Consultations with the Government of the United Kingdom

[Original text: English]
[19 March 1950]

The following letter dated 18 March 1950 from the Special Liaison Officer, British Administration in Eritrea, together with a copy of a formal statement in which the views of the United Kingdom Government are set out, has been received by the Principal Secretary on 18 March 1950:

British Administration
Headquarters
Asmara, Eritrea
18 March 1950

Sir,

With reference to your letter of 1 March 1950 in which you kindly informed me that the Commission, at its 16th meeting held on 28 February 1950, agreed that the Commission would accept the views of the United Kingdom Government on the disposal of Eritrea in written form in Asmara, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith two copies of a formal statement in which the views of my Government are set out.

I also take note that the Commission has agreed not to publish this document so long as the Commission is actually in Eritrea.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) F. E. STAFFORD
Special Liaison Officer

The Principal Secretary
United Nations Commission for Eritrea
Asmara

STATEMENT OF THE VIEWS OF HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT REGARDING THE DISPOSAL OF ERITREA, LAID BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION FOR ERITREA AT ASMARA ON 18 MARCH 1950

His Majesty's Government maintain the view, which has already been expressed by their representatives at the General Assembly of the United Nations, that the central and eastern Provinces of Eritrea, namely, Massawa and the Red Sea Province, the Hamasien, Akele Guzai and Serae, should be incorporated in Ethiopia subject to safeguards for the Italian and other minorities, including appropriate municipal charters for the City of Asmara and the Port of Massawa. As regards the Western Province, His Majesty's Government consider that different solution is required. They do not consider that the inhabitants should be incorporated

in Ethiopia contrary to their expressed wishes, nor that the Province can justifiably be placed under a separate trusteeship looking to its future existence as a separate State. His Majesty's Government have accordingly supported, and are still prepared to support, proposals for its incorporation in the adjacent Sudan, since this would seem to be the best solution on ethnic, geographic and religious grounds.

2. His Majesty's Government are firmly of the opinion, an opinion founded, *inter alia*, on their experience as Administering Power for a decade, during which period they have been able to give the fullest consideration to every possible solution, that the establishment of an independent Eritrean State is not a practicable solution. The territory is not and never has been economically viable, and it possesses neither the national, religious, racial, linguistic, nor geographical unity which would be the prerequisite of such a state. In common with most colonial territories in Africa, Eritrea is not a product of organic political growth, but an artificial conglomeration of widely disparate races and religions. Geographically, the central provinces form part of the Ethiopian plateau. Further to the south the Danakil coast and the port of Assab are geographically part of the Ethiopian hinterland and indeed are without lateral communications except by sea with the remainder of Eritrea. As regards the Western Province, its geographical affinity is with the Sudan.

3. These facts equally preclude a solution on the lines of trusteeship either for a definite or an indefinite period. The lack of any sort of political, social or economic unity in Eritrea would militate against a trusteeship régime for the territory as a whole, since such trusteeship could have no aim or purpose, given that the inhabitants of Eritrea, as at present defined, cannot, in the foreseeable future, be in a position to take over their own government from a trustee Power.

4. Both racially and religiously Eritrea is mixed. The largest racial community are the Coptic Christians of Tigrean race (i.e. Ethiopians), who inhabit Asmara and the three surrounding central provinces. They number some 470,000 out of a total population for the whole territory of just over 1,000,000, and comprise almost 70 per cent of the indigenous population of the area which under His Majesty's Government's proposals would be ceded to Ethiopia. The remaining racial groups which would be incorporated in Ethiopia under these proposals are the Danakil, a Moslem tribe of Arab-Afar origin, in number some 30,000, who inhabit the coastal strip south of Massawa. The majority of the other members of this tribe are already included within the boundaries of Ethiopia. In addition there are some 64,000 Saho-speaking Moslems in the eastern part of Akele Guzai, one of the central provinces: they are nomadic or semi-nomadic shepherds with no future save as part of some existing stata entity. There are also 35,000 nomadic and semi-nomadic Tigré- or Saho-speaking Moslems in the Red Sea Province. Finally,

there are 29,000 Moslems residing in Asmara alongside the 80,000 Coptic Christian inhabitants of that town.

5. In addition to the 29,000 Moslems of Asmara there are 16,000 Italians (out of a total population of 126,000) in that town, and a further 1,000 (out of a total population of 26,000) in Massawa. (The total Italian community of Eritrea numbers slightly more than 20,000.) The minority communities of these two towns would, however, benefit from the safeguards, including municipal charters, already referred to. His Majesty's Government have not as yet put forward in detail proposals for these safeguards. It may suffice at this stage to indicate that they might in the personal field cover the personal status, judicial position, and human rights of members of these minorities, and, in the municipal field, might provide for representative municipal councils (possibly with foreign chairmen appointed by the United Nations) and the establishment of a port authority for Massawa. If the idea were accepted in principle it should be possible to work out the details.

6. The population of the Western Province of Eritrea, except for some 32,000 Christians and about 7,000 pagans, is almost wholly Moslem. Racially, the inhabitants, except for two Nilotic negroid tribes and a few communities of Ethiopian origin, are of mixed Beja and Arab origin closely akin to the inhabitants of the eastern part of the Sudan — indeed the largest Beja Arab tribe, the Beni Amer, is split between the Sudan and Eritrea. The Beja Arabs comprise 75 per cent of the total population of the Western Province (270,000 out of 360,000).

7. Linguistically, Eritrea shows the same diversity as it does religiously and racially. There is no common language. The Coptic Christians speak Tigrinya, the language of the Tigray Province of Ethiopia. The Danakil speak Afar, a language completely of their own. The Saho Moslems also speak their own language. In the Western Province the prevalent languages are Tigré (which has no connexion with the Ethiopian Province of Tigray and only a distant affinity with the Tigrinya language), Beja, Arabic, Belein and certain Nilotic dialects.

8. In view of the circumstances set out above, His Majesty's Government consider that there is a very strong case for the incorporation within Ethiopia's borders of those parts of Eritrea which are inhabited by an overwhelming majority of Tigrean Copts — i.e. the Provinces of Hamasien, Serae and Akele Guzai. The manner in which these provinces are linked by language, race and religion with the Ethiopian Province of Tigray has been set out above, as has their geographical identity with the Ethiopian plateau. It is true that His Majesty's Government's proposals would include the cession to Ethiopia of Massawa, a predominantly Moslem town. Asmara, however, is more than 75 per cent Christian, and Massawa—as the natural port of the plateau—could not be separated from it without grave economic disruption; nor could these two towns be separated from the Coptic plateau. In general, therefore, the three provinces can only be regarded as Christian, and the overwhelming majority of their inhabitants have expressed a desire to be incorporated in Ethiopia.

9. In addition, under His Majesty's Government's proposals, Assab and the Danakil coast, which form part of the Red Sea Province, would be incorporated in Ethiopia. The reasons underlying this proposal, i.e. the absence of lateral communications with the rest of Eritrea and the close affinity, racial, geographical and linguistic, of this Province with the adjacent Danakil areas of Ethiopia, are set out above. It is worthy of note that His Majesty's Government's proposal for the disposal of this part of Eritrea has the merit of including nearly all the Danakil of north-east Africa — the large majority of whom are already included in Ethiopia—within the same political frontiers, thus avoiding the problems, present in so many parts of Africa, which arise when international frontiers cut across tribal boundaries.

10. His Majesty's Government cannot, in advancing these proposals, visualize any alternative to them which is not open to obvious and overriding objections. The objections to independence, either in the immediate future or after an intervening period of trusteeship, have been set out above. The absence of unity in this artificially created territory, and the fact that it could never be an economically viable unit, make the conception of an independent Eritrea wholly unreal. Economically, most of Eritrea is in fact part of Ethiopia, and the territory as an independent entity could only have a heavy adverse balance of trade.

11. It is true that during the visit of the Four-Power Commission Christians and Moslems alike professed opposition to partition, but whereas the Christian Copts did so because they wish to see the whole of Eritrea incorporated in Ethiopia, the Moslems did so because they saw in unity a means of arguing that, as the Copts formed slightly less than half of the total population of Eritrea as a whole, the wishes of the Moslems should prevail. It is understood, moreover, from recent pronouncements made by political parties in the territory that the objection to partition is less strong than it was thought to be, and in the view of His Majesty's Government this solution would in the event be accepted with little question by the great majority of the population. The practical difficulties of uniting these two widely different classes of people under a "national" government to be chosen by themselves would be immense and to attempt it would revive deep-rooted racial and religious strife and jealousies. The strife which has recently characterized relations between the Eritrean communities is, moreover, a clear indication of the civil commotion which a solution on the lines of independence would provoke. Such a solution could, in the teeth of a hostile population on the plateau numbering nearly one-half of the total indigenous inhabitants of the country, be established, and an administration maintained, only by strong military forces and at considerable cost.

12. His Majesty's Government understand that the Italian Government no longer lay claim to the trusteeship of the territory, but they feel obliged to state that they could in no circumstances support any proposal involving the return of an Italian administration in any form.

18 March 1950

ANNEX 5

Consultations with Mr. F. E. Stafford, the representative of the United Kingdom Government, at the 50th meeting of the Commission, held at Geneva on 28 April 1950, under the Chairmanship of Major-General F. H. Theron (Union of South Africa). (Extract from A/AC.34/SR.50/Part I, summary record of the 50th meeting.)

[Original text: English]

5. [The CHAIRMAN] . . . asked Mr. Stafford whether he had any statement to make, supplementary to the statement of the views of the United Kingdom Government which he had submitted to the Commission, with a covering letter, on 18 March 1950 (A/AC.34/R.89). (See annex 4.)

6. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) replied that his Government considered that its views had already been clearly and fully set out in the statement referred to by the Chairman. It was not his intention therefore to make any oral statement, but he was at the Commission's disposal to give any additional information or to answer any questions which representatives of the Commission might wish to ask.

13. . . . [Mr. ZIAUD-DIN (Pakistan)] asked whether Mr. Stafford could provide the dates on which political murders first commenced in Eritrea, and the number of such murders. He believed that the first murder had been that of Abdul Cadr, a leader of the Moslem party, who had been murdered in Asmara as he was about to leave for Lake Success. He would be grateful for any details with regard to subsequent murders.

14. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) regretted that he was not in possession of the information, but added that, since the Pakistani representative had courteously given him notice of the question two days previously, he had telegraphed to London. With the Commission's permission, he would reply to the question in writing.

15. Mr. ZIAUD-DIN (Pakistan) stated that, generally speaking, about 99 per cent of the persons murdered had been either those opposed to the Unionist party, or Italians, and asked whether that was correct.

16. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) stated that he could perhaps give a more precise percentage if he replied in writing.

17. Mr. ZIAUD-DIN (Pakistan) believed that in one of the declarations by the United Kingdom, which he was unable to cite at the moment, it was said that the gangs of political assassins escaped into the Tigray Province and later returned to Eritrea. He asked for confirmation of that statement.

18. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) considered that the question was one which should have more properly been put to the British Administration in Eritrea. He had come before the Commission to represent the views of the United Kingdom Government with regard to the future of Eritrea. He added that if further information were required from the British Administration in Eritrea, he would willingly act as the channel through which requests could be made.

19. Mr. ZIAUD-DIN (Pakistan) replied that he would be grateful if Mr. Stafford would obtain the desired information.

20. His next point, he stated, was to ask for an opinion rather than to put a question. Did Mr. Stafford agree that the effect of the activities of the terrorist gangs on the unarmed inhabitants of villages far from the urban centres, and where there was no police protection, had been the silencing of free expression of the political opinion of that section of the population?

21. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) replied that it was a matter of opinion on which his Government had not instructed him to make any statement.

22. Mr. ZIAUD-DIN (Pakistan) asked whether a question as to the opinion of the United Kingdom Government with regard to the extent to which the Coptic Church had influenced the political views of the Eritreans came into the same category as his previous question.

23. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) replied in the affirmative.

24. Mr. ZIAUD-DIN (Pakistan) asked whether Mr. Stafford could supply him with any private information with regard to the past of certain political leaders such as Messrs. Woldemariam, Ibrahim Sultan, Tedla Beiru, Mohamed Omar Kadi and others. He added that the information he required was in the nature of private details of the type that his own Government kept regarding politicians.

25. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) stated that the question put him in a position of some embarrassment. His Government did not maintain information of the nature described. He had already agreed, however, to provide him personally with any information available to the public.

26. Mr. VAN BILJON (Union of South Africa) informed Mr. Stafford that statements had been made to the Commission in Eritrea to the effect that the United Kingdom Government had promised the inhabitants of Eritrea, during the war, that they would be reunited with Ethiopia after the war. His delegation was anxious to learn whether any official statement to that effect had been made by the United Kingdom Government.

27. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) replied that no such promises had been made during the war by his Government and that it had never issued any statement of policy on the subject to the inhabitants during that time.

28. He suspected that the information might refer to the dropping of pamphlets over Eritrea by air in 1941 and 1942 while the war was in progress. The pamphlets were in two categories; the first had been prepared by the United Kingdom Government and contained no such statement or undertaking. The second category had been dropped by the Royal Air Force, at the request of the Emperor of Ethiopia and his Government. It was possible that the latter might have contained some guarded statements to the effect that the Emperor wished to reunite Eritrea with Ethiopia after the war. He was not in a position to say whether

that was the case, but he could say that his Government had not and did not consider itself bound by any such undertaking, or responsible for any such declaration.

29. Mr. VAN BILJON (Union of South Africa) drew attention to paragraph 5 of the statement by the United Kingdom Government of 18 March 1950, in which it was said that the minority communities of Asmara and Massawa would benefit from safeguards, including municipal charters referred to in a previous paragraph. His delegation would be glad to learn the reasons why such safeguards were considered necessary. Furthermore, he asked whether the United Kingdom had formulated the safeguards referred to and whether it contemplated sending official reports to the United Nations, from time to time, regarding the observance of such safeguards.

30. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) replied that, taking into consideration that there was a considerably large Italian population which had rights and interests in the territory, and that there were substantial other minorities in the country, and also the fact that much apprehension had been expressed with regard to the necessity of their protection, his Government had accepted the principle that guarantees should be given.

31. With regard to the nature of those guarantees, he could say that certain preliminary work had been carried out by the United Kingdom authorities. The resultant drafts had not, however, been regarded as satisfactory and had been put aside until such time as other experts could work on them, if found necessary.

32. In reply to the question regarding the possibility of reporting to the United Nations, his Government had no particular views in the matter and would leave it to the deliberations of the United Nations on the future of Eritrea.

33. Mr. VAN BILJON (Union of South Africa) asked whether, in the event of the Commission not recommending either incorporation into Ethiopia or immediate independence, on the grounds that the population was not ready for it and that the territory was not viable economically, but recommending trusteeship, the United Kingdom Government would be prepared to accept the administration of the territory.

34. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) stated that his Government did not wish to accept the responsibility of trusteeship for Eritrea or for any part of that territory.

35. Mr. VAN BILJON (Union of South Africa) asked what the views of the United Kingdom Government were with regard to the following alternatives: trusteeship by the United Nations, trusteeship by any combination of powers, or trusteeship by Ethiopia, of the whole or part of the territory.

36. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) replied that the views of his Government clearly established that it considered that independence was not a practical solution for Eritrea. It conceived that trusteeship, which was a preliminary to ultimate independence, also was a doubtful and unpractical solution. It had always been of the opinion that direct United Nations trusteeship was impracticable. As for the re-

mainder of the question, he did not find it necessary to go into details regarding the merits of differing forms of trusteeship.

37. Mr. VAN BILJON (Union of South Africa) referred to the opinion expressed by the United Kingdom Government that there should be incorporation for Eritrea, combined with partition, and asked whether, in the event of partition being recommended by the Commission, the United Kingdom would be prepared to continue to administer the Western Province for the time being. Furthermore, what did the United Kingdom recommend with regard to the future of the Western Province when it could claim to have obtained sufficient experience in self-government?

38. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) stated that in the view of his Government the Western Province could never become a viable separate State, and that his Government maintained that the only practical solution was to absorb it into the Sudan. If, therefore, the United Nations decided on a solution for the rest of the territory, leaving apart the Western Province, his Government would have to consider its position very carefully in the light of the factors then obtaining.

39. Mr. VAN BILJON (Union of South Africa) asked whether the United Kingdom considered that partition should apply to the Western Province with its present boundaries, or whether there would need to be any determination of the boundaries.

40. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) replied that the present boundary of the Western Province had been drawn for administrative purposes. It left considerable minorities on either side of the line and if a decision were taken for partition, it would be desirable to set up a boundary commission, probably under United Nations auspices, on which the interested parties would be represented. His Government did not therefore regard the existing boundaries as definitive.

41. Mr. VAN BILJON (Union of South Africa) asked whether, in view of that statement, the United Kingdom Government would be prepared to modify its recommendations, taking into account the fact that, despite a Moslem majority in the Massawa area, it had recommended that that area should be included in the territory to be incorporated into Ethiopia.

42. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) replied in the negative, and added that he had referred to minor boundary rectifications. Massawa was considered to be entirely dependent on Asmara and the high plateau and it would not be suitable to include it in the Western Province.

43. Mr. VAN BILJON (Union of South Africa) assumed that the United Kingdom, when proposing a solution for the future of Eritrea, had taken into account the economic effects of partition. The South African delegation would be interested to hear of the effects that such a course might have on the operation of the railways and on the necessary grazing movement of the population.

44. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) considered that the operation of the railways

was a matter for agreement between the two States and he did not see any insuperable difficulty under a joint administration.

45. The movement of animals for grazing and other seasonal movements of the population would continue wherever the boundary line was drawn. That also would be a matter for negotiation between the two administrations, and he did not consider that partition would have any deleterious effect.

46. Mr. GARCÍA BAUER (Guatemala) assumed from the exposé of the views of the United Kingdom Government on 18 March 1950 that the United Kingdom maintained the Bevin-Sforza agreement and asked whether that was so.

47. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) replied that the basic outline of the solution suggested by the United Kingdom was the same as that known as the Bevin-Sforza agreement. His Government had not changed its position substantially since then.

48. Mr. GARCÍA BAUER (Guatemala) referred to paragraph 5 of the United Kingdom statement in which municipal charters for the towns of Asmara and Massawa were visualized. It was known that the Ethiopian Government was opposed to separate municipalities for those towns and he would like to know the point of view of the United Kingdom Government regarding the opposition.

49. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) replied that he was not aware of such opposition.

50. Mr. GARCÍA BAUER (Guatemala) stated that he knew that the Ethiopian delegation at Lake Success had expressed that point of view and that it had been confirmed recently. In the light of that knowledge, would the United Kingdom continue to maintain its position concerning a separate status for Asmara and Massawa?

51. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) did not believe it necessary to add anything to what had already been said. He was not in a position to say whether the opposition referred to by the Guatemalan representative did or did not exist. The views of the United Kingdom Government, however, remained unchanged.

52. Mr. GARCÍA BAUER (Guatemala) noted that Mr. Stafford had stated that his Government was unwilling to accept trusteeship of the whole territory. Moreover, the United Kingdom Government had informed the Commission that it was not in favour of Italian trusteeship. If the United Nations were to decide on trusteeship for Eritrea which was neither trusteeship by the United Kingdom nor by Italy, would his Government accept such a resolution?

53. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) thought that it was difficult to answer such an hypothetical question, which raised important issues. He pointed out that he had already said that the United Kingdom would not willingly accept trusteeship of the territory and had given reasons why trusteeship was considered to be impracticable. He did not consider that the question whether his Government would accept a resolution of the United Nations arose in that connexion.

54. Mr. GARCÍA BAUER (Guatemala) stated that the Commission had noted during its hearings in Eritrea that the majority in the Red Sea area was opposed to annexation to Ethiopia, more especially among the population of Dankalia and the Dahlak Islands. If, however, in spite of that opposition, the United Kingdom planned to place those areas under Ethiopia, it would be contrary to the will of the great majority of the population in that area. He asked Mr. Stafford whether he could give any special reasons for that attitude.

55. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) considered that the question whether the majority in the Red Sea area was opposed to annexation was a matter for the Commission to decide and not one that he could accept or deny.

56. The reason underlying the proposal for incorporation of that area had been set out fully in paragraph 9 of the statement by his Government. It had taken into account the fact that the majority in that area was Moslem, and he had nothing to add, since he believed that the arguments were sufficiently cogent.

57. Mr. GARCÍA BAUER (Guatemala) stated that among the recommendations made to the Council of Foreign Ministers by the Four-Power Commission was one by the United Kingdom delegation indicating that it would be desirable to place Eritrea under Ethiopian trusteeship for ten years. The solution proposed by the United Kingdom Government in its statement of 18 March 1950 expressed objection to trusteeship. Very little time had elapsed since the recommendations by the Four-Power Commission, and he would be glad if Mr. Stafford could explain the fundamental reasons for the change of opinion.

58. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) replied that a sufficient time had elapsed to allow fuller consideration of the problem. His Government had changed its opinion since it felt that partition was the most practicable and, indeed, the only practicable solution.

59. Mr. KHINE (Burma) informed Mr. Stafford that he wished to follow up one of the questions asked by the representative of the Union of South Africa. Any solution for the future of Eritrea should primarily take into account the wishes and welfare of the indigenous people. If the principle of partition were to be accepted, the wishes of the population of the Western Province would still have to be taken into account. The Commission had understood that the majority of the inhabitants of the Western Province did not wish to be incorporated into either Ethiopia or the Sudan. Therefore if their wishes were to be respected, partition would be unsuitable. Could the United Kingdom Government offer any alternative solution to that suggested in its statement of 18 March 1950?

60. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) stated that, in the view of his Government, the only proper and practical solution for the Western Province was absorption into the Sudan. He would prefer not to answer the question but to leave it to the ingenuity of the Commission or the General Assembly to suggest an alternative solution.

61. Mr. ZIAUD-DIN (Pakistan) noted that absorption of the Western Province into the Sudan would require

the consent of Egypt, as an interested Government. He asked whether that fact had been considered by the United Kingdom Government.

62. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) replied in the affirmative, and pointed out that the Egyptian Government had at Lake Success proposed that very solution.

63. Mr. ZIAUD-DIN (Pakistan) recalled that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt had distinctly stated before the Commission on 15 April 1950 that partition of any country was a bad thing, to which his Government objected (A/AC.34/SR.46/Part 1).

64. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) commented that it only demonstrated that other Governments beside the United Kingdom had changed their opinions.

65. Mr. ZIAUD-DIN (Pakistan) asked for the views of the United Kingdom, assuming that the Egyptian Government had changed its view and objected to absorption of the Western Province into the Sudan.

66. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) remarked that that was a hypothetical question.

67. Mr. ZIAUD-DIN (Pakistan) referred to the suggestion for safeguards and guarantees for the minorities in Massawa, and asked whether Mr. Stafford could suggest any system which would permit of their enforcement in the event of annexation taking place.

68. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) saw no reason why a guarantee given and accepted by sovereign States would not be effectively carried out.

69. Mr. ZIAUD-DIN (Pakistan) asked whether the United Kingdom Government had not modified its opinion in the light of its recent experience of the failure of an important part of the British Commonwealth to carry out guarantees.

70. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) remarked that he saw no analogy and preferred not to comment on that question.

71. Mr. GARCÍA BAUER (Guatemala) cited Article 77 of the Charter, which states that:

“The trusteeship system shall apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship agreements

“a. . . .

“b. territories which may be detached from enemy States as a result of the Second World War;” . . .

72. Eritrea was one of the territories in category b, but he noted that the position of the Government of the United Kingdom regarding that territory was not consistent with the Charter which that Government had signed. He asked for Mr. Stafford's comments.

73. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) replied that he would not be drawn into an admission of any inconsistency in the action of his Government. He understood that the disposal of the Italian colonies was being dealt with by his Government and by others in accordance with the provisions of the Italian Peace Treaty and he did not see how that action could be called into question. Moreover, he was unwilling to be drawn into a discussion of an important legal question relating to the Charter.

74. Mr. GARCÍA BAUER (Guatemala) understood from the statement by Mr. Stafford that the United Kingdom's position was based more on the Italian Peace Treaty than on the Charter.

75. Mr. STAFFORD (representative of the United Kingdom) pointed out that he had made no comparison between the relative validity of the Italian Peace Treaty and the Charter.

76. Mr. GARCÍA BAUER (Guatemala) thanked the United Kingdom representative for his timely correction. He apologized for not correctly interpreting his previous statement and added that the view of the United Kingdom Government was now clear to him.

CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA

ANNEX 6

Statement made by Mr. Ato Aklilou Abte-Wold, the Ethiopian Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the 43rd meeting of the Commission, held at Addis Ababa on 10 April 1950 (document A/AC.34/SR.43, appendix A).

[Original text: English-French]

Mr. Chairman,
Members of the Commission,

You have spent more than two months in the territory of Eritrea, where you have travelled thousands of kilometres and seen thousands of persons.

My Government has been particularly pleased that you have had the opportunity also of visiting Ethiopia and we have done all in our power to facilitate that visit. In the course of your travels in Eritrea and Ethiopia you have been able to note for yourselves the complete identity of territories and peoples which for thousands of years have been identified under the name of Ethiopia. Notwithstanding fifty years of Italian régime in Eritrea, you have seen the same peoples, national costumes, customs, farms, countryside and agricultural economy in the two territories. Apart from the denuded aspect of the countryside resulting from fifty years of deforestation, which have brought in their turn a considerable increase in the aridity of the territory, the Eritrean countryside resembles otherwise almost entirely the Ethiopian landscape. You have noted the same shannas, the same head-dresses, the same manners, the same ways of speaking, the same titles of nobility. You have listened to Kegnazmatches, to Grazmatches, to Dedjazmatches and to Rases—all titles strictly Ethiopian in origin. You have heard among others the statements of Dedjazmatch Abraha, of Grazmatch Ibrahim Sultan and Ras Kidane Mariam. To the extent that Italian attempts during fifty years have been unavailing you have been able to note the universal usage in Eritrea of the two Sabea languages so intimately related to Amharic, namely Tigrinya and Tigrai, both written exactly as Amharic. At Adi Rossi and at Adi Sakto you have visited the ancient monuments of the Sabea époque of the Ethiopian civilization. At Ato Adulis, in the neighbourhood of Massawa, you have seen the reminders of that glorious period of the Empire of Axum, whose influence was felt in the furthest reaches of Arabia and of Egypt and of which the port was this ancient city of Adulis. At the time of your visit to Adi Quale you saw at a distance the capital of Axum. Likewise, in the neighbourhood of Massawa you have visited the two places of Sa'ati and Dogali, where in 1886 the Italians were defeated by the forces of Ras Alula, Governor of Asmara, that city which, according to the Italians, did not exist at that period. Likewise, also in the region of Massawa you have seen the plain where, in the following year, 1887, the forces of Emperor Johannes threw out the whole Italian army commanded

by General di San Marzano. You have heard the testimony of that distinguished patriot, Ras Kidane Mariam, who recounted to you precise details of his participation in the battles of Dogali and of Adowa.

Why, Gentlemen, is it that these observations, relating to even superficial aspects of Eritrea and of Ethiopia, demonstrate so profound an identity between the two regions? Gentlemen, the reply is simple and obvious. For 4,000 years Eritrea and Ethiopia have been identical in their origins, identical in their historical development, identical in the defence of the Ethiopian and Eritrean region against threat of invasion and of aggrandisement from abroad.

Ethiopia was peopled by a Hamitic race which, four to five thousand years ago, leaving the southern shores of the Arabic peninsula, crossed the Red Sea into Eritrea and from there passed into what is now known as Ethiopia. It was for this reason that Eritrea has constituted the most ancient part of the Empire of Ethiopia and that it was in the region of Adi Quale that was located the first capital of the Empire of Ethiopia. Is it, consequently, strange that the language, the customs, the art and the religion of Eritrea and Ethiopia are identical?

Even to-day migrations constitute an important element in the life of the people of Eritrea and of Ethiopia. No authorization is necessary for Eritreans to cross the frontier between Eritrea and Ethiopia. To-day, there are no less than 200,000 Eritreans permanently residing in Ethiopia, of which 1,600 are officials of the Ethiopian Government. In the course of your hearings in Eritrea, you have listened on numerous occasions to statements by leaders of the population according to which the greater part of the groups which they represented are to-day actually in Ethiopia where they have entered with their cattle in order to profit by the high grassy plateaux of Ethiopia, which are far richer than the dry fields of Eritrea (e.g. Hearings on 10 March at Terarni and at Adi Ugri). Such are the facts which have been noted by yourselves and by others who have assisted at the hearings.

Likewise, migrations have affected the common history of Eritrea and of Ethiopia. In the course of the sixteenth century, the invader Gagn, starting out from southern territories, sought to win to the Moslem religion the inhabitants of Ethiopia and of Eritrea. In spite of his failure, the result has been that, since the sixteenth century, the Moslem populations have always lived peaceably side by side with the Christian populations of the Ethiopian-Eritrean regions.

Very recently you have been able for yourselves to note this age-old harmony between Christians and Moslems, when you listened to the statements, not only by the partisans of union with Ethiopia, but also by those who are opposed to it, as, for example, the statement made on 28 February by the Italo-Eritrean Association with reference to the incidents which took place in

February last. According to these statements, never in the history of the Ethiopian-Eritrean region has there been any incident of violence between Moslems and Christians, with the exception of those incidents which took place in February last and which I have no need to enter upon at this point, for I will come back to them in a moment.

In accordance with this spirit of harmony and identity of views which characterize the Christian and Moslem communities in Eritrea, you have heard statements by very many Moslems who, as well as Christians, call for the return of Eritrea to Ethiopia.

Allow me, Gentlemen, to draw your attention for the moment, to the situation of Moslems in Eritrea. According to the population statistics which have been supplied to you by the British Administration of Eritrea (document A/AC.34/R.5 of 13 February), the total number of Christians is 527,337 as against 531,851 Moslems. That is to say, there are 4,514 more Moslems in Eritrea than Christians. In other words, Moslems constitute 49.8 per cent of the population and Christians 49.4 per cent. Consequently there is a difference of but four-tenths of 1 per cent between Moslems and Christians in Eritrea, a difference which in the absence of a census is so slight as to be ignored.

Gentlemen, to what classes of the population belong these Moslems of Eritrea? As you have been able to note for yourselves, these Moslems belong to two classes only, that is to say, to the nomads and to the commercial communities.

In Ethiopia the Moslem population constitute less than one-fourth of the total number of inhabitants of Ethiopia, although they are still far more numerous than the entire Christian and Moslem populations of Eritrea. As in Eritrea, the Moslem populations in Ethiopia belong to the same two social classes, that is to say, the nomads, who are for the most part in the south-east portion of Ethiopia, and the very opulent Moslem commercial communities which are scattered throughout the Empire.

In the course of the hearings of the Commission in Eritrea, which the Ethiopian Government has followed with the closest possible attention, insinuations have been raised which would tend to indicate that the Moslem population of Ethiopia have been the subject of discrimination.

Allow me to point out to the Commission that all the local officials in the Ogaden or the south-east part of Ethiopia are Moslems; that no less than 540 vice- and sub-Governors are Moslems; that two of the delegates for Ethiopia at the Paris Peace Conference were Moslems. Certainly, one should not diminish the importance of the role of justice and the courts in the government of a country. Gentlemen, four out of ten judges of the High Court are Moslems.⁸⁸ There are no less than 570 Moslem judges in the district courts. In the Ministry of Justice itself, there are 25 Coptic Christians, 5 Catholic Christians, 6 Protestant Christians, but there are, on the contrary, 103 Moslems. Should one say that the Moslems are poorly represented? When one reflects that the Moslems constitute about one-fourth of the

population, and, on the other hand that of the 3,194 higher government officials, 1,238 or well over one-third, are Moslems, is one justified in asserting that there are no Moslems in the Ethiopian Government? As regards the suggestion that they are the subject of discrimination in Ethiopia, I can only agree with the accuracy of such an observation, since the Moslems benefit by special favours and discriminations at the expense of the other and far more numerous elements of the population. Let the partisans of the so-called independence formula cease, then, their ignoble calumnies against the Ethiopian Government. There would be even more Moslems in the Ethiopian Government, were it not for two considerations: the first, that in Ethiopia, as in Eritrea, an important portion of the population is purely nomadic, and, consequently, remains entirely illiterate. However, these nomads must, by any standards, be considered wealthy in view of the enormous herds of cattle which they possess. On the other hand, by far the most important community in Ethiopia, from a commercial point of view, is the Moslem community. The members of this community prefer from their youth to devote their lives to business affairs rather than to acquiring a secondary or higher education.

Notwithstanding the great wealth of these Moslem communities, the attempt has been made to suggest that Moslems are brutally treated in Ethiopia, by employing expressions which I find it repugnant even to mention. The fact that the largest fortunes in Ethiopia are exclusively in the hands of the Moslems and, note it well, not only Ethiopian Moslems, but especially Moslems from Middle Asia to whom the Government might have easily refused the right of residence in Ethiopia or whom it might have made the object of particular discriminations, were it animated by hostile sentiments towards the Moslems, should constitute the definitive answer to these calumnies. I would like to think that the Commission will leave Addis Ababa convinced of the total falsity and injustice of this accusation.

So much, Gentlemen, for the similarity of racial and social structure of the populations of Eritrea and Ethiopia. Under these circumstances, it is by no means surprising that the Commission should have noted such strong and overwhelming support on the part of the populations in favour of union with Ethiopia.

Already three years ago, when the Commission of Investigation of the four great Powers visited Eritrea, that fact was clearly noted. If the members of the Commission would refresh their minds by returning to that report, it will be noted that by far the largest and strongest political party in Eritrea was at that time and still is the Unionist Party.

Today, that situation has changed and in point of fact, due to the continued delay in meeting the obligation of satisfying just claims of the population of Eritrea, the strength of the Unionist Party has greatly increased. The Commission has been able to note for itself the impressive strength of unionism in Eritrea. For example, on the central plateau, which alone accounts for 56 per cent of the entire population of Eritrea, there is obviously quasi-unanimity in favour of union with Ethiopia, that is to say, in the three provinces of the Hamasien, Akele Guzai and the Serae. Likewise, impressive strength of the Unionist groups has been shown in the Massawa area. As already stated,

⁸⁸ See annex 7 of this Report, paragraph 39 of document A/AC.34/SR.34.

the tribes in the Red Sea coast area are all basically Ethiopian with their chiefs all residing in Ethiopia and this for a very simple and obvious reason, namely, that the tribes spend the better part of the year in Ethiopia itself for grazing their cattle.

A similar situation obtains for the populations of both the Hamasien, the Akele Guzai and the Serae. For example, I would recall the hearings held by the Commission in the area of Teramni and Adi Ugri on 10 March of this year, where the representatives of the population stated that their followers were not present because they were all with their cattle in Ethiopia, in that country from which they draw their livelihood.

Consequently, for four out of five provinces constituting 66 per cent, of the population there can be no question as to the desire for union.

This leaves us with the problem of the Western Province where the Commission might think that it has found a possible majority against union with Ethiopia. Here again the Christian and Unionist population alone of the regions of Keren, Agordat and Tessenai far outnumber the Moslem population of the Massawa area.

I would recall to the members of the Commission the fact that the Unionist Party at numerous times has declared, at Lake Success as well as during the recent tours of the Commission in Eritrea, that it would not be opposed to a separate solution for the Western Province, if there should be found to be a clear majority in that Province in favour of such a separate solution (cf. memorandum of the Unionist Party, dated 14 March 1950, addressed to the Commission). Likewise, the Liberal Unionist Party, the Moslem League of the Massawa as well as the New Moslem League in the Western Province have made similar statements.

There remains the question of the so-called Independence Front. The members of the Commission will recall that in the course of the session of 7 October at the Political Committee of the Assembly last year it was brought out by the spokesman for the so-called Independence Front that this Front was established on 13 May of last year, when the Political Committee voted in favour of the union of eastern Eritrea with Ethiopia, and that the establishment of this front was effected with Italian support, but without consultation of the local population or the adherents to the various political groups which claimed to be represented.

In this connexion, I would wish to draw the attention of the Commission to the fact that, in the course of the latter's hearings on 25 February (document A/AC.34/SR.14, page 15), the financial support of the so-called Independence Front by the Italian Government was fully established and admitted. I say this, Gentlemen, be it clearly noted, not by way of accusation or of polemics, but by way of a simple noting of a very well-known fact supported by ample and very precise evidence and proof.

Italian bribery in the matter of the so-called Independence Front has been so open and on so vast a scale that I need not go into that matter at this time, for such bribery is a matter of common knowledge. Even had the Ethiopian Government been motivated by simi-

lar base desires to purchase votes of the population, desires which are non-existent, it would have no conceivable interest, on the one hand, in purchasing votes which already exist in ample numbers in favour of union, or, on the other hand, in attempting to compete with the Italian Government in its vast schemes for bribery and corruption. This is not the time or place to enter into that question.

To that extent that the population had been beguiled by such propaganda, it has finally come to realize that the formula of independence serves only to further Italian aims. I do not ask the Commission to believe me on my mere statement. On the contrary, I would suggest that they might properly advert to their own hearings of those groups opposed to Ethiopia. Not only has the Liberal Unionist Party broken away from the so-called Independence Front after having realized that they were the mere stooges of Italian agents, as was stated in the hearings on 9 March, but also the New Moslem League of the Western Province, a party opposed to union, stated in the hearings on 25 February in the person of Sheik Hamid Mohammed Nur Abraham (document A/AC.34/SR.15) that the so-called independence favoured by Grazmatch Ibrahim Sultan would be independence in name only and would be to the advantage of the Italians and not of Eritrea as a whole. If the Beni Amir tribes had felt that Grazmatch Ibrahim Sultan had the good of the country at heart, they would not have rejected him.

In the face of the collapse of the so-called Independence Front, attempts have been made to influence the members of the Commission by the suggestion that the overwhelming support for unionism which, incidentally, had already been noted by the Four-Power Commission of Investigation, might be the result of pressure by the Ethiopian Government and acts of violence by "Shifta". One has even gone so far as to intimate that the Patriarch of the Ethiopian Church had brought pressure in favour of union.

As regards the repeated suggestion that the Abuna of the Ethiopian Church has brought pressure on the population to accept unionism, I would note, first of all, that such insinuation itself would necessarily recognize the profound element of union and identity existing between the populations of Ethiopia and Eritrea, otherwise it would not even arise. On the other hand, such an accusation is completely without foundation.

As regards the accusation concerning "Shiftas", I would state, first of all, that any acts of violence in Eritrea should be related solely to the inhabitants themselves. If the population should become so fanatic in their desire for union with Ethiopia, the responsibility for acts of violence certainly cannot be addressed to the Ethiopian Government, which has carefully refrained from intervening in the situation and which, on the other hand, has no interest in provoking the immense majority of the population, which is already won over to unionism. On the other hand, by the person of His Imperial Majesty and by myself, that Government has several times emphatically denounced all acts of violence in Eritrea. I spare you the fatigue of listening to the recital of dates and contents of these declarations. On the contrary, the accusation should be addressed directly to the Italian Government, because of its provocative policy of bribery, corruption and agitation.

Allow me now to turn to the economic factors, to some of which I have already alluded. You will recall that on the proposition of the delegation of the Union of South Africa, at the last session of the General Assembly, the terms of reference of the Commission require the examination into the economic problems and particularly into the possibility for Eritrea to lead an independent economic existence.

As already amply explained, Eritrea was carved out of Ethiopia by Italian aggression in 1885. Eritrea had, consequently, never existed prior thereto as a separate entity. It is not surprising, therefore, that this artificial entity should have constantly required artificial economic support in order to exist. Such is a fact that is readily ascertainable from even a most superficial examination of the economic situation.

I would remind you that even the Italians and the Italian groups heard before the Commission have consistently admitted that today Eritrea is unable to lead an independent economic existence. In this connexion I would invite your attention to the Report of the Eritrean Chamber of Commerce, entitled "The Economic Situation of Eritrea — Future Possibilities", signed by Signor Vittorio Vercellino as President and submitted to the last session of the General Assembly and also to the statement made by that same individual on 25 February before the Commission itself (document A/AC.34/SR.15) when he declared that Eritrea could not become immediately an independent economic entity.

If such is the admission of the avowed proponents of independence, it would seem unnecessary for me to elaborate this point. Allow me, however, to refer to the Report of the Four-Power Commission of Investigation into Eritrea, pages 33, 35, 52, 53, and 116, as well as the numerous annexes, all establishing the fact that throughout the existence of the artificial entity known as Eritrea, imports have exceeded exports by over 200 per cent, and that the territory has been able to live only thanks to subsidies from foreign sources. These data are so detailed and so complete that I need not cite you the figures which are readily available from the Report.

Also I would recall to the Commission the figures supplied by the United Kingdom delegation at the second part of the Third Session of the General Assembly, demonstrating that the commercial deficit of Eritrea has been twice as large as that of all of Libya including Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, and three times as large as that of Somaliland. More than half of the commercial deficit of the three former Italian colonies taken together relates to Eritrea.

If Eritrea must, then, live off subsidized imports, of what do these imports consist, and what are their origins? If we look at the statistics published by the Four-Power Commission of Investigation, we will note that Ethiopia is, by far, the most important source of imports into Eritrea. In fact, if we establish the average for the years reported, we will note that Ethiopia alone accounts for an average of 49 per cent of those imports.

Let us look, now, for a moment at this trade between Eritrea and Ethiopia. There are four intimately related and highly instructive facts that emerge. For the year ending 10 September 1949, 84 per cent of the trade

with Eritrea constituted but 16 per cent of that trade. Thus, exports to Eritrea were five times greater than imports from that territory. As regards these exports, it will be noted that 15 per cent thereof were hides, presumably in transit to other countries, 1 per cent were miscellaneous exports and 84 per cent were foodstuffs. Consequently, here again, the ratio is identical, that is to say, foodstuffs were five times as important as all other exports to Eritrea combined.

Allow me, Gentlemen, to indicate to you here precisely the nature of these foodstuffs. In order to avoid fatiguing you, I shall not read the values of the items involved. I would remind you, first of all, of the fact that Ethiopia is the sole source of all the bread, macaroni, and other paniferous food manufactured and consumed in Eritrea, since, as is pointed out in the handbook on Eritrea, published by the British Information Services, page 35, and as stated in the *Overseas Review* published by Barclays Bank, November 1949, page 13, Ethiopia is the sole source of the wheat consumed in Eritrea. Consequently, it must be presumed that the valuation placed upon wheat in the exports to Eritrea must be considered to be the indication of the amount of the wheat actually consumed, since wheat in transit passes not by Eritrea, but by Jibouti. The same is true of teff, durra, barley, maize, lentils, dagussa, dried peas, horse beans (all cereals consumed exclusively by Ethiopians and Eritreans as the Commission has undoubtedly already discovered in the course of its investigations both here and in Eritrea), and peppers (employed exclusively in that dish common to Ethiopia and Eritrea, and known abroad as "wott"), as well as fresh eggs, butter and vegetables. These exports, which are necessary to keep alive the population of Eritrea, alone total 13,513,167 East African shillings.

Before leaving the question of the economic dependency of Eritrea on Ethiopia, I would like also to draw the attention of the Commission to another export in a so-to-say indirect form. I refer to a fact which the Commission has already been able to note for itself in the course of its hearings on the Plateau and in the Province of the Red Sea, that is to say, that the populations of these regions, which alone exceed 707,000 persons, depend for their existence on pasture lands in Ethiopia. As regards the Western Province, it is a striking fact that notwithstanding the great expanse of territory involved, populations even from the region of Keren come regularly to graze their cattle in the Tigré Province of Ethiopia. Consequently, if to this number of 707,000 inhabitants of Eastern Eritrea we add even only half of the inhabitants of the Western Province, it is readily perceived that 90 per cent of the inhabitants of Eritrea depend directly on Ethiopian pasture lands for their very existence. Let very serious thought then be given to the consequences which would inevitably take place should a solution be sought to be adopted which would have the result of bringing about a factual separation of Eritrea from Ethiopia.

Let us turn, now, for a moment to a third aspect of the economic relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea, namely, the fact that apart from the impressive amounts of foodstuffs which Ethiopia supplies, approximately 80 per cent of this trade is transit trade, that is to say, Ethiopian exports and imports to and from other countries passing by Eritrea. It is a fact that today the

entire territory of French Somaliland, including Jibouti as well as the ports of Massawa and Assab, as the Commission was able to note for itself, all live off this transit trade with Ethiopia.

If we adopt the figures supplied by the British Administration as to the transit trade of Eritrea with Ethiopia, we will note that this trade amounted in 1947 to 51,765,312 East African shillings, and in 1948 to 63,872,563 East African shillings. In case the Commission should prefer to adopt exclusively Italian figures, it should be noted that the Italian figures are identical for this extremely important transit trade with Ethiopia, since according to the calculations of the Italian Chamber of Commerce for Eritrea, the amount is precisely the same, namely, 115,637,875 East African shillings for the two years 1947 and 1948.

Allow me, Gentlemen, to point out what this trade represents to the economy of Eritrea, even though the bulk of Ethiopia's foreign trade still passes by Jibouti.

If we take the latest figures available, which relate, as already indicated, to the year 1948, we will note that this trade bore a transit tax of 1½ per cent, thereby contributing to the economy of Eritrea, 958,088 East African shillings. In addition, there are the handling charges and commissions levied by the Eritrean merchants. I do not ask you to believe me on this point, since I refer you not to Ethiopian but to Italian sources themselves, which state ("The Economic Situation of Eritrea—Future Possibilities", Report of the Eritrean Chamber of Commerce, Asmara, September 1949, submitted to the United Nations) that these charges represent 15 per cent of the value of the goods (page 3). Consequently, handling and other charges amounted in the year 1948 to 11,580,884 East African shillings. In addition, the Italian Chamber of Commerce claims (page 3 of the same document) that "almost all of the transportation from and to Ethiopia" is effected by Eritrean enterprises. If we accept this Italian statement, then it will be necessary to add to this amount the sum of 15,968,140 East African shillings, giving a total of 28,507,112 East African shillings as the annual contribution by Ethiopia to the economy of present-day Eritrea. I repeat, I do not ask you to believe me, I ask that the Commission consult undeniable figures, that is to say, those statistics supplied from Italian sources.

I would like, if I may, to point out that this contribution of nearly thirty million shillings, reducing by approximately 60 per cent the annual commercial deficit of Eritrea, is attained although much of the transit trade passes by Jibouti. It will be readily perceived that, under union with Ethiopia, that deficit balance of trade will be not only suppressed, but actually transferred into a favourable balance of trade.

If we take the figures supplied by the British Administration of Eritrea concerning the annual budget* and the annual trade deficit of Eritrea over a period of eight years, it will be noted that the annual average trade deficit for Eritrea is £1,052,837, i.e. 21,856,740 East African shillings. Thus solely the profits to Eritrea from

* The average annual budget of Eritrea (expenditures) is approximately 50 million East African shillings (1944-45: £2,427,974; 1945-46: £2,681,653, 1946-47: £2,464,532). Consequently, the annual income from the transit trade represents approximately 60 per cent of the budget for all of Eritrea.

the transit trade with Ethiopia exceed the annual trade deficit of Eritrea by some 7,400,000 East African shillings. In other words, without the profits from this transit trade with Ethiopia, the annual trade deficit of Eritrea would be more than doubled. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the Report of the Eritrean Chamber of Commerce entitled "The Economic Situation of Eritrea—Future Possibilities" submitted last year by the Italian Chamber of Commerce to the General Assembly of the United Nations, in the attempt to prove that Eritrea could be capable of independent economic existence, the profits from transit trade with Ethiopia should have been mentioned in the place of honour (pages 3, 14 and 15). The error—the naïve error in this argument—is the assumption that a so-called independent or trusteeship régime in Eritrea could continue to count on a trade which, in fact, would be immediately cut off.

The situation may be summarized in the following manner. First of all, even at the present time, when Eritrea is far from profiting by all of the transit trade of Ethiopia and still further from profiting by all of the financial benefits of Ethiopian transit trade which could, under union, pass by Eritrea, nevertheless, and I repeat it, the financial and commercial benefits which fall to Eritrea even at the present time from this commerce have had as a result the reduction by 60 per cent of the large annual commercial deficit of this territory so manifestly incapable of living from its own resources. Secondly, as I have already said, without this transit trade, the annual commercial deficit would be more than doubled. Thirdly, under union, on the contrary, the annual commercial deficit would not only disappear, but, for the first time, this deficit commercial balance would be transformed into a favourable balance of trade.

In substance, I have mentioned up to present the dependency of the Eritrean population upon Ethiopia for foodstuffs and for the necessary pasture lands for their cattle. I have also mentioned the prime importance to Eritrean economy of the transit trade with Ethiopia.

Yet, Gentlemen, notwithstanding the clear expression of desire for union on the part of two-thirds of the population of Eritrea, notwithstanding the undeniable economic dependence of Eritrea on Ethiopia for its foodstuffs and fodder for its cattle, and, notwithstanding the heavy contribution which Ethiopian transit trade makes to the still unbalanced economy of Eritrea, nevertheless, the attempt has been made to subject the population of Eritrea to facing the rigours of an artificial independent existence.

Let us examine, now, in somewhat greater detail the question of independence. Let it be noted, first of all, that this theory of a so-called independent state is based on the premise that the so-called Independence Front would represent a majority of the population, and on the further premises that independence is an immediate economic as well as a political possibility. Gentlemen, these premises are preposterous nonsense.

First of all, certain persons have stated to the Commission and elsewhere, a rather peculiar point of view, namely, that States should be organized along theocratic rather than along democratic lines.

Gentlemen, I have certain observations which, to my way of thinking, should dispose once and for all of this rather curious manner of envisaging a solution for Eritrea.

First, let us suppose for a moment, a situation which would be totally contrary to fact, namely, that all of the 531,000 Moslems in Eritrea are unanimous at the same time in their opposition to union and in their support for independence, a supposition which even the most fanatic partisans of independence could never maintain. In such a case then, 49 per cent of the population should find themselves opposed by another 49 per cent of the population. In such a situation, in order to impose a solution in the form of independence, one of two alternatives would be necessary. Either it would be necessary to maintain the proposition that Moslems have a greater worth as human beings than Christians, or, to declare that the remaining 2 per cent of the population should dictate the solution to be adopted, incidentally, in favour of independence.

Those who preach the organization of a State along theocratic lines would, obviously, adopt the first of these two alternatives. There is no question but that Italy has adopted the second of these alternatives, likewise based on an assumption which is totally contrary to fact. In effect, the Commission itself has, on numerous occasions, noted demands of the Italians and the Italian organizations in Eritrea as, for example, the Italo-Eritrean Association and the Association of Italian Intellectuals, for Italian representation in the parliament and in the government of this so-called independent State. The distinguished delegate for Argentina has brilliantly brought this out by his resolution and his explanations of the same presented at the last session of the General Assembly. In such a situation, the 2 per cent which represents quite exactly, I might add, the 20,000 Italians in Eritrea (incidentally the only educated persons in this territory after fifty years of Italian civilization and progress) would seize the balance of power between these two groups supposedly of 49 per cent each, percentages which, I repeat, are based upon a totally false analysis of the real situation in Eritrea.

What is, then, Gentlemen, the real situation in Eritrea as regards the desires of the population?

At the last session of the General Assembly, the very distinguished delegate for Pakistan declared that the central issue beside which all other questions must assume but secondary importance are the desires of the majority of the population. However, not even Italy herself could possibly maintain that a majority exists in favour of independence. You yourselves have noted the overwhelming desire of the populations of the three central plateau provinces which alone account for over half of the population of Eritrea. To this group must be added the inhabitants of the Red Sea coast province, all of whom belong to tribes located in Ethiopia, and all of whom pass there the greater part of each year. Also there must be added the adherents to the Moslem League of Massawa, to the Liberal Unionists and to the New Moslem League, all three of which parties separated from the so-called Independence Front when Italian bribery became too blatant. There can, therefore, be no question whatsoever but that, on the contrary, a majority exceeding two-thirds of the population is clearly opposed to the formula of independence.

Finally, however one views the situation, it is clear that there is no Moslem majority in Eritrea in favour of any solution whatsoever. First of all, thousands upon thousands of Moslems belong to the Unionist Party itself, of which they constitute approximately 30 per cent of the membership. You have been able to note this fact for yourselves. On the other hand, the thousands and thousands of members of the Moslem League of Massawa which has likewise taken position in favour of union and the members of the New Moslem League in the Western Province are similarly opposed in independence. In the second place, the Commission might do well to recall the population figures supplied by the British Administration. According to this data, all of the Moslems taken together, whatever be their political persuasions, would still constitute less than one-half of the population.

Consequently, to the 527,000 Christians, themselves as numerous as the Moslems and constituting 49.4 per cent of the population, it would be necessary to add the hundreds and hundreds of thousands of Moslems in the four parties of the Unionists, of the Moslem League of Massawa and of the Liberal Unionist Party, which already gives a majority of 75 per cent of the population in favour of union — and the New Moslem League in the Western Province. One is, therefore, faced with a minority composed of the adherents to Grazmatch Ibrahim Sultan aided by his faithful and, should I add, his "disinterested" Italian friends, and constituting at the very most but 15 per cent of the population. It is, in effect, to this minority of 15 per cent that Italy would ask you to subject the other 85 per cent, Moslems and Christians, of the population.

As regards "the capacity of the people of self-government" and I am quoting here from the terms of reference of the Commission, I would simply refer the Commission to the embarrassed admissions of the Eritrean — I say, not Italian, but Eritrean spokesmen for the so-called Independence Front that their only trained administrators, apart from Italians, are with the Imperial Ethiopian Government (cf. Hearings 9 March 1950, at Asmara).

It is for these reasons that in violation of the wishes of the population Italy has attempted to impose her reign of oppression upon the territory of Eritrea through a formula that at the same time flies in the face of clear economic facts, the wishes of the population, the political possibilities, and the national security of Ethiopia.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that Italy should have sought in every possible way to purchase votes for a so-called independent State. We are, in fact, glad that she has done so, for now all the base political manoeuvres have been brought to the surface and at the next session will be given complete publicity. This formula, sought by the so-called Independence Front established on 13 May 1949 at Lake Success by Italian funds, has four times been rejected by the General Assembly and should remain rejected.

Incidentally the possibility is not to be excluded that, faced with the impossibility of obtaining adoption of a formula of independence, notwithstanding her blatant campaigns of bribery, Italy, reversing herself once again, as she did during the last year, may seek to

invoke again a formula of trusteeship. Already, she has commenced to prepare the way for such a reversal of position by the statements made by the Italian-Eritrean, the Italian Intellectual Association and the other so-called Italian parties in Eritrea, who, at the recent hearing of the Commission have all stated that, although they want independence, independence could not immediately be achieved, but should be realized under appropriate "guidance" (cf. hearings of Italian-Eritrean Association 28 February and Memorandum document A/AC.34/SR.16, Part I, appendix A). Since it should prove impossible to propose the trusteeship of Italy, the latter may seek, through the screen of other delegations, to propose a trusteeship of the United Nations itself. However, from the very first time when such a formula was introduced by the Soviet delegation, it has always been immediately rejected by the quasi-unanimity of the General Assembly. Even the Indian delegation, the only other delegation to support such a formula, has abandoned it.

Not only do all the observations just made with reference to independence apply to a formula of trusteeship, but there is the added consideration that with but one exception, which I shall explain in a moment, not one single party in Eritrea has called for trusteeship. Consequently, trusteeship would have to be imposed against the wishes of the immense majority of the population of Eritrea. Even Italy herself could not deny that fact, since her campaign has been in favour of independence and not of trusteeship.

However, with reference to the exception which I have just mentioned, I would invite the attention of the Commission to the very significant fact that the only political party which has taken position in favour of the formula of trusteeship, that formula which Italy would seek to invoke under the false pretext of opposition to partition, is, precisely, that party which has come out most clearly for partition, that is to say, the New Moslem League in the Western Province.

As regards the other political parties, I have already had the occasion, a few moments ago, to draw the attention of the Commission to their attitude in regard to a separate solution for the Western Province. The point of view of the Ethiopian Government is well known. I have, on numerous occasions, set it forth at Lake Success.

On the other hand, even were one to close one's eyes to the statements concerning a separate solution for the Western Province, then one would be forced necessarily to the conclusion that all of Eritrea should be joined to Ethiopia, since there is a clear, incontestable — a clear 75 per cent — majority of the whole population which is in favour of union. Under these circumstances, it would seem obvious that those who are at the same time in favour of independence and of a separate solution for the Western Province would wish to have their cake and eat it.

Such are our claims for the return of Eritrea. It goes without saying that the Ethiopian Government have devoted long and thoughtful consideration to the details as well as the larger responsibilities involved in the return of this territory and people, although, as already stated, relatively speaking, Eritrea and its population

are small in relation to Ethiopia. Although Eritrea contains only about a twentieth of the inhabitants of Ethiopia, already she is represented by 10 per cent of the personnel of the Ethiopian Government. That is to say, even in advance of union, she has already enjoyed, proportionately, twice as high a representation in the Ethiopian Government as the Ethiopians themselves. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that 200,000 Eritreans live permanently in Ethiopia.

Where also in the world does a comparable basis of guaranty for union and integration of two territories exist as it does in the case of Eritrea and Ethiopia? Moreover, quite apart from these guarantees, there is the fact that, regardless of material resources and of available personnel, Ethiopia will always find it to her own self-interest, far more, I might say, than any other possible administrator of Eritrea, to look always to the well-being and advancement of the welfare of the people of Eritrea. To foreigners, Eritreans may be Eritreans; for us, Eritreans are Ethiopians. And it is only normal that we should do all in our power to advance the welfare of those of our brothers who have suffered from a half century of Italian oppression. It is to our mutual advantage to do so since Eritrea and Ethiopia are mutually complementary territories from all economic and commercial points of view. The economic and commercial welfare of Eritrea depends clearly upon the economic and commercial welfare of Ethiopia. The economic and commercial welfare of Eritrea works directly to the economic and commercial welfare of Ethiopia. In the last analysis, the desires and aspirations of our brother Eritreans are and always will be the desire and aspirations of the people of Ethiopia. What further guarantees, Gentlemen, can possibly be asked?

No particular problem is raised as far as legislation is concerned.

A study of the proposed administration of Eritrea, as set forth in document A/AC. 1/W.8, reveals the programmes for the administration of the two principal cities of Asmara and Massawa. I want to remind you that, in the case of Massawa, the Eritrean population of that city exceeds 25,000, whereas there are only 1,200 Italians in that city. Similarly, in the case of Asmara, the population of which, incidentally, has opted in favour of union with Ethiopia by the percentage of 96 per cent, contains some 20,000 Italians as against 95,000 Eritreans. Asmara has approximately only one-third the population of Addis Ababa and by no means as many public installations, nor is the foreign colony at Asmara by any means as numerous and diverse as at Addis Ababa.

Even by combining the entire populations of both Asmara and Massawa, which one might properly do in view of the fact that these two cities are contiguous to each other, the totals reached are still far inferior to the total of the population at Addis Ababa. Under these circumstances the administration of these two urban centres does not present any particular difficulty or problem. On the contrary, in view of the continuous intercourse between Massawa, Asmara, and Addis Ababa, many problems will be enormously simplified and there will be no vexatious boundary as in the past, to interfere with the free flow of trade and other intercourse between the three cities.

As regards taxation, it is interesting to note that the economies of the two areas, Ethiopia and Eritrea, are so complementary that, as in commercial matters, so in public finance, each area forms a nearly perfect counterpart to the other. For example, the income tax in Ethiopia accounts for but 5½ per cent of Ethiopia's revenue, whereas agricultural taxes account for 51 per cent of the revenue in Ethiopia. In Eritrea, on the contrary, in view of the fact that its economy is based on serving the transit trade of Ethiopia, the income tax, together with taxes from transiting services to Ethiopia, account for 51 per cent of the revenue, and agricultural taxes but 5½ per cent. Thus it is apparent that the tax structures of the two areas are precisely and completely complementary. It should be apparent that upon integration of Eritrea into Ethiopia, the transiting services provided by Eritrea will increase enormously, and, without in any way increasing the burden of taxation upon the Eritreans, contribute in a very large degree toward meeting the expanded public services foreseen for Eritrea in the memorandum to which I have made reference.

For example, at present, the transiting tax of 1½ per cent levied on all merchandise at Massawa, has, even now, under the difficult conditions prevailing under a temporary administration of the area, sufficed completely to meet all operating expenses of the port. Under conditions of reintegration with Ethiopia, it is expected that the operations of the port of Massawa should not only be easily self-sustaining but should contribute a substantial sum toward the budget of Eritrea.

As regards the financial implications of the return of that territory, I would recall to the Commission the fact that the transit trade with Ethiopia alone reduces by 60 per cent the annual commercial deficit of Eritrea and that the financial benefits which result annually to the economy of that territory represent, here also, 60 per cent of the budget, even under present conditions where a great portion of the transit trade passes by Jibouti. Under union with Ethiopia, the benefits from this transit trade could far exceed the annual budget as well as the annual commercial deficit of Eritrea, although an important percentage of the traffic would continue to pass by way of Jibouti by reason of the fact that Massawa and Assab together are not sufficient to meet the needs of the foreign commerce of Ethiopia. At the present time, it is quite unnecessary for me to go into the further details of these aspects and consequences of union with Ethiopia. These problems have been fully set forth in the documents distributed by the Secretariat of the United Nations as document A/C. 1/W.8, pages 72-119, and addendum 2, pages 1-116. These documents contain the budgets for each ministerial function and provide for considerable increases in expenses by comparison with the present budget of Eritrea and, particularly, in the fields of public health and education.

In substance, the solution consisting of union with Ethiopia of the territory of Eritrea is required for not merely one reason. There is scarcely a single aspect of the Eritrean problems which does not lead directly and inevitably to this solution. As in the natural sciences, the various and even unrelated reasons and considerations which lead directly but by independent paths to the same result confirm each other mutually and serve as means for checking on the validity of each one of the other reasons or considerations.

Already during the war our faithful ally, the British nation, distributed to the population of Eritrea the promise so passionately awaited that with the liberation of Eritrea that territory and people would be returned to Ethiopia and that justice would finally be given to the inhabitants which had so greatly suffered. That liberation has been brought about, but Justice waits still. Ten years later, the Ethiopian Government set forth to the Council of Foreign Ministers its rights and claims as regards Eritrea. The following year, at the Paris Peace Conference, through its delegation, Ethiopia was able to set forth her claims in a detailed manner. It is the occasion of great satisfaction to note that all of our assertions as regards the strength of the desire for union expressed by the population of Eritrea as well as our statements concerning the economic dependence of Eritrea upon Ethiopia have been fully confirmed by the Report of the Commission of the four great Powers, sent to that territory in 1947. This fact need surprise no one, for the Ethiopian Government has sedulously endeavoured at all times, at Lake Success as well as in the course of the statement which I am now in the process of making, to limit itself to data, statistics and facts, not of Ethiopian but of independent origin and even, as in the course of this present statement, of Italian sources.

Up to the present, I have addressed myself to the problems raised by sub-paragraphs (a) and (c) of paragraph B 2 of the resolution of the General Assembly concerning Eritrea. These sub-paragraphs require that the Commission shall take into account the wishes and welfare of the various groups of the provinces of Eritrea, their capacity for self-government and the rights and claims of Ethiopia. I have tried to set forth as clearly as possible the views of my Government on this point. There remains, however, also sub-paragraph (b), namely, the requirement that the Commission shall take into account "the interests of peace and security in East Africa".

This time, Ethiopia will no longer supinely tolerate through this patent disguise of a so-called Italian independence in Eritrea any such threat to our existence. Through her bribery and support of independence, Italy has given this formula and that of trusteeship the kiss of death.

Gentlemen, the time for a policy of appeasement by the United Nations is gone. The situation is no longer the same. At the beginning of its last session, the General Assembly had not decided to re-establish the threat to the national security of Ethiopia without giving any satisfaction or safeguards to my country, as it did in fact decide to do by its resolution of 21 November 1949. Furthermore, in blatant denial of the formal statements at numerous times reiterated by the Italian representatives at Lake Success to the effect that Italy had no claims on Eritrea and in callous violation of assurances recently given by Italy publicly and otherwise to other States that she would not intervene in any way in Eritrea before or during the visit there of the United Nations Commissions, she has expended vast sums of money in bribery and corruption in that territory as to which she solemnly protests she has no designs.

The feelings of justice and national security of Ethiopia have been too deeply outraged by the decision

of the United Nations in favour of the return of Italy to Somaliland, from where she launched her aggression against Ethiopia, whilst at the same time ignoring the just claims of Ethiopia. I would recall to the Commission the remarks of a certain delegate at the close of the discussion of this question at the last General Assembly when he stated that it would be a scandal if the United Nations should decide to sacrifice Somaliland to satisfy the appetite of Italy, whilst at the same time failing in their clear duty towards Ethiopia. Is it in this way that, according to the requirements which the Treaty of Peace with Italy have imposed upon the United Nations, the latter have worked for the "wishes and welfare of the inhabitants and interests of peace and security"?

We Ethiopians are sons of a proud and ancient race, perhaps somewhat too ancient because of our faith in and devotion to the concepts of justice and fair dealings. After the decision of the Assembly of the United Nations the eyes of my compatriots, who have so long suffered, have finally been opened. Let no member of the Commission entertain the slightest doubt in this respect.

The moment has come when Ethiopia is no longer disposed supinely to accept this attitude of indifference to her rights. The sole hope for peace and security in East Africa, therefore, lies in a scrupulous objectivity on the part of all members of the Commission here present.

It is, naturally, with these considerations in mind, that Ethiopia has followed with the closest attention all the hearings and has read with greatest care all the documents up to the present published by the Commission concerning its hearings and activities in Eritrea.

Gentlemen, when the question of the composition of the Commission was raised at the Political Committee of the General Assembly on 11 November 1949, Ethiopia declined the invitation to become a member of the Commission for the reason that she insisted absolutely that the Commission be constituted on an impartial basis and that the Commissioners themselves retain a strictly objective approach to the problem. Ethiopia insists upon and asks nothing more. The discussion that resulted from this renunciation by Ethiopia of participation in the Commission brought forth on that same day, 11 November, fervent protestations of desire of the parties selected at all times to maintain the strictest imaginable objectivity. Ethiopia has, therefore, the right to insist that total, rigorous and unbending objectivity be maintained at all times. She is so convinced of the inner truth and justice of her case that she is aware, as I trust the members of the Commission are aware, that objectivity is her strongest ally.

In his memoirs, that eminent statesman of the last century, Prince von Bismarck, wrote of the *imponderabilia* of international relations. Today, the concept of justice and fair play seems to be fast fading from a principle to become one of the *imponderabilia*. If it, unfortunately, be such, justice, nevertheless, remains a factor that cannot be ignored, as it has been so continuously ignored by the United Nations with regard to Ethiopia.

You, the advance guard, so to say, of the next General Assembly, have come to grips with a problem involving forces that exceed the span of our present generation.

Those forces can be brought to rest and into equilibrium only by a just and objective analysis to serve as the basis for the decision awaited from the next General Assembly. Objectivity alone can save the situation from ruin. Ethiopia seeks from the Commission solely a report conceived in objectivity and inspired by Justice.

ANNEX 7

Consultations with the Ethiopian Minister for Foreign Affairs at the 43rd and 44th meetings of the Commission held at Addis-Ababa on 10 and 11 April 1950 under the Chairmanship of Mr. Carlos García Bauer (Guatemala).

(a) EXTRACT FROM A/AC.34.SR.43 (SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 43RD MEETING)

10. [Major-General THERON (Union of South Africa)] wished to make certain observations on the question of the future of Eritrea which were not questions, but on which Mr. Aklilou might wish to make supplementary comments. He added that his observations would be made on behalf of the South African delegation and also in the name of his country, which was a fellow State on the continent of Africa and was deeply concerned in the future of Eritrea, not only from the point of view of the welfare of that country, but for the conservation of natural resources and the peace of Africa. The South African delegation, as Mr. Aklilou had noted, had during the discussions at Lake Success taken a particular interest in the economic aspect of the problem, and his Government had accordingly sent an agricultural economist as a member of the South African delegation so that it could make some material contribution to the solution of the problem.

11. During the Commission's visit to Eritrea, one particular question had frequently recurred, namely, the form which union with Ethiopia would take and the conditions attached thereto. He asked Mr. Aklilou whether he would like to give his observations on that particular question. It had been suggested that union should be on autonomous lines or even that there should be a federation, although he believed that the latter solution would be unacceptable to the Ethiopian Government.

12. While in Eritrea, his delegation had observed the absolute necessity to develop the medical and health services there. The Commission had had the privilege of visiting a fine hospital in Addis Ababa on the previous day and regretted that it would be unable to visit others. He would be glad to hear the views of the Ethiopian Government regarding the development of medical and health services.

13. His Government was particularly interested in the question of education, and his delegation had noticed the crying need in Eritrea for the extension of education in that country. The Ethiopian Government had possibly thought about these questions and might have some ideas on the subject. He added that he had been very interested to visit the Haile Selassie Secondary School in Addis Ababa that morning.

14. Another question of considerable importance was the progressive deterioration of the soil by erosion, a situation which extended not only throughout the territory of Eritrea but throughout the whole African continent. His Government was particularly pre-occupied with the problem and he believed that the Ethiopian Government must have given some thought to measures to combat erosion, which represented a serious menace to African life. Another most pressing problem was the need for reafforestation.

15. The question of the Moslem minority had been raised by Mr. Aklilou in his statement. The South African delegation would be glad to hear further comments with regard to the other minorities in Eritrea and, in particular, the Italians and the Greeks living there. In conclusion, he stated that he would be glad to receive the comments in any form—written or oral—that was most convenient to Mr. Aklilou.

(b) EXTRACT FROM A/AC.34/SR.44 (SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 44TH MEETING)

4. The CHAIRMAN recalled that the Minister for Foreign Affairs had been asked several questions at the 43rd meeting of the Commission. He asked whether the Minister could state whether he was prepared to answer all or some of the questions put by members, orally or in writing.

5. Mr. AKLILOU (Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia) said that the matter of whether the questions were to be answered orally or in writing had been left to the present meeting. He had suggested that the answers should, in order to save time, be submitted in writing, and several members had left the choice to him.

6. The Eritrean question had been studied for approximately four years, firstly at the Peace Conference, then by the four Foreign Ministers, and lastly at the third and fourth sessions of the General Assembly. On several occasions his Government had expressed its attitude and given all the necessary information. For example, the Ethiopian delegation to the United Nations had in 1948 supplied information on all questions bearing on union, in document A/AC.1/W.8. Members would see from that document that various matters concerning health, education, finance, etc. had been studied at length. Again, he had made a very long statement the previous day. He repeated his willingness to supply any information wanted, but as certain questions, for example those put by the South African representative, were very important and as time was pressing, he proposed that the members should state their wishes and that the replies of his Government should be submitted in writing. He felt sure that the Commission would understand the position and agree, as some members had done the previous day.

7. Major-General THERON (Union of South Africa) thanked the Minister for Foreign Affairs on behalf of his delegation for his willingness to supply information. He had read the statement made the previous day by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and would be happy to receive whatever additional information the Ethiopian Government was prepared to give.

8 Mr. KHINE (Burma) thanked the Minister for Foreign Affairs on behalf of his delegation for his

exhaustive statement. He had no questions to ask. He would, however, be glad to have whatever comments the Minister might like to make orally or in writing on the policy advocated by the Liberal Unionist Party for conditional union.

9. Mr. AKLILOU (Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia) thanked the South African and Burmese delegations for their declarations. He would supply in writing his Government's observations on the points raised by the South African delegation. With regard to the statement of the Burmese representative, he said that the views of the Liberal Unionist Party were well known to him. The attitude of his Government had been published in the papers and he would inform the Commission of it in writing, together with further comments.

10. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) said that his delegation had read with interest the Minister's statement of the previous day. The statement was quite clear and he had no questions, but his delegation would be pleased to have additional information on certain points.

11. As far as the future position of the Italians in Eritrea, in the event of union, was concerned, it would be interesting to know the point of view of the Ethiopian Government regarding the civil, commercial and economic position of those Italians as also of the Italians and half-castes born in Eritrea, especially with regard to their nationality, political rights and their possibilities of participating in the administration. The first matter was of special importance because of its humanitarian aspect; it concerned mostly people who had been living for thirty or forty years in Eritrea.

12. His delegation would also like to know the attitude of the Ethiopian Government to the position of the native-born offspring of Italian parents in Eritrea. In many countries the political and other rights were rights of birth. In that connexion, he would also welcome information concerning the Ethiopian Government's attitude towards Italo-Eritrean half-castes.

13. Another serious question was that of the position of half-caste children of whom there were approximately 25,000; they had been abandoned to a large extent because of racial laws already abolished in Italy, but in force in Eritrea. In view of their large number, the question, if unsolved, might prove serious for the future of Eritrea.

14. As far as the future status of Eritrea was concerned, he knew that the official attitude of the Ethiopian Government was that it preferred unconditional union. He recalled, however, that one proposal submitted at Lake Success had suggested that, in joining Ethiopia, Eritrea should be granted a special status, retaining some autonomy or some form of federation. His delegation would like to have details on the attitude of the Ethiopian Government in that connexion. The basic attitude of Ethiopia had been given in the Minister's statement but he would appreciate additional information.

15. Shortly before leaving Eritrea, a new criterion had been advanced to the Commission by some political leaders. There had arisen the question of partition, of annexing the highlands to Ethiopia and of finding a different solution for certain other parts of the territory.

The Commission had interviewed groups of all political hues and all had unanimously maintained that partition was unacceptable; from them the Commission had received some very interesting and even curious replies concerning partition. The delegation of Guatemala would be most appreciative if His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs were to provide any additional point of view in connexion with that matter.

16. Although such a request might surprise the Minister for Foreign Affairs, he would appreciate information regarding the opinion of his Government on the question of terrorism in Eritrea. It was necessary to put an end to that terrorism and it was regrettable that the existing Administration had been unable to contain it. He wondered whether the Ethiopian Government had any ideas on how the terrorism could be stopped.

17. He emphasized that his statement should not be regarded as a series of questions. He was only submitting comments and requested the Minister to amplify his statement of the previous day.

18. Mr. AKILOU (Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia) replied that three of the four observations made by the Guatemalan representative had been discussed most exhaustively by the United Nations and that he himself had commented thereon at length.

19. With regard to the future status of Italians in Eritrea, his Government's attitude had been made clear at the third and fourth sessions of the General Assembly. At the fourth session, he had stated that all necessary guarantees would be assured to the Italians. That point, which was purely humanitarian, had been made clear to Count Sforza. When the latter had maintained that, if Eritrea were united with Ethiopia, the Italians would leave, he had assured the Italian Foreign Minister that, if he listened to the Italians in Ethiopia over the radio, he would find that they disagreed with him. After the liberation of Ethiopia, when the British Army had desired the Italians to leave, they had asked to remain. There were thousands of Italians in Ethiopia; his own doctor was an Italian. Again, many Italians came from Eritrea to Ethiopia without visas. He repeated that the attitude of his Government had been made clear on many occasions, but promised to supply details in writing.

20. The question of federation, self-government, or a special status for Eritrea had also been discussed exhaustively at Lake Success and his Government's attitude had been explained several times. As the Pakistani Foreign Minister had maintained at Lake Success, the essential consideration was the wishes of the population itself. The Ethiopian Government had always declared that it would conform to those wishes. He would submit details to the Commission on that point also.

21. With regard to the question of partition, he had explained his Government's attitude at the third and fourth sessions of the General Assembly. He recalled that in the report of the Four-Power Commission, there had been a certain unanimity concerning the fact that the majority of the inhabitants of the western lowlands would probably not favour union with Ethiopia. Although his Government had certain reser-

vations in that connexion, it would not oppose a separate solution for that area if the United Nations decided that that was the best settlement. According to the Commission's information, it would seem that a majority in the western lowlands opposed union. His Government was not implying that it was not in favour of the complete union of Eritrea with Ethiopia, but that it would respect the wishes of the population. He would supply his Government's comments in writing.

22. As far as terrorism in Eritrea was concerned, force and terror had never been the policy of the Ethiopian Government which, on the contrary, detested such methods. After ten years of war and five years of occupation, the Emperor had returned to Ethiopia and his first proclamation had been that the Ethiopians should not harm the Italians in Ethiopia. The Ethiopians were a chivalrous people.

23. The terrorism in Eritrea had been deprecated by Ethiopia. When in London he had read that several Italians had been killed and he had called a Press conference condemning those lawless activities. The Emperor had made a similar declaration in Addis Ababa. Such terrorism was against the tradition and custom of Ethiopia; it had been instigated by the Italians in Eritrea who had endeavoured to prevent the people from coming before the Commission.

24. Summing up, he said that three of the observations made by the Guatemalan representative had been dealt with exhaustively at Lake Success; he would submit a written memorandum on the fourth observation.

25. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) said that, in view of the little time available, he would dispense for once with the Spanish interpretation of the Minister's statement if the Commission so agreed.

26. He thanked the Minister for his statement and for his promise to submit a written memorandum. To avoid any misunderstanding he explained that, when he had brought up the matter of terrorism, he had been well aware that the Ethiopian Government had always expressly condemned the terrorism in Eritrea. He had no doubt that, in spite of suggestions made to the Commission by persons who should never have made them, Ethiopia had nothing to do with the terrorism in Eritrea and he had always rejected such accusations. His delegation knew perfectly well that terrorism, far from promoting the interests of Ethiopia in Eritrea, impaired them, which was another reason for rejecting the malicious insinuations. His observation in that connexion had had another aim. Ethiopia hoped that the solution to the Eritrean question would favour its point of view. Ethiopia hoped to administer Eritrea eventually and should have in mind some ways and means of putting an end to terrorism which, unfortunately, the existing Administration had been unable to do. It was not just a question of anxiety to the Italian population; the whole economic structure of the country was affected.

27. When the Minister had referred to a possible special status for Eritrea, and partition in particular, he had emphasized that the wishes of the people should be followed. In the case of Eritrea, it was extremely

difficult to ascertain the wishes of the people, especially with regard to matters having an international legal aspect; the people as a whole were incapable of understanding, for example, the difference between autonomy and independence or between federation and confederation. That was a matter which ought to be discussed and settled by diplomats and politicians rather than by the expression of the wishes of a population which had not yet reached an adequate level of culture.

28. He explained that the aim of his remarks was merely to make clear the spirit in which his delegation had spoken.

29. Mr. AKLILOU (Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia) thanked the Guatemalan representative for his clarification and said that he would take it into account when presenting his written statement.

30. Mr. ZIAUD-DIN (Pakistan) thanked the Minister for his clear statement of the previous day. Certain anxieties which his delegation had felt concerning the Moslem population of Eritrea had been relieved. His anxieties had arisen from the fact that one of the basic principles of the Commission's terms of reference was that the wishes of the population should be taken into account and that slightly more than half of Eritrea's population were Moslems, the majority of whom did not favour union. He did not altogether accept the reasons of the latter for not favouring union, but his anxiety had persisted and had increased as a result of the incidents of 21 February 1950.

31. He was therefore grateful to hear that Moslems in Ethiopia were treated not as inferiors but as equals. He had received similar assurances from the Emperor but, to relieve his anxieties further, he requested additional information which the Minister could supply if he so desired. It would be to the interest of Ethiopia itself to provide that information. The additional information he would appreciate bore on the following: the total number of members in the Ethiopian Cabinet and the proportion of Moslems; the total number of provincial governors and the proportion of Moslems. In the Minister's statement it had been said that four out of ten of the judges of the High Courts were Moslems and he wondered whether that was not a typographical error as he had heard that there were thirty to forty High Court judges. He would also welcome information concerning Moslem representation in the Ethiopian Parliament, in Ethiopian embassies, in other governmental departments, in the army and in other organizations. He had heard that most Moslems in Ethiopia took to commerce rather than education and he was prepared to believe that. No contemporary Government could, however, allow part of its population to remain uneducated, and he wondered what provision was made for educating and encouraging the education of Moslems.

32. In Eritrea the Commission had been told that certain representatives of the Moslem League of Massawa and of the Liberal Unionist Party had visited Ethiopia and come to terms with Ethiopian Ministers. If that was true, it would appear that the Ethiopian Government had, roughly speaking, agreed to a kind of conditional union. According to what the Commission had been told by those parties, Ethiopia had

accepted the condition that the Governor of Eritrea would be an Eritrean whose appointment would be confirmed by the Ethiopian Parliament. He had been surprised to hear such a statement and would welcome any information the Minister might care to give.

33. It had been clearly recognized in the Minister's declaration of the previous day that the wishes of the majority of the population in the western lowlands would be respected. That statement might have been made to allay the anxieties felt by some about the Moslem majority in that area. He asked what the attitude of the Ethiopian Government would be if the Commission found that the majority in the eastern lowlands, who were Moslems likewise, favoured a solution other than union.

34. He had asked the representatives of the Italians in Eritrea and of the Independence Bloc what their attitude would be if, supposing independence were granted and a parliamentary system established, a parliamentary majority decided to unite all of Eritrea with Ethiopia, to which they had replied that they would accept the decision. That was a democratic reply. He had asked representatives of the Unionist Party the same question and had been told that they would not accept such a decision as it would delay the solution of the problem. He requested the Minister's views.

35. The Commission had been set up on an impartial basis by the General Assembly. His delegation and Government felt the greatest goodwill towards Ethiopia and had no axes to grind. Pakistan was completely objective in its approach, but was anxious about the status of Moslems. He had therefore requested whatever information the Minister might be prepared to supply, not in a spirit of criticism but of friendship.

36. Mr. AKLILOU (Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia) thanked the Pakistani representative for the spirit in which he had spoken. His observations were very important and, as he had been left the choice the previous day, he would answer that representative's request for additional information in writing.

37. The Pakistani representative had spoken objectively and impartially in the same way as the Pakistani Foreign Minister at Lake Success. Ethiopia had a great admiration for Pakistan and, if there had been some misunderstandings, he had never doubted that country's objectivity and impartiality.

38. He reassured the Pakistani representative that there was no difference of principle between Christians and Moslems in Ethiopia; religious differences had no influence on the matter. He had already explained why most Ethiopian Moslems preferred commerce to participating in the Administration. He agreed that every Government should encourage all elements of the population to educate themselves but stressed that, after the liberation, Ethiopia had had a tremendous reconstruction problem and had been unable to do everything at once. If the Commission had been able to visit all the schools listed in the programme, it would have seen how many Moslems attended school. He would supply further details in writing.

39. As the Pakistani representative had remarked, there was a typographical error in his statement of the previous day; in fact, four of the ten sections of the High Courts had Moslem judges.

40. With regard to the conditions agreed on with the Liberal Unionist Party, he would, as he had informed the Burmese representative, supply further details in writing. It had been a matter of clarification rather than of conditions, as certain points bearing on customs, language and schools, for example, had required further elucidation.

41. Mr. QVALE (Norway) stated that the questions already put by other delegations and the Minister's replies thereto fully satisfied the Norwegian delegation. He had no further questions to put.

ANNEX 8

Document A/AC.34/R.187: Consultations with the Government of Ethiopia (Note by the Principal Secretary)

[Original text: English]
[4 May 1950]

The following letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia, dated 28 April 1950, transmitting "Supplementary remarks and observations by His Excellency Ato Aklilou Abte Wold, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia, in regard to consultations by the United Nations Commission for Eritrea with the Imperial Ethiopian Government", has been received by the Commission:

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
28 April 1950

No. 4/6/42

Honourable Commissioners,

Pursuant to certain requests for further information and clarification addressed to me by the Commission during the course of its consultations in Addis Ababa on 10 and 11 April 1950, I have the honour and pleasure herewith to supply by the present communication, further information and clarifications.

I have taken most careful note of each one of the observations made by the various members of the Commission, in the sincere desire and endeavour to shed the greatest possible light on the matters under discussion, since, as I had the occasion to point out in the course of my statement on 10 April, Ethiopia, more than any other country, has the greatest interest that the fullest and most objective possible examination be made into the problems relating to Eritrea.

I have already had the occasion to examine in considerable detail in the course of the consultations held by the Commission at Addis Ababa, nearly all of the points involved in these observations. However, I take pleasure in endeavouring to provide all further information and clarification possible by way of supplement to my previous remarks.

Not a few of the observations have been formulated in almost identical terms by the various representatives, such as, for example, the requests formulated by the very distinguished representatives for Burma, Guatemala and Pakistan, concerning the attitude of the

Ethiopian Government towards the Independent Moslem League and the Liberal Unionists, and the various observations formulated by the very distinguished representatives of the Union of South Africa and Guatemala concerning the situation, rights and privileges of various minorities. I believe, therefore, that the Commission would prefer that, to such an extent, I consider these observations together rather than separately. It is, in any case, my sincere desire and endeavour to afford the maximum of clarification on each of the points involved.

I avail myself of this opportunity to extend to the Honourable Commissioners of the United Nations Commission for Eritrea the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) Aklilou Abte WOLD
Minister for Foreign Affairs

The United Nations Commission for Eritrea
Palais des Nations
Geneva

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS AND OBSERVATIONS BY HIS EXCELLENCY ATO AKLILOU ABTE WOLD, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF ETHIOPIA, IN REGARD TO CONSULTATIONS BY THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION FOR ERITREA WITH THE IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT

The observations made by the various members of the United Nations Commission for Eritrea would appear to fall into three general categories: first, the broader aspects of the reintegration of Eritrea into Ethiopia, including the attitude of the Ethiopian Government as regards the Independent Moslem League and the Liberal Unionists, as well as various aspects of union with Ethiopia, etc. (observations made by the representatives of Burma, Guatemala and Pakistan); second, information and clarification concerning certain conditions and problems to be met in Eritrea under union with Ethiopia, such as economic problems, in particular reforestation and prevention of soil erosion, development of public services, particularly in the fields of public health and education, the status and rights of minorities, and in particular of Italians, as well as of the Moslem population; and, third, the question of security, including the problem of terrorism as raised by the distinguished representative of Guatemala, and the broader problem of peace and security in East Africa as raised by the distinguished representative of the Union of South Africa.

I shall endeavour to afford clarifications on all of these problems as they are grouped under the headings above set forth, headings which I believe are sufficiently comprehensive to include each and every one of the observations which I shall now endeavour to clarify in as detailed a fashion as possible, although already covered in my previous statements and observations to the Commission.

As regards the broader aspects of the reintegration of Eritrea into Ethiopia, it should be pointed out, first of all, that fullest discussions and clarifications were had with the Independent Moslem League of Massawa and the Liberal Unionists, on the one hand, and with myself and other officials of the Ethiopian Government

when those parties sent their leaders to Addis Ababa for that purpose. There has been a full and complete clarification of views as regards these two parties, the proof of which lies in the fact that these agreements and programmes have been fully published in the newspapers of Ethiopia and Eritrea. These clarifications concerned the realization and execution of the programme of reintegration of Eritrea into Ethiopia and involved no bargainings, conditions, or particular difficulties.

It is, therefore, not a question of conditional union, union subject to certain conditions or restrictions, or any qualified union. The two parties in question, as well as the Unionist Party and the vast majority of the population of Eritrea call for, and seek, one very simple objective, the union without conditions, of Eritrea and Ethiopia.

The Honourable Members of the Commission will recall that in the course of their hearings of the Unionist and other parties, it was constantly stated that the Eritreans are sons of Ethiopia, and that a son asks no conditions of his parents for the privilege of living with them. In so far as the two groups represented by the Independent Moslem League of Massawa and the Liberal Unionists had sought certain clarifications from the Ethiopian Government in regard to matters of particular interest to them under a régime of a simple and unconditional union, those conversations at Addis Ababa achieved complete clarification and identity of views. There is, therefore, no question whatsoever of any régime other than the régime of simple union supported by the ample assurances which the Ethiopian Government has, on numerous occasions at Lake Success and elsewhere, given for the protection of all groups of the population.

These remarks lead me to the second general category of observations, viz., the protection of certain racial and other groups in Eritrea as well as questions concerning economic problems and the development of certain public services under union with Ethiopia.

The distinguished representative of Guatemala stressed particularly the régime under union, of Italians, of Italians born in Eritrea, of Italian half-castes and of abandoned children.

These Italian groups represent approximately 2 per cent of the population. This fact does not, however, signify that Ethiopia would be negligent or remiss in assuring full, equal and fair treatment of the Italian populations on exactly the same basis as any other foreign groups in Ethiopia including Eritrea. The proof of this assurance is readily to be found in the fact that, to-day, in Ethiopia, without the obligation of any treaty or other requirement, Italians not only enjoy full civil rights, but also, what is equally if not more important, the actual and practical opportunity for earning a decent livelihood. To-day, in Ethiopia, the former enemies pursue their lucrative occupations in all walks of life and, in fact, many are employed in the service of the Ethiopian Government. Few, indeed, under these circumstances, have sought to return to Italy, except with the prior assurance of a return permit. In this connexion, I would recall to the members of the Commission the fact that the thousands of Italians resident in Ethiopia themselves had sought

permission to remain rather than to return to Italy. The malicious propaganda to the effect that when Eritrea is rejoined to Ethiopia, the Italians would all leave Eritrea, is openly belied by the presence of thousands of Italians in Ethiopia to-day.

As regards the specific categories to which the distinguished representative of Guatemala referred, I would suggest that, in view of the fact that Italian legislation carefully suppresses all distinction between Italians born in Italy, Italians born in Eritrea, and offspring of Italian parents, Ethiopia would be, in fact, precluded from establishing any such distinctions in the event of reunion of that territory. However, to the extent that half-castes have been abandoned by their Italian parents, Ethiopia would, naturally, be prepared to adopt as Ethiopian the half-castes, who are thrown together with the Eritrean parents who have not abandoned them. I repeat, Italians will be treated as any foreigners, and their property and civil rights fully respected and guaranteed to the fullest extent possible.

As regards the fourth category of persons mentioned by the very distinguished representative of Guatemala, viz., the abandoned children, information in the possession of the Ethiopian Government would seem clearly to indicate that the number is considerably less than the 25,000 suggested by that distinguished representative. However, very useful work of education and rehabilitation has already been undertaken by the British Administration of Eritrea and by the Eritrean Women's and Children's Association. Ethiopia is prepared to carry on this work and claims, unfortunately, a considerable amount of experience in these matters, due to the fact that, with the liberation of Ethiopia, the Government found itself faced with thousands upon thousands of abandoned children who had been forcibly removed from their homes by the fascist régime for the purpose of enrolment in the Balilla and other fascist youth organizations. Ethiopia was compelled to establish work centres for these waifs, as anyone familiar with Ethiopian history will recall.

Perhaps the most significant remark that can be made in respect of this second category of observations, is that Ethiopia has been faced with precisely the same problems, racial and others, that exist to-day in Eritrea, and which existed on a far larger scale in Ethiopia and which we have been able to solve.

The same observations apply to the situation of Moslems in Eritrea, a problem to which the very distinguished representative of Pakistan particularly addressed himself.

In formulating certain requests for information as to the condition of Moslems in Ethiopia, the very distinguished representative was careful to state that he was referring to union of Eritrea with Ethiopia, otherwise requests for information as to conditions — in any field — in Ethiopia would obviously have been irrelevant in any investigation in Eritrea.

I welcome, however, these requests for information in view of the very friendly spirit in which they were addressed to me by that distinguished representative, although I have already attempted to cover the matter in a very detailed fashion during my consultations with the Commission.

Before dealing with these questions in detail, a few general observations may not be out of place. The Ethiopian State is a Christian State. Whilst scrupulously refraining from the imposition of its beliefs upon its non-Christian minorities, it holds these beliefs very positively itself. Such a positive attitude towards religion, whether on the part of individual Christians or of Christian Powers, has always, I think, been respected by the followers of the Prophet far more than the lack of genuine religious belief which results in a moral laxity masquerading as tolerance. I make these introductory remarks, therefore, not by way of excuse for the situation which I shall proceed to describe, but simply by way of explanation; and I would ask those Moslem States which have shown a special interest in the condition of Moslems to bear in mind that the attitude of Ethiopia in this matter of religion is the precise counterpart of their own. As they are professedly and in practice Moslems, so are we Christians, and neither they nor we have any cause to gloss over the fact or to feel embarrassed by it. There would indeed be cause for concealment and embarrassment if there were persecution of religious minorities, or if there were proselytism backed by the physical power of the State; but that is certainly not true of us, nor is it, I believe, of them.

In this connexion, I would recall an event recorded in the writings of the Prophet Mohammed himself, whose followers upon his advice sought asylum from religious persecution in my country, in that land of Ethiopia, which the Prophet himself designated as "The land of righteousness where no one is wronged". The Commission will, perhaps, remember the Ethiopian Emperor's proud refusal to surrender up these religious refugees, refusal couched in these terms: "If you were to offer me a mountain of gold, I would not give up these people who have taken refuge with me". One will recall that in recognition of Ethiopia's aid, the Prophet himself decreed that Ethiopia was not to be numbered among the lands of the infidels.

As I already had occasion to explain in the course of my statement of 10 April last, of the 3,194 higher government officials, 1,238 or well over one-third, are Moslems, a proportion exceeding the proportion of Moslems to the rest of the population of Ethiopia. I pointed out that there are not less than 570 Moslem judges in the district courts and that in the Ministry of Justice itself there are but thirty-six Christians as against 103 Moslems. Five hundred and forty vice- and sub-governors are Moslems. Of the seventy-nine seats in the Senate and House of Deputies, ten are held by Moslem senators and deputies. There would certainly be more Moslems in the service of the Ethiopian Government, and particularly in ministerial and other equivalent posts, were it not for the considerations which I, in full frankness, set forth in my statement of 10 April, viz., that quite frankly, there are no Moslems in Ethiopia of sufficient intellectual background to serve at ministerial or ambassadorial level. If such persons were available, most certainly they would be appointed. When we add to this fact the consideration that Moslems show a marked preference for commercial activities at the expense of an intellectual formation, it can readily be seen that there should not be more Moslems in the highest posts of the Government, although, I

repeat, one-third of the higher officials of the Government are Moslems.

To advert for a moment to a request for information addressed to me on this last point by the representative of Pakistan, with particular reference to efforts made by the Government to overcome the reluctance on the part of the Moslems to send their children to school, I have the honour of pointing out that as of March 1949, 17 per cent of the elementary school population of Ethiopia was Moslem, and that as a result of special efforts made this last year by the Ministry of Education, 18 per cent of the London matriculation candidates this year were Moslem. It is estimated that 20 per cent of London matriculation candidates will be Moslem in the course of the present year. To-day, of the Ethiopian students studying abroad with government financial assistance, 22 per cent are Moslems, the majority of whom are enrolled at the University of Ahzar in Cairo. Had the Commission disposed of sufficient time in Ethiopia to visit and become acquainted with more schools there, they would have noted the considerable number of Moslem students attending such schools.

This said, the significant fact is that although the Moslems form but a minority of the population of Ethiopia and although Ethiopia is avowedly a Christian State, nevertheless, to-day Moslems are employed to the maximum extent possible, the sole limitation being not religion in any respect, but the intellectual capacity of the candidates. Whether they be Copts, Catholics, Protestants or Moslems, they all have equal access to and opportunity for government appointments. The proof is to be found in the considerable number of Catholics and Protestants who occupy important posts, including ministerial posts, by reason of their adequate intellectual capacities. In actual fact, there are not, I believe, many Christians amongst the Cabinet ministers, generals and ambassadors of the Moslem States, and I can understand why there should not be. Although, as already pointed out, the situation in Ethiopia, a Christian State, is the counterpart of that in Moslem States, we do, in fact, endeavour to give the fullest possible representation in the Government to the various Moslem groups in Ethiopia.

So much for the situation in Ethiopia as regards Moslems which, I repeat, is relevant to the question of Eritrea only on the basis of union of that territory with Ethiopia. If such is the case, it is pertinent to turn for a moment to the condition of Moslems in Eritrea.

In Eritrea, the Moslem problem is posed in a much more acute form. Not only do the Moslems there belong for the most part, as in Ethiopia, to the nomadic elements of the population to whom it is extremely difficult to bring educational facilities, but also there are two other handicaps which do not exist in Ethiopia. First of all, it should be remembered that the other element of the Moslem population in Eritrea, the commercial community, is far less numerous and wealthy than in Ethiopia, due to the fact that commerce and industry have been, almost exclusively, in the hands of the Italians. The nomadic classes, therefore, assume an overweening importance and it is particularly in respect of these classes that difficulties of education arise. The other handicap is the fact that must have become apparent to the Commission during

the course of its investigations in Eritrea, and which is that the educational system in Eritrea under the Italians was designed almost exclusively for the benefit of the Italians and not of the Eritreans. In this connexion, it will be recalled that, according to the report of the Commission of Investigation of the four great Powers, page 69, there was one school for every 820 Italians, whereas there was only one school for every 50,294 Eritreans, and all of these schools for Eritreans (only twenty) were purely primary schools. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the spokesman of the so-called Independence Front should have admitted before the Political Committee of the General Assembly at Lake Success, on 7 October of last year, that there is not a single Eritrean possessing a secondary school certificate.

Such being the case, the problem of finding qualified candidates for government posts among Moslems in Eritrea is far more acute than is that problem in Ethiopia. Furthermore, there is the significant fact that, as distinguished from the situation of Moslems in Ethiopia, there have been no democratic institutions of any sort under the Italian régime in Eritrea to provide a tradition and a basis upon which a class of government officials could be built, whether out of the Christian or out of the Moslem communities. As in the case of Christians in Eritrea, the Moslems have not participated in any parliamentary or other régimes of government, and it is very significant indeed that, on the admission of the adherents of the so-called Independence Front, the sole qualified Eritreans are those who are, today, in the service of the Ethiopian Government. Consequently, union with Ethiopia must, inevitably, afford to the Moslems as well as to the Christians of Eritrea the first and only opportunity which they have ever had to participate in public administration.

Whilst considering the condition of Moslems in Ethiopia and in Eritrea, I should like, finally, to recall to the Commission my remarks and clarifications in regard to a further problem raised by the distinguished representatives of Guatemala and Pakistan concerning the possibility of a separate solution for that area in which most, that is to say 70 per cent of the Moslems in Eritrea are concentrated, namely, the Western Province.

It will be recalled that Moslems, as well as Christians, form 49 per cent of the population of Eritrea, although, in Ethiopia, Moslems form roughly one-third of the population. However, inasmuch as 70 per cent of the Moslem population in Eritrea is located in the Western Province, the Ethiopian Government at numerous times has stated that it would respect the desires of the population of the Western Province in favour of a separate solution for that territory, should a clear majority there be found to request it.

The same situation does not apply to the other areas of Eritrea, although certain observations on the part of certain members of the Commission would appear to involve separate solutions for each and every Christian and Moslem area of Eritrea, presumably, therefore, for particular Moslem communities on the plateau and along the Red Sea. Such a suggestion is, of course, manifestly untenable, since it would not only

entail separate solutions for the large Christian communities, such as those at Keren, Tessenei and Agordat in the Western Province, but generally a fractioning and splintering of Eritrea. Obviously, the concept of separate solutions must, therefore, be confined to those regions which are capable of receiving a separate solution. In this respect, the Western Province is to be clearly distinguished from the other regions of Eritrea. As already stated, that Province contains 70 per cent of the Moslem population of Eritrea. The population thereof, furthermore, is to be distinguished from the populations of the Red Sea Province, for example, a very considerable portion of which belongs to tribes situated in Ethiopia, and depends upon Ethiopian pasture lands. It is to be regretted that the investigations of the Commission in the Red Sea Province did not include the consultation of that very large portion of the population belonging to Ethiopian tribes and dependent on Ethiopian pasture lands, which sought to be heard at Thio and at Arafili, since the Commission had, unfortunately, only time for visits to Assab, Zula and Massawa.

The Commission is already aware of the strong support that exists at Massawa in favour of union with Ethiopia. Asmara and Massawa are inextricably interdependent. Not only does Massawa live off the transit trade with Ethiopia which passes by way of Asmara but, conversely, Massawa serves not only as port for Asmara but even as source for most of the electricity consumed in the capital of Eritrea, as the Commission well knows. At Assab, it will be recalled that even the Italians themselves admitted that their whole existence and livelihood depended upon Ethiopia.

It should also be remembered that in the whole area, south of Massawa and including Assab, there are no more than 31,541 souls. This fact is significant for the reason that the whole area is a blazing desert situated along an inhospitable coast-line, with the result that the tribes therein are necessarily forced into dependence upon the sole hinterland which lies at their door, viz., Ethiopia. Had the consultations of the Commission been carried out in the localities indicated, and had sufficient notice been given at Assab so that the rural, instead of solely the urban, population might have been consulted, I am confident that the Commission would have noted an expression of desire on the part of the population for union with Ethiopia.

In connexion with any such suggested fractioning and splintering of Eritrea, I would remind the Honourable Members of the Commission that, even were we wrongly to assume on the misleading basis of the hearings at Zula, that all of these 31,000 souls in the Red Sea desert were opposed to union with Ethiopia, nevertheless, it should be remembered that these 31,000 so-called Mohammedans, many of whom are reputedly pagans, are less numerous than the 35,354 Christians in the Western Province, who would be separated from Ethiopia in the event of a separate solution for that territory.

Consequently, in view of these considerations, and on the basis of the wishes of the population, a separate solution can be envisaged only for the Western Province and that only in the event that a clear majority exists there in favour of such a separate solution. Such

has been the attitude adopted, not only by the Ethiopian Government, but also by the Unionist Party, the Liberal Unionists, the Independent Moslem League at Massawa and the Moslem League in the Western Province.

I trust that my endeavours to clarify the problems of the minorities, including Italians and Moslems in Eritrea, may have served to remove some of the doubts or queries which may have existed in the minds of some of the Commissioners. There remain for me, however, certain problems, likewise falling under this second category, and which concern certain economic problems, particularly the prevention of soil erosion and reforestation and the development of public services especially in the fields of public health and education under union with Ethiopia.

As regards the observation related to prevention of soil erosion, as made by the very distinguished representative of the Union of South Africa, I would wish, if I might, to be very frank and to state that the Ethiopian Government, except in one important particular, has no formal programme for the prevention of soil erosion and that for a very simple and obvious reason, many times noted by foreign and international agricultural missions to Ethiopia. That reason is that without any formal programme or pressure by the Government, for centuries the farmers of Ethiopia, by avoidance of excessively deep ploughing and in particular, by sedulously following the practice of contour ploughing, have been applying from time immemorial the most efficient methods for the prevention of soil erosion. The recommendations of the foreign and international agricultural missions have all, consistently, been to the effect that so-called modern and scientific methods of deep ploughing should carefully be avoided in Ethiopia if soil erosion is to be prevented. As regards the modern method of contour ploughing, I can only state that in my country it has the honoured status of an ancient tradition.

The particular exception to which I alluded with reference to the prevention of soil erosion relates to the observation of the distinguished representative of the Union of South Africa concerning reforestation. It is obvious that reforestation is one of the most efficacious methods for preventing soil erosion. The distinguished representative of the Union of South Africa was quite correct in raising, as regards Eritrea, the problem of reforestation. As will have been noted from the report of the Commission of Investigation of the four great Powers (page 41), in former times Eritrea was covered with forests. In the course of its travels in Eritrea and in Ethiopia, the Commission was certainly able to note for itself the marked difference in aspect of the two landscapes: Ethiopia, in large regions, covered with forests, and Eritrea, for the most part, almost totally denuded.

In the case of Ethiopia, those forests are, to a large extent, the result of a conscious programme of reforestation. In the case of Eritrea, the barren landscape is the result of a conscious programme of deforestation. I would recall to the members of the Commission the massive destruction of forests in Eritrea, and particularly of the juniper forests cut down in the year 1937 by the Italians in order to supply fuel for their invading and occupying armies.

As regards reforestation in Ethiopia, the members of the Commission will, perhaps, recall that the Emperor Menelik has reserved to himself a secure place in history for numerous reasons, one of the most important of which was his introduction of and his edict—still in force to-day—for the planting of eucalyptus forests. Ethiopia is today in the position of a timber exporter, having at its disposal vast quantities of eucalyptus wood for fuel and other local uses, and the large and beautiful hard-wood forests for construction purposes and for export to foreign markets. For these reasons, Ethiopia is particularly well qualified to take in hand and to execute the programme, so necessary, of reforestation in Eritrea.

As regards programmes of education and public health in Eritrea, I will not weary the Commission with the details for a proposed considerable increase in the programmes which at present are being followed in these two fields in Eritrea.

During the Italian occupation of Ethiopia, the provincial hospitals established by the Ethiopian Government were destroyed and those with which the Italians replaced them were in turn destroyed in the course of the campaign of the liberation 1940-41, so that upon the return to Ethiopia of His Imperial Majesty, my August Sovereign, Ethiopia, in the field of public health as in the case of the educational system, was compelled to start afresh. Today, there are nearly forty provincial hospitals, two nurses' training schools, and eighty-one clinics, an effort at rehabilitation in the few years following the liberation in which I, as an Ethiopian, might be excused in taking some pardonable pride. Such being the case, there is no reason why Ethiopia should not carry through to completion the expanded programmes of public health and education for Eritrea set forth in great detail on pages 80-87 and 105-118 of document A/C.1/W.8 distributed by the Secretariat of the United Nations. In this connexion, I would recall that Ethiopia envisages a more than two million dollar increase in the public health budget and a similar increase in the budget for education in Eritrea, as compared with present-day expenditures there. I have already on previous occasions explained how these increased expenditures will be met without additional cost to the Eritrean taxpayer.

In this way, the shocking disparity of public health and educational facilities which, under the Italian régime, provided twenty-five times as many hospital beds for Italians as for Eritreans, and 250 times as many schools, will at long last be rectified.

These observations by members of the Commission regarding the programmes for the development of Eritrea, both economically and administratively, are clearly pertinent, for it should be remembered that Eritrea has suffered from fifty years of administration on a strictly colonial basis, with the result that that territory and people have lagged many years behind in development and progress in East Africa. That colonialism, on the one hand, has followed the eighteenth century mercantilist theory of suppressing all local economic development so as to favour and increase dependency on the metropolitan area and, on the other hand, together with the denial of all democratic forms of government, has produced administration of the territory for the benefit of the masters only,

as the data concerning schools and hospitals only too clearly indicate. Great efforts and a careful programme of development will, therefore, be required to bring this territory and people up to the level of the surrounding peoples and territories.

I now come, Honourable Commissioners, to the third general category of observations formulated during the course of the visit of the Commission to Ethiopia. I refer to the observations by the distinguished representatives of the Union of South Africa and of Guatemala concerning security, both in Eritrea and in East Africa generally.

The distinguished representative of Guatemala was good enough to voice in full candour, on the one hand, concern in regard to the wave of terroristic activities in Eritrea and, on the other hand, the assurances, received with appreciation on my part, that the Commission was fully convinced that not only was the Ethiopian Government completely innocent of any connexion with such actions, but also deeply deplored them, as I have myself frequently stated on other occasions.

Although it is possible that much of the terrorist activities may have, for one reason or another, been associated with the almost fanatic desire for union on the part of the population of Eritrea, it should not be lost to sight that terrorism has frequently been exercised by adherents to the so-called Independence Front, as witnessed by the attacks on the heads of the Moslem League of Massawa, and the recent attacks by "Shiftas" in sympathy with the so-called Independence Bloc on the outskirts of Zula.

The significant fact is that, due to protracted delays on the part of the United Nations in meeting its clear responsibilities and due to the shameless campaign of bribery and subornation by Italy, the local population, so long and so openly frustrated, is finding it difficult to impose the necessary self restraint.

In response to the inquiry as to how Ethiopia, in the event of the reintegration of Eritrea into Ethiopia, would put an end to terrorism, I would reply, very simply, that the assurance that there would be no terrorism is to be found in the fact, as I have already stated, that thousands of Italians live peaceful and contented lives in Ethiopia.

As and when justice is finally rendered to the people of Eritrea, and the shameful campaign of corruption, bribery and subornation, supported and directed by Italy, is brought to an end, terrorism will fall of its own weight. On the contrary, failure to satisfy the too-long frustrated aspirations of an overwhelming majority of the population could only and most deplorably lead to a still greater and appalling spread of terrorism and violence.

With reference to the observations of the very distinguished representative of the Union of South Africa concerning security in general, allow me to state, Honourable Commissioners, that peace and security, not alone in Eritrea, but peace and security in East Africa, can only be achieved on the basis of a fundamentally satisfying and profound response to the basic needs of the populations and territories involved; in part, basic economic needs, needs not only of the port and cities of Massawa and Asmara and basic economic needs of the inhabitants of the Red Sea and of the plateau provinces, but also still more fundamental needs. I refer to those far-reaching, profound and unquenchable aspirations of a small but valiant population bruised by fifty years of colonialism and frustrated by ten years' delay in the achievement of that goal of union promised to them by the Allies during the last war.

Gentleman, I call upon you for justice for the people of Eritrea and of Ethiopia.

Addis Ababa
28 April 1950

CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF EGYPT

ANNEX 9

Statement made by Mr. Salah El-Din, the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the 46th meeting of the Commission, held at Cairo on 15 April 1950 (A/AC.34/SR.46, Part 1, appendix A).

Original text: French

It seems hardly necessary to recall here that Italian expansion in Africa was inaugurated, in the second half of the last century, by an encroachment upon the rights of Egypt. Egypt cannot therefore be disinterested in the fate of the former Italian possessions in Africa.

At the Paris Conference in 1946 it was decided that in settling the fate of the former colonies the wishes of the population of those territories would be duly taken into account.

The United Nations General Assembly, having been invited to decide upon the fate of the former colonies, recognized the decisive importance of the will of the inhabitants, and accordingly, on 21 November 1949, set up the United Nations Commission for Eritrea, the fate of the other Italian possessions, Libya and Somaliland, having been previously settled.

It will be recalled in this connexion that the conference of the Deputies of the Foreign Ministers had, on 20 October 1947, already set up the Commission of Investigation, known as the Four-Power Commission, on Eritrea and other Italian possessions. That Commission established, in its well-known report, that the people of Eritrea were agreed that the country must not be divided and were opposed to cession of any part of the territory, and that "this was the only point on which the Commission had found unanimity of opinion".

Mindful of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and considering the result of the investigation conducted by the Four-Power Commission of Investigation, the Royal Egyptian Government announced, at the Conference of the Deputies of Foreign Ministers, at London on 29 July 1948, that it supported the unanimous wishes of the Eritrean people that their country's unity should be safeguarded.

Considering that the conclusions of the United Nations Commission for Eritrea have not yet been formulated, it would be premature for the Royal Egyptian Government at this stage to express its point of view on the final disposal of Eritrea, thereby anticipating the result of the work of and the new enquiry by the United Nations Commission.

However, two hypotheses appear possible:

Either the United Nations Commission may confirm the conclusions previously arrived at by the Four-Power Commission of Investigation, as to the unanimous desire of the Eritrean population to ensure the

country's unity. In such case the point of view of the Royal Egyptian Government, as communicated to the Conference of the Deputies of the Foreign Ministers at London on 29 July 1948 would remain unchanged. The Royal Government would therefore continue to support the will of the Eritrean people, thus expressed and confirmed.

If, on the other hand, the United Nations Commission for Eritrea should reach different conclusions from those of the Four-Power Commission, owing to new data or an unforeseeable reversal of opinion ascertained in the course of its investigation, the Royal Egyptian Government could then only reconsider the question in the light of those new facts, taking into account the historical rights of Egypt already set out in various notes and statements sent to or made at the Conference of Foreign Ministers, the Conference of the Deputies of the Foreign Ministers, as well as the Paris Conference.

The Royal Government follows with the greatest interest the work of the United Nations Commission. It is convinced that, through its efforts and work, the Commission will succeed in bringing about a solution which will take into account the principle of the United Nations Charter and the freely-expressed wishes of the people of Eritrea.

ANNEX 10

Consultation with the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the 46th meeting of the Commission held on 15 April 1950, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Justice Erling Qvalø (Norway) (Extract from A/AC.34/SR.46, Part 1, summary record of the 46th meeting of the Commission).

7. Major-General THERON (Union of South Africa) . . . stated that the Government of the Union of South Africa fully realized the very real and very direct interest which the Egyptian Government had in the problem of Eritrea, and he believed that in turn the Minister for Foreign Affairs would appreciate the very real, although not so direct, interest of his own Government in the settlement of the same problem. His Government had the same desire to see in Africa—which was their common heritage—peace and prosperity, and his delegation would examine with great care the views expressed by the Egyptian Government.

8. Mr. SALAH EL-DIN (Minister for Foreign Affairs, Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*) replied that he well understood the particular interest of the Government of South Africa in the question of the future of Eritrea. If peace was the concern of all, then the peace of Africa was the concern in particular of his Government and the African States. He was therefore glad to note for that reason the presence of the South African delegation on the Commission. His Government could,

he felt sure, count on the efforts of the South African delegation to contribute to a solution which would be compatible with the principles of the United Nations Charter, of equity, justice and the rights of self-determination of people.

9. Mr. ZIAUD-DIN (Pakistan) also associated his delegation with the thanks of the Chairman and of the South African delegation. He stated that he would like further information on three matters: first, explaining that the attitude of the Government of Pakistan towards the problem of Eritrea was not only that of maintaining peace (which was the duty of all Member States of the United Nations under the Charter). It was anxious about the Moslems in Eritrea since it had learned that they were greatly opposed to union with Ethiopia. One reason given for the opposition, which had yet to be examined by the Commission, was that the Moslems in Ethiopia were not well treated and were not given positions in the government commensurate with their numbers and status.

10. Secondly, he asked for more clarification with regard to the historical claims of Egypt. He understood that the reference in the statement the Commission had just heard possibly referred to the fact that Massawa had been under the Government of Egypt for a long period before it had been occupied by the Italians.

11. Thirdly, the Commission had heard in Eritrea expressions of view, from all sides, that there should be no partition, whatever the solution arrived at. At a later period of its visit, however, it had heard views to the effect that the Western Province should be separated from the rest of the territory. Furthermore, it had heard, from an important quarter, that if the Western Province were to be separated, it should be handed over to the Sudan. He stated that he would like to have the views of the Foreign Minister with regard to the three points he had raised.

12. Mr. SALAH EL-DIN (Minister for Foreign Affairs, Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*) replied that his Government was as interested and as concerned as the Government of Pakistan in the treatment of Moslems, wherever they might be. It had already come to the knowledge of his Government that the Moslems of Ethiopia were said to be ill treated. His Government had accordingly got into touch with the Ethiopian

Government and had been informed that there was no foundation whatsoever for the allegation. He believed that the Commission might be better able to form an opinion on the subject since it had recently had the opportunity to make inquiries in Eritrea and to visit Ethiopia. He added that his Government would be glad to benefit from that investigation.

13. He confirmed that the reference in his statement was exactly that suggested by the representative of Pakistan. Egypt had been in Eritrea, and in Massawa (which had been mentioned in particular) long before it had been driven out by the Italians, at a time when power was the dominating factor over rights, and the imperialist ambitions were coveting the weak States in Africa from every side. His Government had already presented to the Foreign Ministers' Conference, to the Conference of Deputy Foreign Ministers and to the Paris Peace Conference, many extensive statements on the subject which might be referred to by the Commission.

14. With regard to the third matter raised by the representative of Pakistan, he believed it might be premature to give an opinion regarding the tendencies towards the partition of Eritrea before the Commission had completed its task and written its report, giving its conclusions unanimously or in the form of differing views, and the reasons for them. He added, in conclusion, that partition had always been a subterfuge of imperialism, by which big Powers had benefited at the expense of weak countries who were the victims. His Government did not like in general such attempts to partition weak countries.

15. Mr. KHINE (Burma) stated that the Burmese delegation was deeply grateful for the brief but lucid exposé of the views of the Government of Egypt. His Government was aware of the deep interest taken by the Egyptian Government in the problem, not only on account of its proximity to Eritrea, but on account of the large number of Moslems there. Burma was completely disinterested in the affairs of Eritrea and he could therefore assure the Foreign Minister that his delegation was studying the problem of the future of Eritrea with complete objectivity and would confine its studies strictly to the terms of reference. It would take into account, with impartiality, the views of the Government of Egypt.

CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF ITALY

ANNEX 11

Letter dated 17 April 1950 addressed by Count Sforza, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Chairman of the Commission (A/AC.34/SR.47, appendix A).

Original text: Italian

Ministry for Foreign Affairs
Rome
17 April 1950

Mr. Chairman,

The Italian Government has the honour to acknowledge receipt of the letter dated 3 March 1950, communicating the decision of the United Nations Commission for Eritrea to invite the Italian Government to express its opinion on the future of Eritrea and to supply such information as it believed useful to the Commission, in conformity with resolution 289 C (IV), of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The Italian Government is glad to accept such an invitation, and is ready to answer all questions which the Commission may decide to put to it, as well as to provide all the information which, in view of the long experience acquired during seventy years of direct administration in Eritrea, it is in a position to supply.

In the present note the Italian Government has limited itself to certain general principles, but it will place at the disposal of the Commission experts such as the Commission may deem fit to question and to consult on specific problems on which it may wish to undertake an exhaustive technical study.

The Eritrean problem is a matter of deep concern to the Italian Government. It cannot be indifferent to the fate of a country which in the course of seventy years it has guided towards civil progress nor can it be disinterested in the welfare of the Eritrean inhabitants, among whom there are many thousands of Italians or descendants of Italians, who for several generations have dedicated their activity to Eritrea and who are bound to that country by their own labours. Finally it cannot be disinterested in the Native population which the Italians have known as hard-working and peaceful, endowed with intellectual and moral qualities which are not usually found in other African countries in that part of the world, and whose wishes must be respected when it is a question of deciding their own fate.

Respect for their wishes is a natural right which cannot be denied to the Eritreans, and Italy feels that it has a moral duty to protect that right. It is for this reason that the Italian Government accepted with the utmost satisfaction the decision of the General Assembly

of the United Nations to entrust a special commission with the task of conducting an exhaustive study of the Eritrean problem. Today, confident in the impartial work of the Commission and in its conscientious and enlightened judgment, it will welcome the conclusions at which it will arrive convinced that they will correspond to the criteria of justice and to the interests of the Eritrean people.

This is the basic objective of Italian policy. Italy could not separate itself without deep regret from Eritrea where it is conscious of having accomplished a task towards civilizing the country, which the Commission will no doubt have been able to ascertain; but at the same time it has no selfish claim to submit with regard to that country. Italy has clearly specific interests to protect concerning the Italo-Eritreans and their activity and, although it is true that the protection of those interests is closely linked with the solution which the General Assembly will adopt with regard to the Eritrean question, they are not the only considerations that have dictated and are dictating Italian policy. Furthermore, the Italian Government is convinced that the United Nations Commission as well as the General Assembly, in a spirit of justice, will not ignore the part which the Italians and the descendants of Italians have played and can play in the life and prosperity of Eritrea. Italy wishes to be certain that, in deciding the fate of Eritrea, the basic criterion to be adopted will be respect for the wishes, rights and interests of the population whether Moslem, Copt or Italian. The fact that Eritrea has been Italian and that it was decided in the Luxembourg Treaty that, pending a final solution of the question, Italy would renounce all title and right, did not make Eritrea a *res nullius* to be arbitrarily disposed of by applying principles and methods which have been condemned by the conscience of civilized peoples. There is no reason why Eritrea should be delayed on its road to independence, if independence corresponds to the historical conditions and the interests of the country. Still less is there reason to assume that independence would be in contradiction to the interests of Ethiopia. The Italian Government has never thought that the interests of Ethiopia should not be taken into consideration; on the contrary the Italian Government considers that the solution of the Eritrean problem must be such as to protect the legitimate interests of both the neighbouring countries of Eritrea and Ethiopia.

And, above all, the Italian Government considers it necessary that the chief common interest of Eritrea and Ethiopia should be protected, namely, to live in peace together and to co-operate fruitfully so as to ensure to both countries, whatever their own individuality, mutual advantages and guarantees, such as to give a clear certainty of a close and peaceful development of relations.

2. One preliminary point to be clarified concerns the historical past of Eritrea and the manner in which it was constituted.

The various parts of Eritrea were occupied by Italy in the period between 1869 and 1903. None of them was taken from Ethiopia. Dankalia, where Italy first established itself was (and still is) inhabited by a Dankalia Moslem population with whom Italy concluded protectorate agreements through the local sheikhs. The most northern part of the coast, including the zone of Massawa, the Dahlak Islands, as far as the borders of the Sudan, inhabited by Moslems, was part of the Ottoman Empire. The latter exerted a weak authority only, however, through the Khedive of Egypt. It was in fact through agreements with Egypt (1885) that Italy established itself there.

Inland, in the western lowlands, the region between the rivers Gash and Setit, inhabited by the Baria and Cunama peoples, was acquired by Italy by a tripartite agreement between Italy, Great Britain and Ethiopia in 1903.

The highlands, although dominated at times by feudal chiefs of the Tigray, was so little considered as an integral part of the Ethiopian Empire, that Negus Menelik, in a letter dated 10 March 1881, addressed to the King of Italy, invited Italian troops to occupy the district of Asmara. The highland zone to the south of Asmara (Akela Guzai and Serae), and administered by Italy since 1891, was finally recognized as being a part of Eritrea by the Italo-Ethiopian treaty of 10 July 1900.

One reason for recalling the above is to do away with the error that the war of 1895-96 between Italy and the Emperor Menelik originated out of differences over Eritrean territory. The war was not caused by territorial differences. It arose instead out of differences concerning the interpretation of the Italo-Ethiopian treaty of 1889, known as the treaty of Uscialli, which, according to the Italian Government of the time, established a form of Italian protectorate over the whole of Ethiopia, an interpretation which was later not accepted by the Emperor Menelik. Although the war was unfavourable to Italy, the Emperor Menelik was not averse to leaving the frontiers of Eritrea unchanged.

Such were the historical events in which Italy participated and which led to the formation of Eritrea, which received its name from the ancient name of the Red Sea, *Sinus Aerithreus*.

3. The United Nations Commission has been able to ascertain the particular structure of Eritrea and its characteristics. The Italian Government wishes to submit that those characteristics constitute a strong argument for the maintenance of its unity. In fact, the various parts of Eritrea, with the various sectors of the population occupying them, constitute complementary elements which give to the whole a large measure of economic and financial self-sufficiency, while the presence of the local ruling class—although today limited in number—based on a population of about one million inhabitants and an existing civil and social machinery of considerable proportion, enables Eritrea to rely upon itself for its own political life.

Contrary therefore to what might be thought from a mere glance at the geographical map of Eastern Africa, investigation on the spot shows that there are reasons for the existence of Eritrea as such.

The fact that lowlands and highlands are under the same jurisdiction not only makes it possible for the inhabitants of the latter to go down to the former in order to supplement with seasonal crops the insufficient harvest of the mountainous zones as well as to use the pastures of the plain, but facilitates the trading of typical products of both, mutually essential to the respective populations.

The diversity of the climate—temperature, atmospheric pressure, humidity—is also useful from the point of view of health. The population, whether Natives or European, can easily go from the lowlands to the highlands, or vice versa, to escape seasonal extremes or the maladies or discomforts peculiar to the two zones (the same applies to the cattle), while owing to the various forms of flora and fauna, the shepherd and the cattle-breeder, the farmer, the game-hunter, the fisherman and the industrialist have at their disposal a range of products which by experiment and intelligent initiative can even be increased to benefit the economy of the whole country.

To this it should be added that the roads and communications system, the distribution of the chief centres of population, of industries, and other activities, is such as to constitute one single system for the whole Eritrean territory.

The Commission doubtless has the latest data on the financial situation of Eritrea. The Italian Government wishes only to draw its attention to the fact that the present peculiar circumstances have inevitably had a lowering effect on the economy of Eritrea and have affected the public revenue figures. Uncertainty as to the future of the country, aggravated by the precarious state of public order at certain times and in certain zones, has resulted in a situation illustrated, for instance, by the reluctance of the banks to extend credits of any size or duration, and by the number of estates and businesses, particularly in outlying areas, which are closed owing to the lack of security.

If, in spite of these adverse conditions, Eritrea still shows that it has a remarkable economic efficiency and is not far from financial stability, it may be considered that within its present boundaries Eritrea has the essential conditions and progress for independent self-government.

Although differing ethnically and religiously, the Eritreans have lived and know how to live together profitably, in a community which includes them all and is based on collaboration and peace, and it is proper in this connexion to recall that the Four-Power Commission of Investigation also arrived at this conclusion when in 1947 it carried out its investigations.

If today certain differences have arisen between groups of different religions, this is due only to the fortuitous political situation and to the present uncertainty. It is certain (the Italian Government is in a position to confirm it, owing to its long administrative experience in Eritrea) that the various populations which inhabit Eritrea have always in the past lived together peacefully side by side, continuously giving proof of mutual co-operation and a spirit of tolerance. If this spirit seems today to have diminished, it is due to the course adopted by certain elements who, it seems,

are always more inclined to resort to violence to achieve their own political aims and to impose a solution by force. It is not in the interests of the development and progress of Eritrea to yield to such methods, which seriously prejudice not only the rights of self-determination of the Eritrean people but also their civil progress and stability, which cannot be achieved by the permanent threat of force.

In the opinion of the Italian Government, the solution of the Eritrean problem can only be inspired by respect for the wishes of the inhabitants, consideration of the maintenance of the standard of civil life, guarantee of the free development of Eritrean territory and pacific co-operation with neighbouring countries, in such form and with such methods as will, in the light of the

experience acquired, appear most useful and appropriate to the present conditions of the territory.

In submitting the above to the competent judgment of this Commission, the Italian Government is ready to answer whatever requests for information or clarification the Commission may consider it useful to present.

I beg you to accept, Mr. Chairman, the expression of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Count SFORZA

The Chairman

United Nations Commission for Eritrea

CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE

ANNEX 12

Document A/AC.34/R.182: "Consultations with the Government of France". (Note by the Principal Secretary)

[Original text: French]
26 April 1950

The following letter, dated 20 April 1950, from the French Ambassador in Rome, transmitting a communication from the French Government, was received on 20 April 1950 in Rome by the Chairman of the Commission:

Embassy of the French Republic in Italy
Rome
20 April 1950

No. 192

Sir,

Mr. Robert Schuman asked me to take advantage of your presence in Rome to transmit to you the text of the French Government's reply to the communication sent to it by the United Nations Commission for Eritrea.

Not wishing to add an additional burden to all those which will fall upon you during your brief visit, I have asked one of my colleagues to be good enough to transmit this document to you.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) J. FOUQUES DUPARC

Mr. QVALE
Chairman of the United Nations Commission
for Eritrea
Rome

Ministry for Foreign Affairs
Paris
15 April 1950

No. 193

Sir, R

In a letter dated 3 March 1950 you were good enough to inform the French Government that the Commission whose work you direct invited it, in conformity with the provisions of resolution 289 (IV) adopted on 21 November 1949 by the General Assembly of the United Nations, to express its views concerning the fate of Eritrea.

The French Government has already in the past had the opportunity on several occasions of expressing its opinion on this problem, both through its representative on the Four-Power Commission of Investigation and through its delegations to the third and fourth sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

It was, moreover, not responsible for the fact that the solution adopted by the majority of that Assembly, during the second part of its third session, could not finally be adopted.

As matters stand, therefore, the French Government can only state that it relies entirely upon the Commission to proceed, within the framework of the terms of reference laid down for it by the General Assembly, to a further study of the question, taking into account the conditions at present obtaining. It will be glad to have such new information as may be communicated to it, and the report and conclusions submitted by the Commission will receive its best attention.

In response to an invitation which it greatly appreciates and for which it thanks the Commission, the French Government will, however, now recall some of the principles on which, in its view, any solution for ensuring the free and peaceful development of the territories concerned should be based.

It would refer in this connexion to the statements made by its representatives at the third and fourth sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

One of those statements was to the effect that the territory of Eritrea was as heterogeneous as its population and that Ethiopia was entitled to compensation for the past and guarantees for the future.

Another specified that the desirable solution should take into account "the territorial satisfactions of Ethiopia and the desire to conform with the wishes of the indigenous inhabitants, including the Italian minority".

The French Government can only confirm these statements, which were dictated solely by a desire for impartiality and equity. It has, however, had occasion to note that the various solutions envisaged have met with some opposition, both locally and in the United Nations.

In its view, the surest way of overcoming those difficulties would be to be guided by the actual terms of the resolution of 21 November 1949, which invited the Commission "to ascertain more fully the wishes and the best means of promoting the welfare of the inhabitants of Eritrea". The French Government considers that any plan applicable to Eritrea should, as far as possible, meet the two-fold requirement of giving the peoples most directly concerned the satisfaction of their claims, and effectively promoting their welfare and development. The French Government feels sure that, in the light of the inquiry it has undertaken, the Commission will be in a position to discover the basis for such a solution.

It hopes, moreover, that the two countries mainly concerned, Italy and Ethiopia, will agree to take into consideration the wishes of the population ascertained by the Commission and to apply such recommendations as may be adopted by the competent bodies of the United Nations. As the French representative stated

on 1 October 1949 in the Political Committee of the General Assembly, "any constructive decision should receive the agreement of both the Ethiopian and the Italian Governments so as to prepare for their future collaboration". Such collaboration would, the French Government considers, be the most certain pledge of the maintenance of security and the development of prosperity in that part of the world.

Finally, the French Government wishes to add that in its view—and whatever fate may await the territory of Eritrea—the necessary measures should be taken to provide adequate guarantees for foreign interests and property, respect for which is essential for the country's social and economic advancement.

Similarly—and this consideration is simply a corollary of the foregoing premises—it deems it necessary that in any event the statute adopted should contain provisions designed to safeguard the rights and interests of the various minorities and should permit the latter to share in the responsibilities of local and municipal administration, these constitutional provisions being accompanied by an adequate system of guarantees ensuring their effective implementation.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) SCHUMAN

The Chairman
United Nations Commission for Eritrea

REPORT OF SUB-COMMISSION I

ANNEX 13

Report of the Economic Sub-Commission¹

Rapporteur: U M. M. SOE (Burma)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
INTRODUCTION	
Establishment and terms of reference	71
Information available and meetings	72
Nature of report	72
A. ERITREA'S POPULATION	
Size and geographical distribution	72
Occupational distribution	73
Italian population	73
B. FARM PRODUCTION AND FARMING RESOURCES OF ERITREA	
The present farm output	73
Future farming prospects	75
Farming concessions	77
Interdependence of the different climatic regions.....	77
C. MINING ACTIVITIES AND MINERAL RESOURCES.....	77
D. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN ERITREA	
Principal industrial features	78
Power and water supply	79
Future industrial progress	79
E. RAIL AND ROAD TRANSPORT	
The transport network	79
Traffic and payability of the railways	80
Road motor transport	80
F. FOREIGN TRADE	
Imports and exports	81
Transit trade	81
Inward and outward remittances	81
G. FINANCE	
The tax system	82
The budget deficit	82

Appendices

	<i>Page</i>
A. REPLIES TO QUESTIONNAIRES AND REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION ADDRESSED TO THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION, AND COMMUNICATIONS FROM ORGANIZATIONS RELATING TO THE WORK OF THE ECONOMIC SUB-COMMISSION	
Questionnaires and requests for information addressed to the British Administration	84
Appendices to the Four-Power Commission report.....	84
Communications from organizations	85
B. REFERENCES TO THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN ERITREA CONTAINED IN SUMMARY RECORDS OF MEETINGS AND FIELD GROUP HEARINGS OF THE COMMISSION	
Meetings of the Commission	86
Field group hearings	86
C. LIST OF SUMMARY RECORDS OF MEETINGS AND HEARINGS OF THE ECONOMIC SUB-COMMISSION.....	88
D. RAINFALL MAP OF ERITREA.....	90

INTRODUCTION

Establishment and Terms of Reference

1. The United Nations Commission for Eritrea resolved² at its seventh meeting held on 18 February 1950:

(a) To establish a Sub-Commission on which all members of the Commission shall be represented, to investigate all the economic aspects of the evidence presented and available to the Commission;

(b) That the Sub-Commission will be guided generally by the rules of procedure adopted by the main Commission and will report to the latter, and receive further instructions as may be considered necessary from time to time.

2. At its first meeting held on 9 March 1950, the alternate representative of South Africa, Mr. F. J. Van Biljon, was elected Chairman, and the alternate representative of Burma, Mr. M. M. Soe, was elected Rapporteur. Mr. Graham Lucas served as Secretary.

3. At its 29th meeting held on 22 March 1950, the Commission authorized³ the Sub-Commission:

(a) To invite officials of the British Administration to supply additional economic information and to clarify such information as submitted in reply to questionnaires, as deemed necessary by the Economic Sub-Commission;

(b) To hold, if necessary, discussions with the Eritrean Chamber of Commerce, the Eritrean United Transporters and other organizations on matters within the scope of the Sub-Commission.

4. At its 33rd meeting held on 29 March 1950, the Commission further authorized the Sub-Commission to hear the following three groups on labour matters:

(a) Association of Italian Employees, British Administration, Asmara;

(b) V. Franchini, Asmara, representing a group of employees of private firms;

(c) Syndicalist Association of Public Drivers, Asmara.

5. At its 37th meeting held on 1 April 1950, the Commission, in adopting its schedule and programme of work,⁴ set 28 April 1950 as the target date for the submission of the Sub-Commission's report. This date was later extended to 6 May 1950.

¹ The Sub-Commission decided to consider paragraph 11 *et seq.* in private meeting.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Against: Guatemala, Pakistan.

The recording of the results of roll-call votes is at the request of the delegation of Guatemala.

² A/AC.34/R.15.

³ A/AC.34/R.100.

⁴ A/AC.34/R.157.

Information available and Meetings

6. The information available to the Commission and relevant to the work of the Sub-Commission emanated mainly from the British Administration in response to questionnaires addressed to it from time to time by the Commission. Information of an economic nature was, however, also contained in communications submitted by political and commercial organizations as well as by private individuals in Eritrea in response to the Commission's general invitation to receive representations.⁵ Relevant replies to questionnaires and communications from organizations were transmitted to the Sub-Commission and a full list appears in appendix A. In addition, the Sub-Commission took cognizance of information of an economic nature elicited in the course of Commission and field group hearings; a list of references, indicating the nature of this information, appears in appendix B.

7. The Sub-Commission held twenty-three meetings, including six hearings between 9 March and 8 May 1950. The summary records of meetings and hearings are listed in appendix C.

8. Although established on 18 February 1950, the Sub-Commission could not commence to function effectively until late in March 1950. The replies of an economic nature to questionnaires submitted by the Commission to the British Administration, which formed the main basis of the Sub-Commission's investigating work, only commenced to come in from the middle of March; and circulation to delegations of the frequently voluminous replies and statistics took further time. In the interim, members were also fully engaged in hearings of the Commission and its field groups.

Nature of Report

9. In accordance with its principal terms of reference as set out in paragraph 1, the Sub-Commission was required first to investigate the economic aspects of the information available to the Commission. This involved analysis of the data, both with a view to their clarification and, where possible, the filling in of any gaps. The information thus secured is extensive in many respects, but it is incomplete in others, mainly on account of the deficient knowledge which exists of certain physical features of Eritrea. The Sub-Commission has, where necessary, drawn attention in its report to instances where the information on which it is based is inconclusive.

10.⁶ Its terms of reference next required the Sub-Commission to report to the Commission on the infor-

⁵ A/AC.34/R.9.

⁶ *Reservation by Guatemala:*

The delegation of Guatemala proposed the deletion of the second and third sentences, considering them inexact.

The proposal to delete the second sentence, beginning with the words "This information" was rejected.

In favour: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Against: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

The proposal to delete the third sentence, beginning with the words "The Sub-Commission" was rejected.

In favour: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Against: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Paragraph 10, as amended, was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Against: Guatemala, Pakistan.

mation thus examined. This information, as has been explained, has been derived from various sources and is contained in many separate memoranda and distinct schedules presented at different times. The Sub-Commission could not, therefore, prepare a coherent report which consisted simply of a rearrangement of the numerous documents with covering remarks. The Sub-Commission has found it convenient to adopt the following broad classification:

- A. Distribution of population;
- B. Farming;
- C. Mining;
- D. Manufacturing;
- E. Transport;
- F. Trade;
- G. Finance.

11. The report by the Sub-Commission is purely factual; it neither seeks to defend any particular solution for Eritrea on economic grounds, nor to invalidate other possible solutions on these grounds. Evaluation of the economic facts in relation to a political solution for the territory clearly is the task of the Commission, not of the Sub-Commission. The Sub-Commission believes that its duty is simply to state the economic facts with all needed qualifications where they are open to doubt.⁷

A. ERITREA'S POPULATION

Size and Geographical Distribution

12. In Eritrea, enumeration of the population is undertaken administratively, utilizing the village and family units of organization. Fairly reliable data are, however, secured. The size of the territory is about 50,000 square miles, and the population approximately 1,066,000, including 21,000 Europeans and an estimated 25,000 half-castes (together with Eritrean mothers).

13. The Eritrean indigenous population has trebled in the last forty years. It is unlikely that this large increase is accounted for mainly by better enumeration. There is a high net increment of births, and the preservation of law and order for several generations in this part of north-east Africa as well as the large capital and military expenditures under the Italian regime after 1933 have attracted adjoining peoples.

14. Since 1933 considerable urbanization of the Eritrean population has occurred. The main urban concentrations are in the capital, Asmara, and in the Red Sea harbour, Massawa, which respectively account for 126,000 and 26,000 people, or for a total of 152,000 of the urban population of 219,000.

15. The bulk of the population of Eritrea is, however, rural, and 847,000, or 78 per cent of the total of 1,066,000, are so classified. The following approximate figures show that the highlands are far more densely

⁷ *Reservation by Guatemala:* The delegation of Guatemala favoured the deletion of paragraph 11 because it was considered inexact since the report was written in a partial manner and prejudged the political solution of the problem of Eritrea.

The proposal to delete paragraph 11 was rejected.

In favour: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Against: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

settled than either of the more arid Western Province and Red Sea areas:⁸

Approximate geographical distribution of Eritrean population

Region	Percentage of population		
	Percentage of total area	Rural	Rural plus urban
Highlands (Hamasién, Seræ and Akele Guzai Divisions)	24	53	56
Western Province (Keren, Agordat, Barentu and Tessenei Districts)	54	39	33
Red Sea area	22	8	11

Occupational Distribution

16. The bulk of the rural population of Eritrea is dependent on peasant farming and nomadic animal husbandry. Only to a limited extent do the rural dwellers find employment in mining and industry or collect forestry products on a seasonal basis; others engage in agricultural work on farming concessions, often also on a seasonal basis. The former extensive migratory employment in the army and in public works has ceased. Some 60 per cent of the rural dwellers are peasant cultivators, chiefly on the highlands, and the remaining 40 per cent lead a wholly or partly nomadic existence in the drier areas:⁹

Eritrea's rural population according to way of life

Region	Settled agriculturalists	Nomadic and semi-nomadic
Highlands	388,000	62,000
Western Province	80,000	253,000
Red Sea area	17,000	47,000
TOTAL	485,000	362,000

17. The occupational distribution of the urban population of Eritrea can be established only in part, due chiefly to the absence of reliable figures of employment in commerce (where there are some 5,000 licence-holders) and in domestic service. The following table reflects some of the principal avenues of employment outside farming (not allowing for mine-workers who may be rural and including juvenile factory workers). Owing to lack of security and to certain restrictions referred to later, the present-day figures understate the normal size of the mine labour force.

⁸ *Reservation by Guatemala:* The delegation of Guatemala objected to this division, considering it tendentious, and suggested that the present administrative division be followed; otherwise the paragraph should be deleted.

The proposal to delete paragraph 15 was rejected.

In favour: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Against: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

⁹ *Reservation by Guatemala:* The declaration made by the delegation of Guatemala in respect to paragraph 15 is also applicable to paragraph 16.

The proposal to delete paragraph 16 was rejected.

In favour: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Principal avenues of employment outside farming

Occupation	Eritreans	Europeans
Principal manufacturing industries (1947 data)	23,900	5,000
Mining (1947 data)	3,200	400
Public services (including railways, harbours and roads) (1950 data)	8,200	2,400

Italian Population

18. Since the British occupation of Eritrea, the Italian population has been progressively reduced, both by emigration and repatriation. The extent of the decline is shown below:

Italian population in Eritrea

1941	60,000
1944	40,050
1945	36,800
1946	31,800
1947	27,000
1950 (March)	20,000

19. The Italians and half-castes very largely provide Eritrea with artisans, technicians, professional men and *entrepreneurs*. Muslim merchants share commercial leadership with them. It cannot be gainsaid that a continued reduction in the Italian population of Eritrea will have detrimental effects on the economic activities of the territory, apart from the purely agricultural activities.¹⁰ In native farming, the impact of western technique and organization has been negligible, and the methods are still traditional. But in other fields higher standards of training are required than the bulk of the Eritreans possess. The Commission has been informed that not less than 70 per cent of them are illiterate. As yet a little less than 10,000 Eritreans attend school, which is approximately 6 per cent of the Eritrean population of school age.

B. FARM PRODUCTION AND FARMING RESOURCES OF ERITREA

The Present Farm Output

20. The enumeration of crop production, livestock numbers, and the area of cultivated and cultivable land in Eritrea is undertaken by agricultural officers in each district, working through the village elders or family chiefs.

21. After the British occupation, the return to farming of a large number of men who had been drafted in the Italian Army assisted in effecting an increase in the production of cereals under the pressure of payment and shipping difficulties. As shown by the following table, the output of cereals and pulses has risen from the order of 50,000 to 100,000 tons per annum, and the area cultivated from roughly 300,000 to 600,000 acres.

Against: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Paragraph 16, as amended, was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Against: Guatemala, Pakistan.

¹⁰ *Reservation by Norway:* The delegation of Norway voted for the deletion of the third sentence (beginning with the words "it cannot"), considering that a further reduction of the Italian population would be only a normal process, tending to limit this population to figures comparable with the number of Italians who lived in Eritrea before the Italian invasion of Ethiopia (about 5,000).

Crop production in Eritrea

Year	Tonnage	Acreage
1937	49,700	307,000
1938	31,700	183,000
1939	31,600	141,000
1940	45,300	—
1941	34,400	162,000
1942	70,900	297,000
1943	69,000	275,000
1944	47,600	245,000
1945	72,100	437,000
1946	117,200	640,000
1947	95,000	520,000
1948	111,200	549,000
1949	94,000	614,000

22. Although livestock numbers, comparing 1928 with the present, have not increased as significantly as crop production, greater stability in numbers has been obtained through the continued application of animal medicine.

Livestock numbers in Eritrea

Year	Cattle	Goats and sheep	Camels	Horses, mules and donkeys
1928	749,000	1,897,000	79,000	59,000
1938	591,000	1,491,000	68,000	51,000
1946	1,200,000	2,200,000	105,000	83,000

23. Of the 100,000 tons of farm crops currently produced in Eritrea, cereals comprise practically 90 per cent, legumes and oilseeds 10 per cent. Coffee, cotton and tobacco are grown in limited quantities. Notwithstanding the recent marked increase in crop production, the territory is deficient in wheat (largely for European use), in millets for Eritrean consumption, and in oilseeds. Between 1947 and 1949, the following quantities of cereals (representing approximately one-sixth of requirements) were imported annually, as well as sugar, coffee and spices:

Eritrean food imports

	Tons	£
Wheat	7,400	253,000
Other cereals	5,200	312,000
Sugar	3,300	135,000
Coffee	500	75,000
Spices	850	57,000

24. The coffee plantations in the region of Fil-Fil, which in 1939 covered a considerable area, have been partly abandoned due to lack of security, and the yield much reduced.¹¹ The cotton plantations in the region of Tessenei were abandoned by decision of the Adminis-

¹¹ *Reservation by Norway*: The delegation of Norway voted against the insertion of the first and final sentences considering that they were not sufficiently exact nor fully proved.

The first sentence was adopted.
In favour: Burma, Guatemala, Pakistan, Union of South Africa.
Against: Norway.

tration and converted to food production; however, in 1949, cotton growing was again permitted in this region. The production of tobacco is licensed by the Tobacco Monopoly and present policy is to limit production to domestic requirements. This factor has played a part in limiting expansion, and it has been indicated to the Sub-Commission that tobacco-growing could be increased and, with experience, the quality improved.¹²

25. The principal area of crop production and animal husbandry is the highlands, the region with the best rainfall. Next follow the western lowlands, of approximately equal size but with a more precarious and lower rainfall, so that far less crops can be grown and fewer animals kept. Lastly there are the equally extensive eastern lowlands, which are largely desert so that crop production is limited to flood irrigation along the river estuaries, while the livestock population is necessarily restricted. Statistical details of these regions are shown below:¹³

Eritrea's natural farming regions and their output¹³

	Highlands	Western lowlands	Eastern lowlands
Area in acres	10,680,000	10,880,000	9,232,000
Acreage cultivated	392,000	135,000	33,500
Percentage cultivated	3.7	1.24	0.36
Crop tonnage	71,760 (Barley, taff, daggusa and wheat)	21,900 (Sorghum, maize and bultuc)	6,450 (Sorghum, maize and bultuc)
Cattle	730,000	350,000	100,000
Goats and sheep	870,000	800,000	450,000
Donkeys, mules and camels	93,000	87,000	6,000
Tonnage timber	3,600,000	4,500,000	900,000

The second sentence was adopted.
In favour: Burma, Guatemala, Pakistan, Union of South Africa.

Against: Norway.
The third sentence was adopted.
In favour: Burma, Guatemala, Pakistan, Union of South Africa.

Against: Norway.
The fourth sentence was adopted.
In favour: Burma, Guatemala, Pakistan, Union of South Africa.

Against: Norway.
Paragraph 24, as amended, was adopted.
In favour: Burma, Guatemala, Pakistan, Union of South Africa.

Abstention: Norway.
¹² *Reservation by Guatemala*: The declaration made by the delegation of Guatemala in respect to paragraphs 15 and 16 is also applicable to paragraph 25.

The description of the different agricultural regions of the territory is not acceptable since it is considered inexact and incomplete.

The proposal to delete the first three sentences of paragraph 25 was rejected.

In favour: Guatemala, Pakistan.
Against: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.
Paragraph 25, as amended, was adopted.
In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.
Against: Guatemala, Pakistan.

¹³ For the purpose of paragraphs 24 to 37, the highland area comprises the Hamasien and Serae Administrative Divisions together with those areas of the Akele Guzai Division and of the Keren and Nacfa districts of the Western Province not following the coastal plain. The eastern lowland area comprises the Red Sea Division together with the stretches of coastal plain of the Akele Guzai Division and of the Keren and Nacfa districts of the Western Province. The western lowland area comprises the Agordat, Barentu and Tessenei districts of the Western Province.

26. In view of seasonal differences in rainfall between the different natural regions and on account of inadequate grazing, it is customary for large numbers of livestock to migrate. This takes place from the Akele Guzai into the adjoining part of the eastern lowlands; from the highlands around Keren into the Pendice; from the Serae into the western lowlands; from north to south within the western lowlands; into Ethiopian territory from the highlands and also from the western lowlands when their rains fail. From the most northern part of the western lowlands cattle migration occurs into the adjoining coastal plains and the Sudan.¹⁴

27. It was shown earlier that 78 per cent of the Eritrean population subsist from farming which is obviously the mainstay of the Eritrean economy. Farming productivity, however, is very low, with obvious effects upon the standard of living of the bulk of the population who depend on it. On average, only 250 lbs. of cereals and legumes are produced yearly per rural dweller, while the average *per capita* holding of livestock is 1½ cattle and 2½ goats.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Reservation by Guatemala*: The delegation of Guatemala makes the most formal reservation in relation to this paragraph due to the fact that the corresponding information is contradictory and because the point relating to cattle migration across the frontiers has served as a political instrument to different interested groups and, in the opinion of the delegation of Guatemala, the Sub-Commission should not take sides in supporting either one of the two opinions, as it had not the opportunity of duly verifying the matter.

Reservation by the Union of South Africa: The delegation of the Union of South Africa points out that branches of the Unionist Party, at hearings, stated that migration occurred into Ethiopia; the Moslem League and the Moslem League of the Western Province generally denied but on occasion admitted this. That such movements do occur, as stated in the paragraph, are confirmed by the agricultural officers of the British Administration.

Paragraph 26 was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Against: Guatemala, Pakistan.

¹⁵ *Reservation by Guatemala*: The delegation of Guatemala proposed the suppression of the comment contained in this paragraph, considering it tendentious and without any sound base.

Reservation by Norway and the Union of South Africa: The delegation of Norway associates itself with the delegation of the Union of South Africa in pointing out that this very low level of agricultural productivity is fully confirmed by the crop yields derived from the report of the FAO Near East Pre-Conference Regional Meeting in Beirut during September, 1949. (FAO document C.49/1/6)

Yields of cereals and pulses
(Metric tons per hectare)

Egypt	2.4
Turkey	1.1
Iran	1.0
Lebanon	1.0
Syria	0.8
Transjordan	0.8
Eritrea	0.5
Ethiopia	0.5

The proposal to delete the second sentence was rejected.

In favour: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Against: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

The proposal to delete the third sentence was rejected.

In favour: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Against: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

The proposal to delete the fourth sentence (removed from text) was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Guatemala, Pakistan.

Against: Norway.

Abstention: Union of South Africa.

Paragraph 27, as amended, was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Against: Guatemala, Pakistan.

28. The farming productivity of a country depends on whether the climate is favourable and the soil fertile and on the extent to which farming methods have been developed and are aided by mechanical and scientific means.

A rainfall map is attached as appendix D.¹⁶

29. Eritrea is almost wholly frost-free. This would have been a considerable advantage in crop production were it not that, throughout most of the territory, the rainfall is less than twenty inches per annum—the minimum for dry-land crops in warm climates. Indeed, the extensive coastal lowlands are practically desert—very hot in summer and with a winter rainfall varying from nil in the south to only eight inches in the north. The remainder of the territory has summer rainfall. Again, the extensive western lowlands are hot and arid, and it is only in the southern reaches between the Gash and Setit rivers that rainfall up to twenty inches is recorded, but it is very patchy, with wide fluctuations from season to season so that crop production is exceedingly precarious notwithstanding the good soil. Cultivation is moreover restricted by the fact that underground supplies of drinking water are scarce in this region—a phenomenon common to the adjoining Sudanese plains. On the Eritrean highlands, the rainfall is more assured, reaching over twenty inches in the southern parts but declining to fourteen inches north of Asmara towards Keren. Precipitation in this densely populated region is, however, badly distributed; it is torrential and restricted to three to four months, the

¹⁶ *Reservation by Guatemala*: The delegation of Guatemala states that it cannot accept paragraphs 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32 of the report because these paragraphs contain an inexact, partial and tendentious view regarding the economic prospects of Eritrea and because that opinion is based exclusively on the points of view of the British Administration, disregarding other sources of information. The Guatemalan delegation calls attention particularly to the fact that appendix "A" of the report of the Eritrean Chamber of Commerce, containing a survey of the water supply problem and possibilities for its solution, was not taken into consideration.

Reservation by Norway and the Union of South Africa: The delegation of Norway associates itself with the delegation of the Union of South Africa in pointing out that paragraphs 28 to 32 inclusive are based on actual rainfall and soil data gathered during the Italian regime and the period of British occupation. The report of the Chamber of Commerce contains in appendix A a scheme for conserving water for hydro-electric and irrigation purposes, but states that it has not been possible to ascertain "the real possibilities". The report of the C.R.I.E. generalizes and indicates that they "do not dare to attempt any anticipation by figures within the agricultural or in the zootechnical fields, because an estimate of this kind would prove too elastic, and too closely tied to the optimistic or pessimistic views of the expositer".

Paragraph 28, as amended, was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Abstention: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Paragraph 29, as amended, was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Against: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Paragraph 30 was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Against: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Paragraph 31, as amended, was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Against: Guatemala.

Abstention: Pakistan.

Paragraph 32 was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Against: Guatemala, Pakistan.

rest of the year being dry and dusty. A small area on the eastern slopes of the highlands receives both winter and summer rains, totalling forty inches—a true paradise in this dry and denuded land, which has not a single river that runs for more than three months in the year, except the Setit which originates in Ethiopia and forms part of the common frontier.¹⁰

30. While the highlands have the most favourable rainfall, cultivable soil is scarce, patchy, very stony and infertile. This region has a high altitude, mostly from 6,000 to 8,000 feet, and in the main it is an amazingly broken region with fold on fold of precipitous mountains except around Asmara and in the Serae where it flattens out. Small fields throughout the mountain area are characteristic, but since only rudimentary terracing has been carried out and proper levelling is rare, this already denuded region with its torrential rains in three months of the year, is the prey of unrestricted erosion by storm-water and wind. This is a most serious matter for the economy of the whole of Eritrea, as this densely populated region has a vital agricultural significance.¹⁰

31. The soil carried away by the seasonal runoff is deposited in the eastern and western plains of Eritrea or outside its borders. In the eastern lowlands, extensive cultivation on the fertile alluvial soils is practised under flood irrigation—the water being diverted to the adjacent flat fields by a series of earth banks in the river beds, so that practically no water reaches the sea. In the western lowlands, the Sub-Commission learned on verbal evidence, but did not have access to the actual document, that half the water from the Gash river has to be released for the Sudan cotton plantations by international agreement, but an extensive irrigation scheme has been developed within the Eritrean borders at Tesenei. Little irrigation development has as yet occurred along the Setit river.¹⁶

32. It will be apparent, therefore, that the low productivity of the Eritrean farming industry and the deficient total farm output are not accidental. They reflect the fact that Eritrea is an inherently poor farming country, short of water and short of cultivable land where there is water.¹⁰

33. This accounts for the very limited proportions of cultivated land and still cultivable land in the three natural farming regions of the territory:

¹⁷ *Reservation by Guatemala:* The delegation of Guatemala proposed to add the following text: "These percentages are normal in most of the African countries", which is based on paragraphs 18 and 19 of document A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.9.

Reservation by the Union of South Africa: The delegation of the Union of South Africa opposed the proposal of the Guatemalan delegation because international comparisons of percentages of cultivable land have no valid significance unless relative population densities, which are high in Eritrea, are also considered.

The proposal to add the text quoted above was rejected.

In favour: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Against: Norway, Union of South Africa.

Abstention: Burma.

Paragraph 32 was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Abstention: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Presently cultivated and total cultivable land

Region	Total area cultivated		Total area cultivable	
	Acres	Percentage	Acres	Percentage
Highlands	392,000	3.7	440,000	4.15
Western lowlands	135,000	1.24	165,000	2.75
Eastern lowlands.	33,500	0.36	40,000	0.43
TOTAL	560,500	1.82	780,000	2.57 ¹⁷

34. Most of Eritrea is fit largely for a migratory form of animal husbandry, and its total area has been classified as follows:

	Area in acres	Percentage
Cultivable land	780,000	2.6
Forest	1,520,000	5.0
Scrub	1,843,000	6.0
Pasture	22,997,000	74.7
Mineral reservations	55,000	0.2
Waste land	3,525,000	11.5
TOTAL	30,720,000	100.0 ¹⁸

35. On the highlands, any increased acreage will be at the expense of grazing land which is already heavily stocked. In the eastern lowlands, only a modest expansion is possible by further flood irrigation. The western lowlands alone present considerable scope for expansion, subject to various limiting factors. The area is malarial so that the highland dwellers shun it. There is a serious dearth of underground drinking water. Extended cultivation along the river beds would be partly at the expense of the dum palms which fringe the banks and provide the raw materials for manufacturing industries. Consequently, resort would have to be had to irrigation and pumping schemes which are expensive.¹⁹

36. It has been estimated that if and when increases in cultivable acreage which are technically possible could be accomplished, 40,000 additional tons of grain crops could be produced. This would more than meet the

¹⁸ The Guatemalan proposal to delete the first sentence as far as "and" was rejected.

In favour: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Against: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

The Burma proposal to replace "only" by "largely" was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Union of South Africa.

Abstention: Guatemala, Norway, Pakistan.

Paragraph 34, as amended, was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Abstention: Guatemala, Pakistan.

¹⁹ *Reservation by Guatemala:* The delegation of Guatemala extends to paragraphs 35 to 38 inclusive the same observations as were made for paragraphs 28 to 32 inclusive.

Paragraph 35, as amended, was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Against: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Paragraph 36, as amended, was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Against: Guatemala.

Abstention: Pakistan.

Paragraph 37, as amended, was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Against: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Paragraph 38, as amended, was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Against: Guatemala, Pakistan.

existing cereal deficit and permit of a necessary improvement in the nutritional level. On the other hand, the human and animal population would have grown and the basic problem would remain that the highland farming region would have to be rehabilitated.¹⁹

37. Agricultural rehabilitation of the highlands certainly is a more pressing problem than mere increases in acreage. Terracing and levelling throughout the area is rudimentary, and satisfactory results must involve considerable labour over a long period. The land system in this area, which provides no individual security of tenure, however, is a complete obstacle and reform of land rights in primitive communities is difficult. Moreover, afforestation of the mountain sides is now hampered because generally there is no soil left at all, only bare rock, and the rainfall is such that the seedlings must everywhere be watered, and the little water available is located in deep gorges.¹⁹

38. Agricultural methods are primitive. At the same time, the steel-shafted wooden plough, drawn by two oxen and merely scratching the soil, is all that is suitable in most of the highland area with its meagre soil, and the lands are too small and stony for modern machinery. Seed improvement schemes as well as animal medicine, for which the basis was laid under the Italian regime, have been extended by the present Administration. Curative measures of this nature are always easier to introduce than preventive measures, and the attempts by the Administration to inculcate the elements of contouring, rotation systems and manuring instead of fallowing, care of trees and tree planting instead of cutting down what is still left, have so far borne little fruit.¹⁹

Farming Concessions

39. In the highlands, most of the land is held by Eritreans. All land below 350 metres altitude in the eastern lowlands and below 850 metres in the western lowlands were vested in the State by Italian law (1909). The bulk of this land is also cultivated by the indigenous people under customary law. Of a total area of approximately 600,000 acres, 516,000 acres are occupied by indigenous holders. Only 78,000 acres are held under State concessions, principally by Italian settlers, usually in small holdings of thirty acres. The concessions are frequently exceptional in that they are well-watered and can be farmed along modern lines. The experimental nature of these enterprises has been most important, but they have had so far little influence on Eritrean farming. The concessions further serve the important purpose of supplying the urban communities with citrus and tropical fruits, vegetables and dairy products and some produce sisal, coffee, cotton, tobacco, etc. An export trade has been built up in bananas, which are taken by Italy under preferential arrangements. Recently, some of the farming concessions were abandoned owing to lack of security.²⁰

²⁰ *Reservation by Burma*: The delegation of Burma points out that the facts contained in paragraph 39 concerning the farming concessions are confirmed by the statement made by the Italo-Eritrean Association of Asmara of 20 March 1950: communication No. 165, listed in document A/AC.34/R.165.

The sentence was adopted as amended.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Against: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Interdependence of the different Climatic Regions

40. The highlands and the eastern and western lowlands in part complement each other economically by their diversity of agricultural and animal products, by the interchange of agricultural raw materials for industries, by their differences in climate and seasons, and also by the facilities which they offer each other for the seasonal migration of livestock.

C. MINING ACTIVITIES AND MINERAL RESOURCES

41. Organized exploration was instituted late in the Italian regime, by three semi-public concerns. One company explored for gold in the western lowlands from 1937 till 1940, and while the records are incomplete, it appears that it covered about 60 per cent of the area. From 1939 till 1941 another company explored for copper and iron, and later for nickel in the far north. On the Dahlak Islands off Massawa extensive drilling for petroleum was carried out from 1938 to 1940 by a third concern. No drilling records are available and the existence or otherwise of petroleum is not known. Geological survey and exploratory work were not continued by the British Administration after the cessation of the activities of the semi-public Italian mining concerns, while uncertainty and insecurity have deterred private enterprise. Individual prospecting has continued on a small scale, twenty-nine licences being in force now. The explorations which were undertaken have contributed much to the previous small knowledge of Eritrean geology and mining possibilities, although for the territory as a whole this knowledge is still most incomplete.

42. The gold occurrences, of which more is known than of other minerals, consist of thin, broken, vertical quartz veins along the southern and south-western peripheries of the central granitic massive, and with low gold values (4 to 5 grammes per ton). In the south-western plains the outcrop veins are thicker (3 to 4 metres), and the gold values higher (9 grammes per ton). Iron ore deposits have been reported near Massawa and Ghinda, following prospecting during 1940 and 1941, but total only seventeen million tons, two million tons of which have an iron oxide content of 60 per cent and the remainder an average of 42 per cent.²⁰ Nickel and copper ores, in unknown quantity, and of low quality in the case of nickel, were discovered following explorations in the north. White asbestos of good quality is known to exist there but in locations difficult of access. Traces of manganese, titanium, magnesium and chromium have been found. Mica and vermiculite occur in small quantities. The mica is broken up and at present is not exported. The British Administration expressed the opinion that, judging from the life of the mines, exportation did not prove very profitable.²¹ Sodium and potassium salts, on the other hand, exist in considerable and payable quantities in the Dankalia depression, but the strip falling within the present Eritrean boundary with Ethiopia is not more than five miles wide by twenty-five miles long, the major area of the depression being on the Ethiopian side. Kaolin and feldspar of good quality exist and they are exploited for local needs only at the moment. There is one place which could yield

²¹ *Reservation by Guatemala*:

The delegation of Guatemala considers that the opinion expressed in this sentence has not been proved.

an exportable quality but it has not yet been worked. The marble deposits of the territory are extensive, and building- and road-stone abound. Coal has not so far been found except small seams of low-grade lignite in the Serae, incapable of commercial exploitation.

43. Gold mining is by far the most important mining activity. Production, which commenced mainly after 1937, had reached 17,000 ounces by 1940. After 1940, the gold mines were totally or partially destroyed, and only during the last five years was the exploitation resumed in some of them with the following production:

	<i>Ounces</i>
1945	2,300
1946	3,750
1947	4,600
1948	2,550
1949	2,800

One of the main factors which contributes to the present reduced production is the difficulty of replacing machinery which existed before the war and which was dismantled or destroyed. Another important factor is the lack of security which prevails in the territory. Five mines have been destroyed or seriously damaged by terrorism since 1948 and seven were closed down in the face of prevailing insecurity. A recent reform in 1946 of the mineral law has made the working of mines somewhat more difficult, in the sense that the exploitation of any mine cannot be authorized unless a previous agreement is reached between the owner of the land and the *entrepreneur*, and that some of the land owners impose very onerous conditions. There is no doubt, too, that the uncertain future of the territory has discouraged further exploration and development. The economic development has also operated. The taxes on gold mines include a tax of 0.50 shillings per hectare per year and a royalty of 1½ per cent on the output with subsequent exemption from income tax. The cost of production has been estimated as being between 7.25 and 7.30 shillings per gramme in the highlands and a little less in the lowlands. The official price paid by Barclays Bank is 6.25 to 6.50 per gramme but sale is permitted on the free market, mostly to merchants and jewellers, at a price which varies around 8.50 shillings but which has been as high as 11 shillings per gramme.

44. The presence of still undisclosed mineral resources in Eritrea cannot, of course, be excluded. Apart from the gold veins of the highlands and Western Province, only the northern area, where copper, nickel of low grade, asbestos of long staple and traces of chromium and magnetite were found in association, compares geologically with other areas in the world where minerals have been found. Although water is not needed in the exploitation of all minerals, it is a serious disadvantage that this region lacks water and is difficult of access from the coast. Then there is the Dankalia plain, waterless and hot, which has not been explored for more than 7 to 10 per cent. There are strains of copper, zinc and lead but no worthwhile deposits of them have been discovered. The coastal plain north of Massawa has sediments of miocenic age which have not yet been drilled for petroleum.

45. Undoubtedly, Eritrea cannot be considered as a region favoured by mineral wealth. On the other hand, no one can assuredly say that Eritrea is poor. The geology of the territory is too incompletely known to permit of any definite statement. Further study and capital are

required in order to classify even the known deposits, which, although located in places of difficult access, might in future prove worthwhile exploiting.

D. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN ERITREA

Principal Industrial Features

46. Before 1936, manufacturing activity in Eritrea was mainly limited to those products which Italy could not readily supply. The situation changed under the active policy in the ensuing years, and considerable expansion took place. This was largely ancillary to the public works programme and the large motor transport fleet which also served the hinterland. Cement, brick and tile factories were established as well as numerous construction enterprises and motor workshops. More food plants, furniture factories, electrical workshops, etc., came into being to cater for the needs of the enlarged Italian population.

47. After the war many of the transport undertakings, workshops and construction enterprises had to close down, and later, with the cessation of the war-time and public works demand, the Italian cement factory was moved to the Sudan. The war-time shortage of shipping and supplies had, however, thrown the territory back on its own resources, and with the aid of a large accumulation of diverse materials and equipment dumped at Massawa during the war, a new phase of industrial expansion set in from 1943. Various new manufacturing industries, making such consumer goods as bottles, paper, matches and beer, came into being during this period. To some extent a mushroom growth also took place, and when overseas supplies and the means to pay for them became less difficult, accompanied by a decline in the Italian population and demand, a number of enterprises had to close down.

48. For its size, Eritrea nevertheless has a considerable diversity of manufacturing establishments. Many of these—such as flour mills, flour paste factories, edible oil and soap plants, wineries (using mainly imported raisins), furniture factories, the bottle and glassware production, the wrapping paper factory, the tobacco monopoly—supply the food needs and conventional necessities of the local population. In some cases, the raw materials of these plants must be imported from adjoining or more distant countries. A number of other factories, however, cater partly or entirely for the export market, using mostly local raw materials. The principal export industries are listed below, their source of raw materials and labour force being also shown:

Principal export manufacturing industries, 1949

<i>Product</i>	<i>Source of raw materials</i>	<i>Workers employed</i>	
		<i>Eritreans</i>	<i>Europeans</i>
Beer (two-thirds exported)	Mainly imported ..	210	25
Matches	Mainly local	495	11
Vegetable fibres (1947 data)	Local	1,500	68
Glass and ceramics (1947 data)	Local	1,030	54
Buttons:			
Trocas	Local	500	25
Dum-nut	Local	700	40
Tanning	Local and Ethiopian	180	1
Salt	Local	850	31
Fish-meal	Local	135	18

49. The salt output is shipped to the East, and but-tons and leather to the continent of Europe and to the United Kingdom. Beer, matches and chinaware find a market principally in the Sudanese, Ethiopian and Red Sea areas.

50. The Commission was able to inspect various factories in Eritrea. Some are modern; many are not. Eritrean factory wages are low and their labour conditions are not controlled in accordance with international labour conventions. Child labour of both sexes is extensively employed, subject to periodic medical examination for fitness, and usually at a wage of less than one shilling per eight- to nine-hour day in a six-day week.²²

Power and Water Supply

51. Lacking coalfields, the principal source of motive and tractive power and for the generation of electricity in Eritrea is imported petroleum fuel and coal. In view of the restricted rainfall and the absence of any permanent stream flow, the possibilities of hydro-electric development are naturally restricted. The annual output of electric power is now about 22,500,000 kwh per annum of which some 2,500,000 kwh are derived from hydro-electric sources. As with the provision of a water supply for the larger towns, hydro-electric works require a canal system to collect the water in the first instance. The resulting capital cost must obviously be high, especially since evaporation losses at the high altitudes and warm climate of the highlands average as much as 50 per cent.²³

Future Industrial Progress

52. The industrial experience which has been gained in Eritrea, the low wage level, and the remarkable ingenuity often displayed by Italian technicians in improvising plant and putting domestic raw materials to use, augur well for the industrial set-up of the territory. Given political stability and security of person and property, a higher level of industrial activity might well be attained, as the existing uncertainty and high interest rates have undoubtedly exercised deterrent effects.

53. Where competitive difficulties threaten individual branches of industry, the grant of protective duties could conceivably help, as few such duties are in force at present. But in the main, the magnitude of industrial employment in Eritrea will be determined by factors of a more basic kind.²⁴ Eritrea offers a very small market of its own. It is poorly endowed with raw materials from farming. There are no known local sources of

power supply, other than a naturally limited hydro-electric supply. Industrial minerals are not known to exist in quantity. The output of forest products, though invaluable, is limited, the dum palm thriving only alongside the water courses in the lowlands, and the matchwood supply, secured from the slow-maturing euphorbia on the highlands, is already diminishing. It would be unwarranted in these circumstances to expect considerable industrial expansion in the territory, although fuller utilization especially of its marine resources and animal products still offers scope for development.²⁵

E. RAIL AND ROAD TRANSPORT

The Transport Network

54. Eritrea has one railroad. It links the port of Massawa with Asmara on the central highlands, and proceeds via Keren, some sixty-five miles north-west, to Agordat in the western lowlands. The track is 224 miles long and has good motor roads adjacent to it. In addition, a cross-country ropeway, at present inoperative, links Massawa and Asmara.

55. The road system of the territory is extensive, and truly an engineering feat in view of the very broken and mountainous terrain. In all, 385 miles of road are bituminized and 100 miles macadamized, connecting all the important centres of Eritrea. In addition, there are 1,400 miles of secondary roads and tracks, the latter often poor.

56. The railway, started in 1887 and completed in 1932, was primarily located with a view to connecting the harbour of Massawa with the Eritrean hinterland itself. Most of the roads were, however, constructed after 1936. Besides linking Eritrean centres, they were designed by the Italians to give access to Ethiopia—from the harbour of Massawa to the northern Tigray and Gondar Provinces of Ethiopia and thence to its centre, and from the smaller harbour of Assab, much further south, to the Dessie region. There is also a road link between the railhead at Agordat and Tessenei on the Sudan border. The ropeway was commenced in 1935 and completed in 1937. In the circumstances then visualized, it was designed to overcome traffic congestion on the railway due to the fact that the curvature and steep rise from sea-level to 8,000 feet restrict the gross load per train on the mountain section to a mere 100 tons, with the available locomotives.

²² The Guatemalan proposal to delete paragraph 50 was rejected.

In favour: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Against: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Paragraph 50 as amended was adopted:

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Against: Guatemala, Pakistan.

²³ Paragraph 51 as amended was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Against: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Reservation by Guatemala:

The delegation of Guatemala voted against this paragraph because the climate of the highlands of Eritrea is not warm, and because there is no reliable document available establishing the fact that evaporation reaches 50 per cent, and consequently there is no basis for this assertion.

²⁴ *Reservation by Norway:*

The delegation of Norway remarked, in connexion with this part of the paragraph, that statements made before the Commission by the C.R.I.E. to the effect that, given security, the industrial employment of the territory could be readily increased to 100,000, seemed unduly optimistic.

²⁵ The Guatemala proposal to delete that part of paragraph 53, beginning with the words "Eritrea offers" was rejected.

In favour: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Against: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Paragraph 53 was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Against: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Reservation by Guatemala:

The delegation of Guatemala objects to this paragraph because it contains a false impression of the economy of the territory and is drafted in a tendentious manner.

Traffic and Payability of the Railways

57. The railway does not pay. Revenues approximately match the cash expenditure of about £300,000 per annum, but with the return to normal peace-time traffic the revenues earned have not permitted any provision for current depreciation and eventual renewal of the track or rolling stock. The Railway Administration has indicated that the acquisition of some modern locomotives would result in certain economies. Attempted further increases in rates, however, have tended to destroy traffic in greater proportion. On the whole, therefore, payability of the railway will require an increase in the total traffic of the territory. In part, the present volume of goods carried is only secured as a result of a total prohibition, except for specified products, chiefly perishables, on competitive goods haulage by motor on the roads adjoining the entire rail route. Road traffic from Ethiopia to Massawa must, under this prohibition, be re-loaded on the train at Asmara, but fuel traffic to Ethiopia is allowed to go direct.

58. In the present abnormal circumstances,²⁶ traffic records indicate that goods traffic on the line from Asmara to Agordat is very meagre—only about sixty tons per day, with 800 passengers. The 220 tons and 800 passengers daily on the Asmara-Massawa section are as unimpressive, the more so since the flow is badly balanced, twice as much being sent inland as to the coast or for export. These low traffic densities demonstrate why the ropeway has not been kept in operation, except for purposes of maintenance, and even tend to cast doubt on the utility, at the low level of productivity of the country, of the dual rail and road network.

Road Motor Transport

59. In view of the restriction on road motor transport in competition with the railway, private transport is confined to local traffic on the less important routes and to the conveyance of goods from and to Ethiopia and the Sudan. In the latter case, the Railway Admin-

²⁶ *Reservation by Norway and the Union of South Africa:*

The delegations of Norway and the Union of South Africa consider that present traffic densities are practically normal for peace-time Eritrean economy.

istration itself possesses the road transport monopoly on the main route to Tessenei, which it lets by tender, collecting a surcharge on the road rates to augment railway revenue.

60. Despite the restrictions on private road motor transport, the road haulage undertakings are of considerable importance and financial significance to Eritrea, principally on account of the traffic they convey to and from Ethiopia. The transport fleet required during the period of construction of public works after 1936 and again during the Second World War was, of course, much larger than what is serviceable today. Compared with 7,000 heavy lorries in operation in 1940, 1,400 heavy lorries and 200 heavy trailers are registered at present. Registrations have, however, also been effected in Ethiopia for lorries plying to and from Eritrea.

61. In accordance with information received from the United Transporters of Eritrea, a voluntary association of road haulers, the present road motor fleet is adequate to cope with the traffic between Ethiopia and Eritrea, which is placed at about 70,000 tons per annum, and with internal Eritrean traffic, which is about half that magnitude. This traffic with Ethiopia is seasonal, and about double the volume moves out compared with the quantity moving in. Heavy taxes and charges must be paid to the Ethiopian Government by Eritrean motor haulers.

62. Geographically, Massawa is the natural outlet for oil-seeds, dura, taff and hides emanating from the Gondar district, as well as for the coffee crops from the Galla-Sidama districts. Assab, again, is the most favourably situated for wheat, dura and taff from the Dessie area, while coffee and hides from the Harar area go either by rail to Djibouti or by road to Assab. The French Somaliland harbour is also the shortest outlet from Addis Ababa. There has recently been a considerable increase in the traffic to Ethiopia via Assab. It appears cheaper to carry goods of high value in relation to weight by road via Assab rather than by rail via Djibouti, partly because of the high railway charges as compared with costs of road transport which are also high. The following figures give a comparison between the transit trade through Assab and Massawa :

Transit trade via Eritrean ports with Ethiopia

<i>Year</i>	<i>Via Massawa</i>		<i>Via Assab</i>	
	<i>£</i>	<i>Metric tons</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>Metric tons</i>
<i>(a) Inwards to Ethiopia</i>				
1947	712,000	5,400	124,000	600
1948	1,134,000	10,900	167,000	2,000
1949	1,052,000	11,600	374,000	10,000
<i>(b) Outwards from Ethiopia</i>				
1947	679,000	13,000	1,073,000	22,900
1948	709,000	13,300	1,184,000	22,200
1949	418,000	9,100	1,209,000	16,100
<i>(c) Total inwards and outwards</i>				
1947	1,391,000	18,400	1,197,000	23,500
1948	1,843,000	24,200	1,351,000	24,200
1949	1,470,000	20,700	1,583,000	26,100

63. Over-all the harbour of Massawa is of considerable importance to the Eritrean economy. This is evident from the total tonnage handled (excluding dhow traffic):

<i>Total tonnage handled at Massawa</i>		
<i>Year</i>	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Exports</i>
1938	779,000	45,000
1944	56,000	48,000
1947	79,000	119,000
1948	92,000	125,000
1949	89,000	129,000

F. FOREIGN TRADE

Imports and Exports

64. Eritrea's foreign trade conforms to the pattern of her domestic economy described above.²⁷ Her principal exports are hides and skins and marine products, dum-nut exports and manufactures such as beer and matches being far smaller. On the other hand, due to the deficient farm production and power supply of Eritrea, cereals and other foodstuffs as well as fuel bulk large in the import trade, in conjunction with textile requirements. Average import and export values are given below:

Foreign trade values, average 1947-1949

(a) <i>Exports</i>	£
Hides and skins	432,000
Marine products:	
Salt	£255,000
Trocas and mother-of-pearl buttons	130,000
Fish-meal	63,000
	448,000
Beer and matches	78,000
Dum nuts and buttons	68,000
Sundry	571,000
	TOTAL £1,597,000
(b) <i>Imports</i>	£
Textiles	664,000
Cereals	561,000
Other foodstuffs	660,000
Fuel and tires	390,000
Sundry	945,000
	TOTAL £3,220,000

65. Italy has remained the principal market for Eritrean produce, the adjoining African and Arabian areas figuring next on the list, followed by the United Kingdom. Thus:

Eritrean export markets, 1947-1949 (Re-exports excluded)

	£
Italy	640,000
North Africa and Arabia	450,000
United Kingdom	111,000
Other countries	396,000
	TOTAL £1,597,000

²⁷ The Guatemala proposal to insert the words "colonial economic policy" in place of the words "domestic economy" was rejected.

In favour: Guatemala.

Against: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Abstention: Pakistan.

66. As the source of cereals and other foodstuffs, Ethiopia is by far the largest supplier to Eritrea, and enjoys a preferential tariff on many of these essentials. Since the occupation, the United Kingdom has moved into the position of the second most important supplier, while Iran, Italy and the Sudan rank next in that order. The distribution of import trade is subject to the operation of exchange and import control.

Countries supplying Eritrea, 1947-1949

	£
Ethiopia	1,385,000
United Kingdom	578,000
Aden	360,000
Iran	152,000
Italy	125,000
Sudan	106,000
Other countries	494,000

THREE-YEAR AVERAGE TOTAL £3,200,000

Transit Trade

67. Imports into Eritrea are about double the value of the exports. Leaving out of account the substantial but temporary re-exportation of scrap iron, vehicles and machinery in recent years, the normally unfavourable trade balance has in large part to be made good from earnings accruing as a result of the importance of the territory as an *entrepôt* centre. These earnings accrue to the extensive motor transport fleet to which reference has previously been made, and also comprise commission and harbour charges, insurance, etc. Another important item is the value added to Ethiopian products re-sorted, cleaned or processed for re-export—a course which is facilitated by the fact that Italy has maintained her preferential import duties on Eritrean produce, for which such Ethiopian produce is said also to qualify.

68. The transit trade via Eritrea is almost exclusively to and from Ethiopia. The in-transit imports chiefly consist of textiles, petroleum fuel and tires, while the in-transit exports from Ethiopia principally consist of coffee, oil-seeds, cereals, hides and skins. In recent years the value of the transit trade has totalled £3,000,000 per annum, compared with Eritrea's own import-export trade total of £4,700,000. The connexion²⁸ between Eritrea and its Ethiopian hinterland on the one side and the Arabian territories and other countries supplying, or buying from, Ethiopia is clearly apparent from these figures.

Inward and Outward Remittances

69. The *entrepôt* trade earnings in conjunction with dollar receipts from American personnel in Eritrea have resulted in a close balance between foreign receipts and remittances in recent years. As the country became restocked after the war, it has accordingly become possible for the Administration to relax both the import and exchange control systems although they have not been finally abolished.

²⁸ The Guatemala proposal to delete the word "vital" before "connexion" was adopted.

In favour: Burma, Guatemala, Pakistan.

Against: Norway, Union of South Africa.

Inward and outward remittances

Item	1947	1948	1949
Payments for imports	2,036,000	1,735,000	1,470,000
Family maintenance and capital transfers	23,000	40,000	128,000
Miscellaneous	607,000	429,000	1,224,000
TOTAL OUTWARD REMITTANCES	2,666,000	2,204,000	2,822,000
Less inward remittances	2,685,000	2,145,000	2,872,000
Surplus (+) or deficit (-) .	+19,000	-59,000	+50,000

G. FINANCE

The Tax System

70. The Italian tax system for Eritrea is still in force, and makes provision for a large number of direct and indirect taxes. As seen below, the yield from some taxes is negligible :

Estimated tax yields, 1949-1950

(a) *Direct taxes*

	£	£
Income tax	225,000	
Native tribute	56,000	
Stamp duties	49,000	
Motor vehicle licences	33,000	
Registration fees	28,000	
Rents from State lands	25,000	
Trade licences	14,500	
Entertainment tax	12,000	
Property tax	10,000	
Animal taxes	6,000	
Miscellaneous	22,500	
	481,000	

(b) *Indirect taxes*

	£	£
Customs duties	355,000	
Monopoly profits on tobacco and matches	155,000	
Excise on spirits, wine, beer and petrol	144,000	
1½ per cent transit fees	44,000	
Statistical dues	20,000	
	718,000	
	£1,199,000	

Revenue is also derived from other sources as follows :

Other sources of revenue

	£	£
Railways	329,000	
Posts and telegraphs	158,800	
Harbour charges	54,600	
Hospital fees	23,000	
Airport charges	19,200	
Veterinary fees	18,200	
School fees	3,700	
Departmental receipts and sundry	69,300	
Army and other reimbursements	537,200	
	1,213,000	

The total revenue shown in the estimates for 1949-1950 therefore amounts to £2,412,000

71. The British Administration has expressed the opinion that the tax system could with advantage be simplified to effect economies in collection. It further appears that post and telegraph rates and veterinary fees cover the costs of these services. The medical, railway and port services are, however, rendered at rates which would not nearly cover costs if due provision were made for capital depreciation, but it is not considered practicable by the Administration to increase the charges. The Administration also does not deem it wise to increase the general level of customs duties and so raise

the cost of living; customs revenue already averages 15 per cent of total import values. Income tax, levied at progressive rates on incomes exceeding £60 per annum, averages 10 to 12 per cent, while the taxes on petrol total 1.25 East African shillings per gallon. In the circumstances the Administration considers that further increases could not be considered, although a poll tax on the indigenous population might be entertained. The C.R.I.E. has also pointed out that the following forms of taxation could be considered :

(a) Application of a succession tax on the Eritrean population;

(b) Taxes on buildings which have hitherto been exempt by reason of the ten-year exemption;

(c) Levelling of rentals for State premises and abolition of free houses and free services;

(d) Setting up a fixed licence tax for small trade income;

(e) Increase of postal tariffs.

The Budget Deficit

72. The British Administration has not succeeded in fully balancing the Eritrean budget. The gross deficit from June 1941 until 1950 is £1,508,000. This, however, includes £970,000 spent on relief and repatriation of Italians, which should be excluded from the territory's normal finance. The resulting net deficit over the past nine years thus comes to £538,000. It should be noted that the costs of the military occupation forces are not included in the computation, being met directly by the British Government.

The table below sets out for 1949-1950 the estimated expenditure of the territory under the principal headings :

Summary of estimated expenditures for 1949-1950

	£
Chief Administrator	4,015
Administration—Secretariat	25,340
Administration—Districts	132,620
Agriculture and Forestry	56,737
Custodian of Property	10,860
Customs and Excise	83,485
Education	107,400
Finance and Accounts	37,730
Government Press	28,040
Grants and Subsidies	13,500
Labour	13,210
Legal and Judicial	39,310
Medical	240,475
Miscellaneous	68,730
Police and Prisons	396,059
Ports and Lights	58,110
Posts and Telegraphs	98,285
Public Works Department	55,934
Public Works recurrent	179,350
Railways	353,017
Relief and Settlement	68,373
Revenue Department	15,485
Trade and Supplies	18,090
Transport	182,930
Veterinary	32,947
Repatriation Department	—
Airports	27,430
TOTAL ORDINARY EXPENDITURE	£2,347,462
Public Works extraordinary	26,750
Recoverable expenditure	444,590
TOTAL EXTRAORDINARY EXPENDITURE	471,340
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	£2,818,802

73. The budget deficit is under-stated by virtue of the fact that the Administration has been conducted on a care-and-maintenance basis only. No provision for capital renewals has been made and avoidable capital expenditure, which may in reality be vitally necessary, has not been incurred. The Administration points out that, for 1950-51, considerable capital reconstruction, which can no longer be deferred, has to be undertaken, thus markedly increasing the estimated budget deficit for the ensuing year.²⁹

74. From a long-term point of view, the much-needed expansion of the medical service and educational programme as well as the heavy cost of urgent agricultural rehabilitation, would considerably augment the level of public expenditure. In this connexion the Eritrean Chamber of Commerce has expressed the view that a balanced budget could then nevertheless be secured by

²⁹ The proposal to delete paragraphs 73, 74 and 75 was rejected.

In favour: Guatemala, Pakistan.

Against: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Paragraphs 73, 74 and 75 were adopted.

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Against: Guatemala, Pakistan.

³⁰ *Reservation by Guatemala:* The present report of the Economic Sub-Commission, which was drafted not as a result of discussions on the information received but with the undue interference of the Chairman of the Sub-Commission, the representative of South Africa, is inexact, incomplete, partial, tendentious and even inconsistent. It does not correspond to any just or objective evaluation of the information obtained and is almost exclusively based on interested sources, and therefore does not reflect the economic reality of the territory.

In view of the comments made during the discussion of the proj-

enhanced taxes on Eritreans, having regard to the fact that the direct tax burden per European inhabitant is £46 per annum, but only four shillings per annum in the case of Eritreans.²⁹

75. The ability to pay taxes depends on earnings, and the Eritrean peasantry have a very low *per capita* output, and lack the opportunity to supplement their earnings through the large-scale migratory employment common to many other parts of Africa. As in the case of other countries which are in a backward state, Eritrea would, therefore, doubtless require financial assistance for the extension of her social services and the exploration and rehabilitation of her resources.²⁹

76. *The report was adopted.*³⁰

In favour: Burma, Norway, Union of South Africa.

Against: Guatemala, Pakistan.

ect and taking into account the fundamental amendments that were proposed with the object of remedying, at least in part, these irregularities, which were rejected by a majority of one vote or by an equal number of votes and, that the above-mentioned report, as it now stands, gives an erroneous idea of the economic reality of Eritrea and can be presented to favour a determined tendency with regard to the political solution of the problem, the delegation of Guatemala is forced to reject it; and to vote against it; and to reserve its position with regard to any possible implication that might arise from its approval (*translation from Spanish*).

Reservation by Pakistan: The delegation of Pakistan is unable to accept the report. In its opinion, it does not correctly or completely reflect the economic position or possibilities of Eritrea, based as it is almost entirely on one source, which source is interested in a particular solution of the problem.

APPENDIX A

Replies to questionnaires and requests for information addressed to the British Administration and communications from organizations relating to the work of the Economic Sub-Commission

I. QUESTIONNAIRES AND REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION ADDRESSED TO THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

1. First communication dated 2 March 1950 (A/AC.34/R.47) in reply to the First Questionnaire dated 21 February 1950 (A/AC.34/R.21).

Question 7. Distribution of population.

2. Second communication dated 2 March 1950 (A/AC.34/R.49) in reply to the First Questionnaire (A/AC.34/R.21).

Question 6. Education.

3. Third communication dated 13 March 1950 (A/AC.34/R.81) in reply to the First Questionnaire (A/AC.34/R.21).

Question 8. Finance.

Question 9. Trade.

Question 10. Trade and Finance.

4. First communication dated 7 March 1950 (A/AC.34/R.68) in reply to the Second Questionnaire dated 23 February 1950 (A/AC.34/R.28).

Request for up-to-date information contained in appendices 73, 76, 81 and 82, of the Four-Power Commission report (Education, Public Service Employment and Public Health).

Note: At the fourth meeting of the Sub-Commission held on 27 March 1950, information additional to that supplied in documents A/AC.34/R.49 and A/AC.34/R.68 was requested from the British Administration.

Replies to questions 1 and 2 (Education and Public Service Employment) of the Sub-Commission's request were received on 3 April 1950, and are contained in document A/AC.34/SC.1/R.4.

Replies to questions 3 and 4, dealing with public health, have not yet been received.

5. Second communication dated 7 March 1950 (A/AC.34/R.69) in reply to the Second Questionnaire (A/AC.34/R.28).

Question 2 (a), (b), (d), (e). Agriculture and population.

Question 3. Mineral Resources.

Note: At the sixth meeting of the Sub-Commission held on 30 March 1950 (Hearing on Mineral Resources) the following information was requested from the British Administration:

(1) The extent of prospecting and the geological structure of Eritrea;

(2) Mining licences issued during the past five years;

(3) Data on exploration activities of AMAO, COMINA and AGIP.

Replies to questions 1 and 3 were received on 10 April 1950, and are contained in document A/AC.34/SC.1/R.6.

Information on mining licences was received on 27 April 1950, and is contained in document A/AC.34/SC.1/R.9.

6. Fourth communication dated 17 March 1950 (A/AC.34/R.101) in reply to the Second Questionnaire (A/AC.34/R.28).

Request for up-to-date information contained in the following appendices of the Four-Power Commission report: 46, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 74 and 79 (Industry, Trade and Finance).

Note: At the fifth meeting of the Sub-Commission held on 28 March 1950 (Hearing on Trade and Finance) the following information was requested from the British Administration:

(1) Native tribute collections 1947, 1948, 1949;

(2) Transit trade statistics, Assab and Massawa 1947, 1948 and 1949;

(3) An explanatory note on the property tax.

The information requested was received on 1 April 1950, and is contained in document A/AC.34/SC.1/R.3.

7. Fifth communication dated 25 March 1950 (A/AC.34/R.132) in reply to the Second Questionnaire (A/AC.34/R.28).

Question 2 (c). Industrial Production.

Request for up-to-date information contained in appendices 31 and 32 of the Four-Power Commission report (Distribution of cultivated land and crop yields).

8. Sixth communication dated 27 March 1950 (A/AC.34/R.133) in reply to the Second Questionnaire (A/AC.34/R.28).

Request for up-to-date information contained in appendix 6 of the Four-Power Commission report (Division of Eritrean population of Asmara according to occupation).

9. Communication dated 24 March 1950 (A/AC.34/R.129) in reply to the Third Questionnaire dated 7 March 1950 (A/AC.34/R.58).

Questions 1 to 5 inclusive relating to Agriculture.

Note: At the ninth meeting of the Sub-Commission held on 3 April 1950 (Hearing on Agriculture), the British Administration was requested to bring up to date data on land distribution as given on page 37, volume I of the Four-Power Commission report and data on animal husbandry as given on page 40 of the same report. The information requested was received on 6 April 1950, and is contained in document A/AC.34/SC.1/R.5.

10. First communication dated 1 April 1950 (A/AC.34/R.163) in reply to the Fourth Questionnaire dated 17 March 1950 (A/AC.34/R.84).

Question 1. Balance of Payments Computation.

11. Second communication dated 4 April 1950 (A/AC.34/R.166) in reply to the Fourth Questionnaire (A/AC.34/R.84).

Question 2. Transportation.

12. Communication dated 6 April 1950 (A/AC.34/R.177) in reply to request for information on any cessation of mining activities dated 27 March 1950 (A/AC.34/R.127).

Appendices to the Four-Power Commission report

Titles of the appendices to the Four-Power Commission report given above are as follows:

46. East African currency circulation 1942-47.

48. Foreign exchange regulations.

51. Summary of revenue and expenditure 1941-47.

52. Public loans by B.M.A. since 1941.

53. List of contributions.

54. List of direct and indirect taxes.

55. Customs tariff in force until further notice.
56. Municipal taxation.
57. Value of external trade by sea 1930-33.
58. Value of external trade by sea by categories 1930-33.
64. Orientation of external trade by quantity and value 1943-47.
65. Orientation of transit trade to and from Ethiopia 1943-47.
66. Principal Eritrean imports, exports and re-exports 1941-47.
67. Annual deficiencies of essential requirements.
68. Tobacco monopoly yearly sales 1943-47.
69. Monopolies issued for the cultivation and curing of tobacco 1943-47.
70. Principal pre-occupation industries.
71. Principal industries 1947.
73. Eritrean railways.
74. Tonnage handled in port of Massawa 1935-47.
76. Number of employees in Public Service.
79. Expenditure on education.
81. Patients treated at hospitals and dispensaries.
82. Notification of principal diseases.

II. COMMUNICATIONS FROM ORGANIZATIONS

1. Economic, social and political survey of Eritrea (Economic section only).
Unionist Party, Asmara.
(A/AC.34/SC.1/R.2/App. A).
2. Electric power resources.

Report of the *Societa Elettrica Dell' Africa Orientale* (SEDAO), Asmara. 27 February 1950.

(A/AC.34/SC.1/R.2, appendix B).

3. Road and rail transportation data.

Eritrean United Transporters, Asmara. 26 February 1950.

(A/AC.34/SC.1/R.2, appendix C).

4. Economic Review of the Port of Massawa.

Comitato Rappresentativo degli Italiani in Eritrea, Massawa (CRIE). February 1950.

(A/AC.34/SC.1/R.2, appendix D).

5. Economic review of the port and hinterland of Assab. 12 pages.

CRIE, Assab. March 1950.

6. The Economic Situation of Eritrea — Future Possibilities. 20 pages. Report of the Eritrea Chamber of Commerce, Asmara. September 1949.

7. The Economic Situation of Eritrea. 17 pages plus annexures. Report of the Eritrea Chamber of Commerce, Asmara. April 1950.

8. Review of policies and objectives of the Eritrea Chamber of Commerce and economic information in respect to Eritrea. 8 pages. Communication from the Eritrea Chamber of Commerce. Asmara. 28 February 1950.

9. Photographic Survey of Electric Power Resources (SEDAO), Asmara. December 1949.

10. Memorandum for the United Nations Commission for Eritrea. Economic, Social and Political Survey of Eritrea.

Comitato Rappresentativo degli Italiani in Eritrea (CRIE), Asmara. March 1950.

APPENDIX B

References to the economic situation in Eritrea contained in summary records of meetings and field group hearings of the Commission

I. MEETINGS OF THE COMMISSION

15th Meeting:

Statement by Mr. VERICELLINO, economic expert of the Representative Committee of Italians in Eritrea (CRIE) at hearing of the Commission on 25 February 1950 (A/AC.34/SR.15, page 17):

Mr. VERICELLINO (Economic expert of CRIE) said that his Committee considered that Eritrea could achieve self-sufficiency in a few years. In the previous few years the operating deficit in the balance of trade had been 33 million shillings per year but, as the operating deficit was to some extent covered by invisible income, the real deficit was approximately 20 million shillings; it would be possible to cover the real deficit. It should be remembered that current economic data related to a critical period in the history of Eritrea; uncertainty regarding the future had discouraged potential investors. Again, the British Administration did not know how long it would remain in the territory and could therefore not take long-term plans into account.

Eritrea was preponderantly agricultural, and its industries depended on raw materials produced by agriculture. The agricultural problems would take many years to solve but, as the country had agricultural reserves and industrial organizations which could still be exploited, his Committee believed that the trade deficit of Eritrea could be offset in a few years. It was essential that the country should not be divided, as it enjoyed a balanced economy.

Statement submitted by the CRIE at hearing of the Commission on 25 February 1950 (A/AC.34/SR.15, appendix A): Economic arguments for independence or Italian trusteeship of Eritrea.

16th Meeting:

Statement submitted by the Italo-Eritrean Association at hearing of the Commission on 28 February 1950 (A/AC.34/SR.16/part 1, appendix A): Position and function of the Italo-Eritreans in the economic and social framework of Eritrea; economic arguments for independence of a united Eritrea.

17th Meeting:

Statement submitted by the Unionist Party at hearing of the Commission on 28 February 1950 (A/AC.34/SR.17, appendix A): economic arguments in support of union with Ethiopia and against independence.

Questions put by Mr. GARCÍA BAUER (Guatemala) to the representative of the Unionist Party concerning certain economic advantages which had accrued to Eritreans pursuant to the Italian regime (A/AC.34/SR.17, pages 11-12).

21st Meeting:

Questions put by Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) to ABUNA MARCOS, Coptic Bishop of Eritrea, as to why Eritrean poverty would be solved by union with Ethiopia. The witness replied that Eritrea was economically dependent upon Ethiopia (A/AC.34/SR.21, page 10).

Question put by Mr. ZIAUD-DIN (Pakistan) concerning comparative wages in Eritrea and Ethiopia to ABUNA MARCOS, who replied that wages relative to cost of living were higher in Ethiopia (A/AC.34/SR.21, page 15).

22nd Meeting:

Mr. Gheresghier WOLDEMARIAM, President of the Intellectual Association of Eritrea, in reply to a question put by Mr. Van BILJON (Union of South Africa), stated that Eritrea was not a poor country as it had industries and agriculture (A/AC.34/SR.22, page 17).

26th Meeting:

Mr. POLLORA, representative of the Italo-Eritrean Association, in reply to questions put by Mr. GARCÍA BAUER (Guatemala), stated there were thirty-three gold mines in Eritrea in which much capital had been invested. The mines could be greatly developed but had been retarded because of the lack of credit, the state of insecurity, and the difficulties between the mining industrialists and the Native labourers. He stated that a 1946 proclamation by the British Administration had abused the regulations concerning mining for political reasons; no new concession had since been granted, nor any old concession renewed unless agreed to by both the mining industrialists and the Native labourers (A/AC.34/SR.26, pages 9-10).

27th Meeting:

In a memorandum to the Commission from the Eritrean Association of Ethiopia, it was stated that the economic interest of Eritrea was tied to Ethiopia in food, in transit trade, and in cattle pasturage (A/AC.34/SR.27, appendix B, page 21).

II. FIELD GROUP HEARINGS

Ghinda — 4 March 1950

Question put by Mr. GARCÍA BAUER (Guatemala) to Omar SOHFAR (Moslem League) as to whether the nomadic tribes in that region moved out of Eritrea; Omar Sofhar replied that they went only as far as Cheren and Adi Ugri (A/AC.34/R.56, page 5).

Massawa — 5 March 1950

Questioned by Mr. SHAIKH (Pakistan) as to whether Eritrea could live economically if it were independent of Ethiopia and/or the Sudan, Mr. Yassin Mahmoud BAROUK, of the Moslem League, stated that Eritrea could live on its own products and was not economically dependent on any other nation (A/AC.34/R.60, page 4).

Various questions were put by Mr. Van BILJON (Union of South Africa) to representatives of the Moslem League concerning the dependence of Massawa on import-export trade which the witnesses admitted, and whether Massawa would be adversely affected if Ethiopia were given another port which the witnesses denied (A/AC.34/R.60, page 7).

Question put by Mr. ZIAUD-DIN (Pakistan) to the Moslem League representatives as to whether the highlands and lowlands were inter-dependent from migratory grazing. This was confirmed. People from Akele Guzai as well as from other areas came to Massawa (A/AC.34/R.60, page 8).

Assab — 7 March 1950

(a) Questions put by the members of the Commission to representative of the Danakil Tribes (Moslem League) (question (e), page 3, by the CHAIRMAN; questions (d) to (h), page 5, by Mr. GARCÍA BAUER (Guatemala); question (a) page 9 and

question (d) and (g) page 10 by Mr. Van BILJON (Union of South Africa)) and to members of the CRIE at Assab (A/AC.34/R.64).

(b) Statement submitted by the CRIE, Assab, at field group hearing of the Commission (A/AC.34/R.64, appendix B).

Ad Taklesan (Hamasién) — 15 March 1950

To a question put by Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala), Mr. Bezabeh TESSEMA, representing the Independent Eritrea Party, stated that Eritrea could live independently from an economic point of view. There were natural resources such as lumber, salt and coal. The presence of oil in the Hamasién district had been established by engineers. Gold had been found in Barentu and other regions. The lowlands could be farmed twice a year (A/AC.34/R.87, page 10).

Keren — 15 March 1950

Questioned by Major-General THERON (Union of South Africa) whether the Western Province could exist alone economically without the Sudan and the highlands, Mr. Idris Abdalla HUMMED of the Moslem League for the Western Province answered that from the point of view of food they would manage. Moreover, they could import as other Governments did (A/AC.34/R.88, page 5).

Hal Hal (Western Province) — 16 March 1950

Questioned by the CHAIRMAN, Mr. Kantebai Karar MOHAMMED stated that Eritrea could not live apart from Ethiopia because it was dependent on that country for grazing purposes (A/AC.34/R.94, page 4).

Mr. Van BILJON (Union of South Africa) asked a member of the Unionist Party how deeply the inhabitants went into Ethiopia when they took their cattle to graze to the Gash river. The witness replied that they went as deeply into Ethiopia as they wished after crossing the Gash (A/AC.34/R.94, page 9).

Maba (Western Province) — 17 March 1950

In reply to a question by Major-General THERON (Union of South Africa), a representative of the Moslem League of the Western Province stated that his people never went to Ethiopia with their cattle but that they went to the Sudan in the same way as Sudanese came to their area (A/AC.34/R.114, page 3).

In reply to a question by Major-General THERON (Union of South Africa) as to whether people went to Ethiopia or the Sudan for grazing purposes, a representative of the Moslem League stated that the country was self-sufficient and that the people did not go to Ethiopia or the Sudan (A/AC.34/R.114, page 14).

Agordat (Western Province) — 18 March 1950

In reply to a question by Mr. Van BILJON (Union of South Africa), a representative of the Moslem League of the Western Province stated that cattle were taken to Ethiopia during dry spells, whereupon they paid a tax. Cattle never entered the Sudan (A/AC.34/R.113, page 6).

The same representative, in reply to a question by Mr. GARCÍA BAUER (Guatemala), stated that the Western Province was rich and could live economically if independent (A/AC.34/R.113, page 6).

A Unionist Party representative, in reply to a question by Mr. Van BILJON (Union of South Africa), stated that his followers crossed both the Gash and Setit rivers during dry spells but they never entered the Sudan (A/AC.34/R.113, page 11).

Questioned by Mr. Van BILJON (Union of South Africa) a Moslem League representative stated that Eritrea was sufficiently rich in pasture but at times during the dry season his followers crossed the Setit river and paid a grazing tax in the

form of heads of cattle. Insecurity was prevalent, however. No one had crossed in the previous four years (A/AC.34/R.113, page 15).

Statements made by members of the Italo-Eritrean Association, Agordat Branch, to members of the Commission at Agordat (A/AC.34/R.113, pages 21 to 34, and appendix B).

Tessenai (Western Province) — 19 March 1950

Questioned by Mr. Van BILJON (Union of South Africa), Mr. Iassin Shick ABIN (Moslem League) stated that many people worked in the Ali Gidr concession. The land belonged to them, as Eritreans, and they could have their own concessions without the Italians or the British (A/AC.34/R.105, page 10).

Aicoia (Western Province) — 19 March 1950

In reply to a question by Mr. SOE (Burma), a Unionist Party representative stated that many of the people had taken cattle into Ethiopia for grazing (A/AC.34/R.102, page 4).

In reply to a number of questions by Mr. Van BILJON (Union of South Africa) a representative of the Moslem League of the Western Province stated that people from the Hamasién, Akele Guzai and Serae Divisions came to the Western Province to graze their cattle, and that his people went to those Divisions for the same purpose. Similarly, his people often went to Ethiopia to graze their cattle (A/AC.34/R.102, pages 7-8).

Barentu (Western Province) — 19 March 1950

A representative of the Moslem League of the Western Province stated, in reply to a question by Major-General THERON (Union of South Africa) that cattle were at times taken to graze as far as the Sudan border and the Setit river. Cattle never crossed from the Western Province into the Serae Division or vice versa (A/AC.34/R.146, page 3).

A representative of the Moslem League stated, in reply to a question by Major-General THERON (Union of South Africa) that his people never took their cattle to Ethiopia and that cattle were at times brought from the Serae Division as far as the Gash river (A/AC.34/R.146, page 9).

Ducambia (Western Province) — 20 March 1950

In reply to questions by Mr. GARCÍA BAUER (Guatemala), representatives of the Beni Amir tribes stated that cattle grazed along the Gash river. They replied in the negative to a question as to whether cattle were ever taken to the Sudan or to Ethiopia. Cattle never left Eritrean territory (A/AC.34/R.135, page 7).

Keren — 21 March 1950

Questioned by Mr. GARCÍA BAUER (Guatemala) whether the decision of the British Administration to unite the Provinces of Keren and Agordat had entailed economic difficulties for the Western Province, Mr. FEROLA, President of the Keren Branch of the CRIE, answered in the negative. He added that there were no large industries in Keren apart from the button factory. The nearby mines were at the moment closed. The remainder of the area was agricultural. The agricultural products of importance that were exported were cotton, sisal fibre, senna, incense and gum arabic (A/AC.34/R.136, page 3).

Zula — 23 March 1950

Questioned by Mr. GARCÍA BAUER (Guatemala), Mr. Said Molid Adi KAMORON stated that people lived on the products of the sea, and that they sold sea shells, pearls, beads and fish. They transported fish from the Red Sea to fish mills in Massawa for export. The fish products were exported to Port Sudan, Aden and other places (A/AC.34/R.121, page 8).

APPENDIX C

List of summary records of meetings and hearings of the Economic Sub-Commission

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Meeting</i>
9 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.1	First meeting, Asmara. Election of officers. Discussion of economic information available to the Commission.
14 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.2	Second meeting, Asmara. Discussion of economic information available to the Commission.
22 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.3	Third meeting, Asmara. Discussion of economic information available to the Commission.
27 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.4	Fourth meeting, Asmara. Consideration of questionnaire replies from the British Administration in Eritrea. Discussion concerning hearings.
28 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.5	Fifth meeting, Asmara. Hearings on Trade, Industry and Finance (B. C. A. Cook, Political Adviser, and J. Greig, Controller of Finance and Accounts, British Administration).
30 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.6	Sixth Meeting, Asmara. Hearing on Mineral Resources (Mr. Gherardi, Mining Engineer, British Administration).
31 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.7	Seventh meeting, Asmara. Hearing on Road Transportation (Representatives of Eritrean United Transporters A.R.D.E.).
1 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.8	Eighth meeting, Asmara. Hearing on labour matters: (i) Association of Italian Employees, British Administration, Asmara (President, Carlo Bregavo). (ii) V. Franchini, Asmara (representing group of employees of private firms). (iii) Syndicalist Association of Public Drivers, Asmara (M. Subissati, President).
3 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.9	Ninth meeting, Asmara. Hearing on Agriculture (Z. Horn, Acting Controller of Agriculture, British Administration).
5 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.10	Tenth meeting, Asmara (Business meeting).
6 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.11	Eleventh meeting, Asmara. Hearings on Trade, Industry and Finance (B. C. A. Cook, Political Adviser, and J. Greig, Controller of Finance and Accounts, British Administration).
15 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.12	Twelfth meeting, Cairo. Scope of final report.
29 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.13	Thirteenth meeting, Geneva. Consideration of draft report of the Economic Sub-Commission.
29 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.14	Fourteenth meeting, Geneva. Consideration of draft report of the Economic Sub-Commission.
1 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.15	Fifteenth meeting Geneva. Consideration of draft report of the Economic Sub-Commission.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Meeting</i>
1 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.16	Sixteenth meeting, Geneva. Consideration of draft report of the Economic Sub-Commission.
2 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.17	Seventeenth meeting, Geneva. Consideration of draft report of the Economic Sub-Commission.
2 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.18	Eighteenth meeting, Geneva. Consideration of draft report of the Economic Sub-Commission.
3 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.19	Nineteenth meeting, Geneva. Consideration of draft report of the Economic Sub-Commission.
4 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.20	Twentieth meeting, Geneva. Consideration of draft report of the Economic Sub-Commission.
4 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.21	Twenty-first meeting, Geneva. Consideration of draft report of the Economic Sub-Commission.
5 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.22	Twenty-second meeting, Geneva. Consideration of draft report of the Economic Sub-Commission.
8 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.23	Twenty-third meeting, Geneva. Consideration of draft report of the Economic Sub-Commission.

ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN



RULES OF PROCEDURE

ANNEX 14

Document A/AC.34/R.4: rules of procedure, as amended by A/AC.34/R.153: amended text of rule 8 of the rules of procedure

RULES OF PROCEDURE

(Adopted by the Commission at its 3rd meeting held on 7 February 1950 and amended at its 36th meeting held on 31 March 1950).

I. MEETINGS

Rule 1

Meetings of the United Nations Commission for Eritrea (hereinafter called "the Commission") shall be held as occasion may require by decision of the Commission, or its Chairman, or at the request of the General Assembly, or of any of the representatives on the Commission.

Rule 2

The date and place of each meeting, if not decided at a previous meeting of the Commission, shall be notified by the Secretariat to the representatives of the Commission whenever possible not less than twenty-four hours in advance.

II. AGENDA

Rule 3

The provisional agenda for each meeting of the Commission shall be drawn up by the Secretariat in consultation with the Chairman and shall be communicated to the representatives on the Commission.

Rule 4

The provisional agenda shall include:

1. Items proposed by the Commission at a previous meeting;
2. Items proposed by any member of the Commission;
3. Items proposed by the General Assembly;
4. Items proposed by a sub-commission of the Commission;
5. All items, communications or reports which the Chairman or the Secretariat may deem necessary to put before the Commission.

Rule 5

The first item on the provisional agenda of any meeting of the Commission shall be the adoption of the agenda.

III. DELEGATIONS AND CREDENTIALS

Rule 6

Each representative on the Commission may be accompanied by an alternate representative whom he may designate to act as representative.

Rule 7

The credentials of representatives and the names of alternate representatives, advisers and secretaries shall be transmitted to the Secretariat of the United Nations as early as possible. The credentials shall be issued either by the Head of the State or Government, by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, or by the Chief Representative to the United Nations. The credentials shall be examined by the Commission, after having received a report thereon from the Secretariat.

IV. OFFICERS

Rule 8 (a) ¹

The office of Chairman shall be assumed by representatives in rotation in the English alphabetical order of the names of the members for a period of seven days.

Rule 8 (b)

The Commission shall elect its Rapporteur. The election shall take place by secret ballot. If the Rapporteur is unable to perform his functions, a new Rapporteur shall be elected.

Rule 9

The Chairman shall declare the opening and closing of each meeting of the Commission, shall direct its discussions, ensure observance of these rules, accord the right to speak, put questions and announce decisions. He shall rule on points of order and, subject to these rules, shall have complete control of the proceedings of the Commission and over the maintenance of order at its meetings. The Chairman may, in the course of the discussion of an item, propose to the Commission the limitation of the time to be allowed to speakers, the limitation of the number of times each representative may speak on any question, the closure of the list of speakers or the closure of the debate. He may also propose the suspension or the adjournment of the meeting or the adjournment of the debate on the item under discussion.

Rule 10

The Chairman, in the exercise of his functions, remains under the authority of the Commission.

¹ Rule 8 was amended by the Commission at its 36th meeting held on 31 March 1950 (A/AC.34/R.153). Original rule 8, as in A/AC.34/R.4, read: "The Commission shall elect its Chairman and Rapporteur. These elections shall be held by secret ballot. If any officer of the Commission is unable to perform his functions, a new officer shall be elected."

Rule 11

If the Chairman finds it necessary to be absent during one or several meetings or a part of a meeting, an acting chairman shall take his place; acting chairmanship shall be assumed by representatives in rotation in the English alphabetical order of the names of the members, for a period not exceeding fifteen days. An acting chairman shall have the same powers and duties as the Chairman.

V. SECRETARIAT

Rule 12

The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the Commission and such subsidiary bodies as it may establish. He may designate a member of the staff to act in his place at these meetings.

Rule 13

The Secretary-General shall provide and direct the staff required by the Commission and such subsidiary bodies as it may establish.

Rule 14

The Secretariat shall receive, translate and distribute the documents of the Commission and its subsidiary bodies; prepare working papers; interpret speeches made at the meetings; prepare and circulate the records of the meetings; have the custody and proper preservation of the documents; publish the reports of the meetings and generally shall be responsible for all the necessary arrangements for meetings and other activities of the Commission and its subsidiary bodies.

Rule 15

No decision involving expenditures shall be made by the Commission until the Secretariat has had an opportunity of stating the effect of the proposal upon the budget of the United Nations.

VI. LANGUAGES, RECORDS

Rule 16

English, French and Spanish shall be the working languages of the Commission.

Rule 17

Members of the Commission and other persons who may address the Commission in a language other than any of the working languages shall, as a rule, provide their own interpreters. If a person who appears at the instance of the Commission is unable to employ any of the working languages and provide his own interpreter, the Secretariat shall provide for the interpretation.

Rule 18

Summary records of public and private meetings shall be drawn up. The records shall be made available as soon as possible to the representatives. The representatives shall inform the Secretariat, not later than twenty-four hours after receipt of the records, of any corrections they wish to have made.

Rule 19

The summary records in which no corrections have been requested or which have been corrected in accordance with rule 18 shall be considered as the official records of the Commission.

VII. PUBLIC AND PRIVATE MEETINGS

Rule 20

Meetings of the Commission and its subsidiary bodies shall be held in public, unless the Commission or the subsidiary body decides otherwise.

Rule 21

At the close of each private meeting of the Commission the Chairman may, in consultation with the Commission, issue a communique through the Secretariat. Other Press releases and verbal briefings may be issued by the Secretariat.

VIII. CONDUCT OF BUSINESS

Rule 22

A majority of the members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

Rule 23

No representative may address the Commission without having previously obtained the permission of the Chairman. The Chairman shall call upon speakers in the order in which they signify their desire to speak. The Chairman may call a speaker to order if his remarks are not relevant to the subject under discussion.

Rule 24

The Chairman or the Rapporteur of a subsidiary body may be accorded precedence for the purpose of explaining the conclusion arrived at by the subsidiary body.

Rule 25

The Secretary-General or a member of the Secretariat designated by him as his representative may, at any time, make oral or written statements to the Commission or any subsidiary body.

Rule 26

During the discussion of any matter, a representative may rise to a point of order, and the point of order shall be immediately decided by the Chairman in accordance with the rules of procedure. A representative may appeal against the ruling of the Chairman. The appeal shall be immediately put to vote and the Chairman's ruling shall stand unless overruled by a majority of the members present and voting. A representative rising to a point of order may not speak on the substance of the matter under discussion.

Rule 27

The Commission may limit the time to be allowed to each speaker and the number of times each representa-

tive may speak on any question. When debate is limited and a representative has spoken his allotted time, the Chairman shall call him to order without delay.

Rule 28

During the course of a debate the Chairman may announce the list of speakers, and, with the consent of the Commission, declare the list closed. He may, however, accord the right of reply to any member if a speech delivered after he had declared the list closed makes this desirable.

Rule 29

During the discussion of any matter, a representative may move the adjournment of the debate on the item under discussion.

Rule 30

A representative may at any time move the closure of the debate on the item under discussion, whether or not any other representative has signified his wish to speak. If the Commission is in favour of the closure the Chairman shall declare the closure of the debate.

Rule 31

During the discussion of any matter, a representative may move the suspension or the adjournment of the meeting. Such motions shall not be debated, but shall be immediately put to the vote. The Chairman may limit the time to be allowed to the speaker moving the suspension or adjournment of the meeting.

Rule 32

Subject to rule 26, the following motions shall have precedence in the following order over all other proposals or motions before the meeting:

- (a) To suspend the meeting;
- (b) To adjourn the meeting;
- (c) To adjourn the debate on the item under discussion;
- (d) For the closure of the debate on the item under discussion.

Rule 33

Proposals and amendments should normally be introduced in writing and handed to the Secretariat, which shall circulate copies to the delegations. As a general rule, no proposal shall be discussed or put to the vote at any meeting of the Commission unless copies of it have been circulated to all delegations not later than the day preceding the meeting. The Chairman may, however, permit the discussion and consideration of amendments, or of motions as to procedure, even though these amendments and motions have not been circulated or have only been circulated the same day.

Rule 34

Subject to rule 32 any motion calling for a decision on the competence of the Commission to adopt a proposal submitted to it shall be put to the vote before a vote is taken on the proposal in question.

Rule 35

A motion may be withdrawn by its proposer at any time before voting on it has commenced, provided that the motion has not been amended. A motion which has thus been withdrawn may be reintroduced by any member.

Rule 36

When a proposal has been adopted or rejected it may not be reconsidered unless the Commission, by a majority of the members present and voting, so decides.

IX. VOTING

Rule 37

Each member of the Commission shall have one vote.

Rule 38

Decisions in the Commission shall be taken by a majority of members present and voting.

Rule 39

For the purposes of these rules, the phrase "members present and voting" means members casting an affirmative or negative vote. Members who abstain from voting are considered as not voting.

Rule 40

The Commission shall normally vote by show of hands but any representative may request a roll-call. The roll-call shall be taken in the English alphabetical order of the names of the members, beginning with the member whose name is drawn by lot by the Chairman. The name of each member shall be called in any roll-call and he shall reply "Yes", "No", or "Abstention". The result of the voting shall be inserted in the record in the English alphabetical order of the names of the members.

Rule 41

After the Chairman has announced the beginning of voting, no representative shall interrupt the voting except on a point of order in connexion with the actual conduct of the voting. The Chairman may permit members to explain their votes, either before or after their voting, except when the vote is taken by secret ballot. The Chairman may limit the time to be allowed for such explanations.

Rule 42

A representative may move that parts of a proposal or of an amendment shall be voted on separately. If objection is made to the request for division, the motion for division shall be voted upon. If the motion for division is carried, those parts of the proposal or of the amendment which are subsequently approved shall be put to the vote as a whole. If all operative parts of the proposal or of the amendment have been rejected, the proposal or the amendment shall be considered to have been rejected as a whole.

Rule 43

When an amendment is moved to a proposal, the amendment shall be voted on first. When two or more amendments are moved to a proposal, the Commission shall first vote on the amendment furthest removed in substance from the original proposal and then on the amendment next furthest removed therefrom, and so on, until all the amendments have been put to the vote. Where, however, the adoption of one amendment necessarily implies the rejection of another amendment, the latter amendment shall not be put to the vote. If one or more amendments are adopted, the amended proposal shall then be voted upon. A motion is considered an amendment to a proposal if it merely adds to, deletes from or revises part of that proposal.

Rule 44

If two or more proposals relate to the same question, the Commission shall, unless it decides otherwise, vote on the proposals in the order in which they have been submitted. The Commission may, after each vote on a proposal, decide whether to vote on the next proposal.

Rule 45

When only one person or member is to be elected and no candidate obtains in the first ballot the majority required, a second ballot shall be taken, which shall be restricted to the two candidates obtaining the largest number of votes. If in the second ballot, the votes are equally divided, and a majority is required, the Chairman shall decide between the candidates by drawing lots.

Rule 46

If a vote is equally divided on matters other than elections the proposal shall be regarded as rejected.

X. SUBSIDIARY BODIES

Rule 47

The Commission may set up such sub-commissions and other subsidiary bodies as it deems necessary and define their composition and their functions.

Rule 48

Unless otherwise decided by the Commission, each sub-commission and other subsidiary body shall elect its own officers.

Rule 49

The rules of procedure of the Commission shall apply to the proceedings of the sub-commissions and other subsidiary bodies in so far as they are applicable.

XI. ORAL AND WRITTEN STATEMENTS

Rule 50

The Commission may at its discretion invite or admit representatives of governments or organizations or private individuals to submit oral or written statements. Requests for oral hearings shall contain an indication of the subject or subjects on which the applicant desires to express his views.

Rule 51

The Commission may refer to a sub-commission for examination and recommendation such requests to present oral statements as it deems advisable.

Rule 52

Members of the Commission who so desire may put questions, through the Chairman, to representatives of governments or organizations or private individuals referred to in rule 50.

Rule 53

The Commission, in consultation with the Secretariat, whenever necessary, shall in each case decide the time and place of the hearing of any person from whom it may decide to receive an oral statement. The Commission may advise any person to submit his statement in writing.

Rule 54

The Commission may limit either the number of persons desiring to present an oral statement or the time to be allowed to any such person.

Rule 55

The Commission may refer to a sub-commission for study and report such written statements as it may deem advisable.

Rule 56

A sub-commission or a subsidiary body set up by the Commission enjoys such rights as are accorded to the Commission under rules 50-55, unless the Commission decides otherwise.

XII. AMENDMENTS AND SUSPENSIONS

Rule 57

These rules of procedure may be amended or suspended by decision of the Commission taken by a majority of the members present and voting.

**DECLARATION BY THE COMMISSION ON DISORDERS AT ASMARA
ON 21 - 22 FEBRUARY 1950**

ANNEX 15

Document A/AC.34/L.1: Declaration by the Commission

*[Original text: English-Spanish
22 February 1950]*

The United Nations Commission for Eritrea unanimously decided to adopt at its 10th meeting, on 22 February 1950, the following declaration:

1. The United Nations Commission for Eritrea regrets the grave incidents which occurred yesterday and

today, as a result of which a large number of persons including children were killed and injured.

2. The Commission wishes to point out that acts of violence cannot and will not be allowed to influence the decisions of the Commission.

3. The Commission feels deeply that all those responsible for these tragic and lamentable disturbances are doing a great disservice to Eritrea.

4. The Commission appeals to the population of Eritrea to stop all acts of violence immediately, as they can only result in useless bloodshed, bitterness and disturbance of the peaceful relations among the inhabitants of the country.

LISTS OF DOCUMENTS, VISITS AND HEARINGS OF THE COMMISSION

ANNEX 16

List of Commission Documents

RESTRICTED

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
12 January 1950	A/AC.34/R.1	Draft rules of procedure.
11 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.2	Tabulation of suggestions on Eritrea submitted during the 4th regular session of the General Assembly.
24 January 1950	A/AC.34/R.3	Union of South Africa: Amendment to draft rules of procedure (A/AC.34/R.1).
11 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.4	Rules of procedure, as adopted by the Commission at its third meeting.
11 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.5	Points for consideration in organizing visits to urban and rural localities.
12 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.6	Establishment of an Economic Sub-Commission. Proposal: Union of South Africa.
13 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.7	Draft communique by the Commission to the inhabitants of Eritrea inviting written statements by individuals or groups.
13 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.8	Proposed reception to be given by H.E. The Chief Administrator BAE
15 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.9	Communique by the Commission to the inhabitants of Eritrea inviting written statements by individuals or groups.
16 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.10	Draft programme of work. Report of the Drafting Group.
17 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.11 Original: Spanish	Draft programme of work. Guatemala amendments to the draft programme of work submitted by the Drafting Group (A/AC.34/R.10).
17 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.12	Credentials of representatives on the Commission.
17 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.13	List of communications from organizations.
18 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.14	Programme of work adopted by the Commission at its seventh meeting.
22 February 1950	AAC.34/R.14/ Rev.1	Programme of work.
18 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.15	Establishment of an Economic Sub-Commission (Sub-Commission I).
19 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.16	Draft first questionnaire to be sent to the British Administration in Eritrea. First report of Working Group 2.
20 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.17	Union of South Africa: amendments to programme of work (A/AC.34/R.14).
21 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.18	Draft of second questionnaire to be sent to the British Administration in Eritrea. Second report of Working Group 2.
21 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.19	Historical background of the problem of Eritrea.
28 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.19/ Corr.1	Corrigendum to historical background of the problem of Eritrea.
21 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.20	Schedule of visits in the Hamasien Division. Third report of Working Group 2.
21 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.21	First questionnaire to the British Administration in Eritrea.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
22 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.22	Schedule of visits. Fourth report of Working Group 2.
23 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.23	Draft questionnaire for oral hearings in the country. Fifth report of Working Group 2.
23 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.24	Schedule of visits as adopted by the Commission.
23 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.25	Hearings on 24 and 25 February 1950.
24 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.25/ Add.1	Hearing on 24 and 25 February 1950 Addendum 11.
23 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.26	Schedule of visits (note by the Principal Secretary).
23 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.27	Questionnaires of request for information sent to the British Administration.
23 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.28	Second questionnaire and request for information to the British Administration in Eritrea.
24 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.29	Questionnaire for oral hearings in the country, as adopted.
24 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.30	List of communications.
4 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.30/ Rev.1	List of communications.
24 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.31	Information from H.E. The Chief Administrator regarding recent disorders.
24 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.32	Consultations with the Government of the United Kingdom.
24 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.33	Information from the Administering Authority regarding statement by Mr. Woldemarian of the Independent Eritrean Party.
24 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.34	Questionnaires and request for information sent to the British Administration.
25 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.35	Request that British Administration issue a proclamation.
27 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.36	Procedure for hearings in principal towns (note by Principal Secretary).
27 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.37	Urban and rural localities to be visited.
27 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.38	Summary record of field group hearings at Gura, Decamere, Marabe, Saganeiti.
28 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.39	Information from the Administering Authority regarding statement by Mr. Woldemarian of the Independent Eritrean Party.
28 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.40	Request that the British Administration issue a proclamation.
28 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.41	Schedule of visits (note by the Principal Secretary).
28 February 1950	A/AC.34/R.42	Summary record of field group in the Hamasien Division at Zazzega, Himberti and Falugue.
1 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.43	Consultations with the Government of the United Kingdom.
1 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.44	Procedure for hearings in the principal towns (resolution adopted).
2 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.45	Draft letter inviting the Governments of Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Italy and the United Kingdom.
3 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.46	Schedule of visits (Massawa, Keren, Adi Ugri).
3 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.47	First communication by the British Administration in answer to the questionnaire.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
3 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.48	Union of South Africa: Proposal relating to the Second Questionnaire to the British Administration.
3 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.49	Second communication by the British Administration in answer to the First Questionnaire.
4 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.50	List of communications from organizations (third list).
6 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.51	Summary record of field group hearing at Adi Caieh.
6 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.52	Summary record of field group hearing at Adi Caieh and Coatit.
6 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.53	Summary record of field group hearing at Senafe.
6 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.54	Schedule of visits (visits to Western Province).
4 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.55	Summary record of field group hearing at Ghinda in Red Sea Division.
4 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.56	Summary record of field group hearings at Ghinda.
13 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.56/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to summary record of field group hearings at Ghinda.
5 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.57	Summary record of field group hearings at Massawa Naval Base.
7 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.58	Third request for information from the British Administration in Eritrea.
7 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.59	Summary record of field group hearings at Sheb in Western Province.
14 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.59/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to summary record of field group hearings at Sheb.
8 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.60	Summary record of field group hearings at Massawa Airport.
14 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.60/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to summary record of field group hearings at Massawa Airport.
8 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.61	Information from Administering Authority regarding statement by Mr. Wolde-marian of the Independent Eritrean Party.
9 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.62	Schedule of visits — sixth report of Working Group 2.
10 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.63	Changes in schedule of visits as adopted.
10 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.64	Summary record of field group hearings at Assab.
24 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.64/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to summary record of field group hearings at Assab.
29 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.64/ Corr.2	Corrigendum to summary record of field group hearings at Assab.
11 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.65	Information from the British Administration in Eritrea regarding recent disorders.
11 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.66	Reported arrests of disguised unionists.
11 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.67	List of communications from organizations — fourth list.
11 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.68	First communication by the British Administration in Eritrea in answer to the Second Questionnaire.
11 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.69	Second communication by the British Administration in Eritrea in answer to the Second Questionnaire.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
11 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.70	Third communication by the British Administration in answer to the Second Questionnaire.
13 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.71	Summary record of field group hearing at Terani — Serae Division.
13 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.72	Summary record of field group hearing at Arresa in Serae Division.
13 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.73	Visits in Ethiopia (resolution adopted).
13 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.74	Hearings of inhabitants of Asmara.
14 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.75	Visit to Zula.
14 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.76	Summary record of field group hearings at Mai Aini in Serae Division.
14 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.77	Questionnaire to the British Administration in Eritrea — First Report of Sub-Commission I.
14 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.78	Resolution adopted at the 27th meeting regarding consultations with the inhabitants of Asmara.
14 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.79	Summary record of field group hearings at Adi Ugri in the Serae Division.
26 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.79/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to summary record of field group hearing at Adi Ugri.
31 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.79/ Corr.2	Corrigenda to summary record of field group hearing at Adi Ugri.
14 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.80	Summary record of field group hearings at Deranto and Adi Quala in the Serae Division.
15 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.81	Third communication by the British Administration in answer to the First Questionnaire.
26 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.81/ Rev.1	Third communication by the British Administration in answer to the First Questionnaire.
17 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.82	Summary record of field group hearings at Arkiko and Wakiro in Red Sea Division.
17 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.83	List of communications from organizations — fifth list.
17 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.84	Fourth Questionnaire adopted by the Commission at its 28th meeting.
17 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.85	Schedule of visits. Guatemala: proposal.
17 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.86	Schedule of visits. Resolution adopted by the Commission at its 28th meeting.
18 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.87	Summary record of field group hearings at Ad Taklezan, Hamasien Division.
18 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.88	Summary record of field group hearings at Keren.
31 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.88/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to summary record of field group hearings at Keren.
19 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.89	Consultations with the Government of the United Kingdom.
19 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.90	Visit to Assab on 7 March 1950.
19 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.91	Hearing of inhabitants of Asmara.
20 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.92	Requests for hearings (outstanding as of 20 March).

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
20 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.93	Summary record of field group hearings at Alabered and Ansibar (Western Province).
20 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.94	Summary record of field group hearings at Hal Hal (Western Province).
20 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.95	Hearing of inhabitants of Asmara.
20 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.96	Request that British Administration issue a proclamation.
21 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.97	Letter inviting the Governments of Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Italy and the United Kingdom. Resolution adopted.
22 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.98	Consultations with the Government of Ethiopia. Letter dated 21 March.
22 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.99	Consultations with Government of Ethiopia. Cable dated 16 March.
22 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.100	Authorization to the Economic Sub-Commission to obtain additional economic information.
22 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.101	Fourth communication by the British Administration in answer to the Second Questionnaire.
23 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.102	Summary record of field group hearings at Aicota.
23 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.103	Request to Economic Sub-Commission to obtain information on cessation of mining activities (Union of South Africa: proposal)
23 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.104	Invitation to the British Administration in Eritrea to submit observations on matters arising out of field hearings (proposal by Union of South Africa).
23 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.105	Summary record of field group hearings at Tessenei.
23 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.106	Consultations with the Italian Government.
23 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.107	Foreign communities in Eritrea.
23 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.108	Membership of the Eritrean Independence Party and field group hearing at Ponte Anseba.
23 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.109	Summary record of field group hearings at Mensura.
23 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.110	Summary record of field group hearings at Gulluj.
3 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.110/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to summary record of field group hearing at Gulluj.
23 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.111	Request for hearings (first addendum to A/AC.34/R.92).
23 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.112	Summary record of field group hearings at Kamchewa.
31 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.112/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to summary record of field group hearing at Kamchewa.
23 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.113	Summary record of field group hearings at Agordat.
25 May 1950	A/AC.34./R.113 Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of field group hearings at Agordat submitted by the delegation of Guatemala.
24 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.114	Summary record of field group hearings at Maba.
25 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.115	Consultations with the Government of Ethiopia. Proposal by Guatemala, Burma, Pakistan.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
26 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.115/ Rev.1	Consultations with the Government of Ethiopia.
25 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.116	Consultations with the Government of Ethiopia. Proposal by the Union of South Africa.
25 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.117	Consultations with the Government of Ethiopia. Proposal by the Union of South Africa.
30 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.117/ Rev.1	Consultations with the Government of Ethiopia. Proposal by the Union of South Africa.
25 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.118	Consultations with the Government of Ethiopia (note by the Principal Secretary).
25 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.119	Consultations with the Government of Ethiopia. Resolution adopted.
25 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.120	Alleged arrest of person attending hearing at Tessenei.
26 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.121	Summary record of field group hearings at Zula.
26 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.122	Visits in Ethiopia. Resolution adopted.
26 March 1950		List of communications from organizations—sixth list.
27 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.124	Visit to Rome (note by the Principal Secretary).
27 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.125	Requests for hearing and hearing of inhabitants of Asmara. First report of Working Group 3.
28 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.125/ Corr.1	Requests for hearing and hearing of inhabitants of Asmara.
27 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.126	Memorandum by the Independent Eritrea Party.
27 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.127	Request to Administering Authority for information on any cessation of mining activities.
27 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.128	Consultations with the Government of Ethiopia.
27 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.129	Communication by the British Administration in answer to the third request for information to the British Administration.
28 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.130	Consultations with the Government of the United Kingdom.
28 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.131	Second addendum to request for hearings (outstanding as of 20 March).
28 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.132	Fifth communication by the British Administration in answer to the Second Questionnaire.
28 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.133	Sixth communication by the British Administration in answer to the Second Questionnaire.
28 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.134	Requests for hearings (note by the Principal Secretary).
29 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.135	Summary record of field group Hearing at Ducambia (Western Province).
29 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.136	Summary record of field group hearing at Keren (Western Province).
29 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.137	Communication from CRIE (note by the Principal Secretary).
29 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.138	South African proposal regarding communication from CRIE.
29 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.139	Consultations with the Government of Ethiopia. South African amendment to A/AC.34/R.115/Rev.1.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
29 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.140	Requests for hearing (third addendum to A/AC.34/R.92).
29 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.141	Requests for hearing, and hearings of inhabitants of Asmara (resolution adopted by the Commission).
29 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.142	Consultations with the Government of Ethiopia. Amendments by Norway to A/AC.34/R.115/Rev.1.
29 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.143	Communication from the CRIE. Resolution adopted by the Commission.
30 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.144	Draft resolution re-establishing Working Group 2 (Union of South Africa: proposal).
30 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.145	Requests for hearing (resolution adopted).
30 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.146	Summary record of field group hearing at Barentu (Western Province).
30 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.147	Request for hearing (note by the Principal Secretary).
30 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.148	Requests for hearing and hearing of inhabitants of Asmara (fourth addendum to A/AC.34/R.92).
30 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.149	Note by the Principal Secretary concerning amendment to the rules of procedure.
31 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.150	Schedule of hearings. Report of Sub-Commission I.
30 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.151	Amplification of statement contained in Unionist Party memorandum of 14 March.
31 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.152	Requests for hearing (fifth addendum to A/AC.34/R.92).
31 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.153	Amendment text to rule 8 of the rules of procedure.
31 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.154	Seventh report of Working Group 2.
31 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.155	Requests for hearings (note by the Principal Secretary).
4 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.155/ Corr.1	Corrigendum to requests for hearings.
31 March 1950	A/AC.34/R.156	Consultation with the Government of Ethiopia. Note by the Principal Secretary.
1 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.157	Schedule and programme of work.
1 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.158	Consultations with the Government of Ethiopia. Note by the Principal Secretary.
1 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.159	Requests for hearing, hearings of inhabitants of, and visits in, Asmara. Resolution adopted.
3 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.160	Information issued in connexion with the visit of Ethiopia.
3 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.161	Statement by the Commission on the rule relating to rotation of Chairman. As adopted.
4 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.162	Communication from the Secretary of the Unionist Party reporting full reconciliation on 26 March between the Christians and the Jobartis (Moslems of Asmara).
4 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.163	First communication by the British Administration in answer to the Fourth Questionnaire to the British Administration.
4 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.164	Requests for hearings (sixth addendum to A/AC.34/R.92).
5 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.165	List of communications from organizations — seventh list.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
5 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.166	Second communication by the British Administration in answer to the Fourth Questionnaire.
5 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.167	Resolution of thanks to the people of Eritrea. Proposal: Burma.
6 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.168	Communication from the legal representatives of the Associations favouring conditional union with Ethiopia and the Moslem League of the Western Province.
6 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.169	Consultations with the Government of Ethiopia.
6 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.170	Communications from the Keren and Sahel sections of the Unionist Party.
6 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.171	Communication from the Secretary-General of the Eritrean Bloc for Independence.
6 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.172	List of communications from organizations — eighth list.
6 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.173	Visit to Rome. Note by the Principal Secretary.
7 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.174	Communication from the Secretaries-General of the member parties "Bloc for Independence".
7 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.175	Resolution of thanks to the people of Eritrea. As adopted.
22 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.176	Letter dated 7 April 1950 from the Eritrea Chamber of Commerce.
22 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.177	Request to Administering Authority for information on any cessation of mining activities (A/AC.34/R.127).
22 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.178	Request to Administering Authority on discrepancies in figures submitted at field group hearings at Kamchewa.
22 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.179	Consultations with the Government of Ethiopia.
22 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.180	Consultations with the Government of Egypt (resolution adopted).
24 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.181	Outline of the report of the Commission — memo by the Rapporteur.
25 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.182	Consultations with the Government of France (note by the Principal Secretary)
28 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.183	Draft chapters I and II of the report (second memorandum by the Rapporteur).
2 May 1950	A/AC.34/R.183/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to draft chapters I and II of the report.
9 May 1950	A/AC.34/R.183/ Rev.1	Draft chapters I and II of the report (second memorandum by the Rapporteur).
28 April 1950	A/AC.34/R.184	Publicity of meetings (resolution).
1 May 1950	A/AC.34/R.185	Application of amended rule of procedure no. 8 to the Economic Sub-Commission.
4 May 1950	A/AC.34/R.186	Draft section IV of chapter II of the report (third memorandum by the Rapporteur).
4 May 1950	A/AC.34/R.187	Consultations with the Government of Ethiopia (letter dated 28 April).
8 May 1950	A/AC.34/R.188	Report of the Economic Sub-Commission.
12 May 1950	A/AC.34/R.188/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to the report of the Economic Sub-Commission.
9 May 1950	A/AC.34/R.189	Discriminatory legislation against half-castes.
10 May 1950	A/AC.34/R.190	Acts of political terrorism and operation of "Shifita" bands in Eritrea.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
11 May 1950	A/AC.34/R.191	Press conference by Dr. Garcia Bauer, representative of Guatemala on 3 May 1950 (resolution adopted).
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/R.192	Redrafting of chapter II, sections I, II and III of the report.
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/R.193	Ninth list of communications from organizations.
16 May 1950	A/AC.34/R.194	Conversation between the representative of the Union of South Africa and Mr. John E. Utter (resolution adopted).
17 May 1950	A/AC.34/R.195	Chapters I and II of the draft report. Additional paragraphs and redraft of paragraph (c) of chapter II, section V. Fifth memorandum by the Rapporteur.
18 May 1950	A/AC.34/R.196	Chapters I and II (sixth memorandum by the Rapporteur).
19 May 1950	A/AC.34/R.196/ Add.1	Chapters I and II of the report.
19 May 1950	A/AC.34/R.197	Resolution adopted on procedure with regard to subsequent chapters of the report.
4 June 1950	A/AC.34/R.198	Draft report of the Commission (seventh memorandum by the Rapporteur).
5 June 1950	A/AC.34/R.198/ Corr.1	Corrigendum to the draft report of the Commission.
7 June 1950	A/AC.34/R.199	Table of contents and addendum to annex 7 of the draft report of the Commission (eighth memorandum by the Rapporteur).
7 June 1950	A/AC.34/R.200	Consideration of the report of the Commission by the Interim Committee and the General Assembly (Burma: proposal).
7 June 1950	AAC.34/R.201	Report of the Commission to the General Assembly.
8 June 1950	A/AC.34/R.202	Consideration of the report of the Commission by the Interim Committee and the General Assembly.
10 June 1950	A/AC.34/R.203	Tenth list of communications from organizations.
LIMITED		
22 February 1950	A/AC.34/L.1	Declaration by the Commission.
AGENDA		
6 January 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 1	Provisional agenda for the 1st meeting of the Commission.
5 February 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 2	Provisional agenda for the 2nd meeting of the Commission.
7 February 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 3	Provisional agenda for the 3rd meeting of the Commission.
12 February 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 4	Provisional agenda for the 4th meeting of the Commission.
14 February 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 5	Provisional agenda for the 5th meeting of the Commission.
16 February 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 6	Provisional agenda for the 6th meeting of the Commission.
17 February 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 7	Provisional agenda for the 7th meeting of the Commission.
19 February 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 8	Provisional agenda for the 8th meeting of the Commission.
21 February 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 9	Provisional agenda for the 9th meeting of the Commission.
22 February 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 10	Provisional agenda for the 10th meeting of the Commission.
23 February 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 11	Provisional agenda for the 11th meeting of the Commission.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
23 February 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 12	Provisional agenda for the 12th meeting of the Commission.
24 February 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 13	Provisional agenda for the 13th meeting of the Commission.
24 February 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 14	Provisional agenda for the 14th meeting of the Commission.
25 February 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 15	Provisional agenda for the 15th meeting of the Commission.
27 February 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 16	Provisional agenda for the 16th meeting of the Commission.
27 February 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 17	Provisional agenda for the 17th meeting of the Commission.
3 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 18	Provisional agenda for the 18th meeting of the Commission.
3 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 19	Provisional agenda for the 19th meeting of the Commission.
7 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 20	Provisional agenda for the 20th meeting of the Commission.
7 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 21	Provisional agenda for the 21st meeting of the Commission.
8 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 22	Provisional agenda for the 22nd meeting of the Commission.
8 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 22/ Rev. 1	Provisional agenda for the 22nd meeting of the Commission.
8 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 23	Provisional agenda for the 23rd meeting of the Commission.
11 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 24	Provisional agenda for the 24th meeting of the Commission.
13 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 25	Provisional agenda for the 25th meeting of the Commission.
13 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 26	Provisional agenda for the 26th meeting of the Commission.
14 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 27	Provisional agenda for the 27th meeting of the Commission.
16 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 28	Provisional agenda for the 28th meeting of the Commission.
22 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 29	Provisional agenda for the 29th meeting of the Commission.
22 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 29/ Rev. 1	Provisional agenda for the 29th meeting of the Commission.
24 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 30	Provisional agenda for the 30th meeting of the Commission.
25 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 31	Provisional agenda for the 31st meetings of the Commission.
26 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 32	Provisional agenda for the 32nd meeting of the Commission.
28 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 33	Provisional agenda for the 33rd meeting of the Commission.
29 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 34	Provisional agenda for the 34th meeting of the Commission.
30 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 35	Provisional agenda for the 35th meeting of the Commission.
30 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 36	Provisional agenda for the 36th meeting of the Commission.
31 March 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 37	Provisional agenda for the 37th meeting of the Commission.
3 April 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 38	Provisional agenda for the 38th meeting of the Commission.
3 April 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 39	Provisional agenda for the 39th meeting of the Commission.
5 April 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 40	Provisional agenda for the 40th meeting of the Commission.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
5 April 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 41	Provisional agenda for the 41st meeting of the Commission.
6 April 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 42	Provisional agenda for the 42nd meeting of the Commission.
24 April 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 43	Provisional agenda for the 43rd meeting of the Commission.
24 April 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 44	Provisional agenda for the 44th meeting of the Commission.
24 April 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 45	Provisional agenda for the 45th meeting of the Commission.
24 April 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 46	Provisional agenda for the 46th meeting of the Commission.
24 April 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 47	Provisional agenda for the 47th meeting of the Commission.
24 April 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 48	Provisional agenda for the 48th meeting of the Commission.
27 April 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 49	Provisional agenda for the 49th meeting of the Commission.
27 April 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 50	Provisional agenda for the 50th meeting of the Commission.
1 May 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 51	Provisional agenda for the 51st meeting of the Commission.
1 May 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 51/ Corr. 1	Corrigenda to the provisional agenda for the 51st meeting of the Commission.
9 May 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 52	Provisional agenda for the 52nd meeting of the Commission.
10 May 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 53	Provisional agenda for the 53rd meeting of the Commission.
11 May 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 54	Provisional agenda for the 54th meeting of the Commission.
11 May 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 55	Provisional agenda for the 55th meeting of the Commission.
11 May 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 56	Provisional agenda for the 56th meeting of the Commission.
12 May 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 57	Provisional agenda for the 57th meeting of the Commission.
12 May 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 58	Provisional agenda for the 58th meeting of the Commission.
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 59	Provisional agenda for the 59th meeting of the Commission.
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 60	Provisional agenda for the 60th meeting of the Commission.
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 61	Provisional agenda for the 61st meeting of the Commission.
16 May 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 62	Provisional agenda for the 62nd meeting of the Commission.
17 May 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 63	Provisional agenda for the 63rd meeting of the Commission.
17 May 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 64	Provisional agenda for the 64th meeting of the Commission.
19 May 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 65	Provisional agenda for the 65th meeting of the Commission.
19 May 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 66	Provisional agenda for the 66th meeting of the Commission.
4 June 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 67	Provisional agenda for the 67th meeting of the Commission.
5 June 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 68	Provisional agenda for the 68th meeting of the Commission.
7 June 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 69	Provisional agenda for the 69th meeting of the Commission.
8 June 1950	A/AC.34/Agenda 70	Provisional agenda for the 70th meeting of the Commission.

SUMMARY RECORDS

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
11 January 1950	A/AC.34/SR.1 Restricted	Summary record of the 1st meeting (Lake Success, 10 January 1950, 11 a.m.)
23 January 1950	A/AC.34/SR.1/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 1st meeting.
12 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.2 Restricted	Summary record of the 2nd meeting (Cairo, 7 February 1950, 10 a.m.).
16 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.2/Corr.1 Restricted	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 2nd meeting (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
12 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.3 Restricted	Summary record of the 3rd meeting (Cairo, 7 February 1950, 3:30 p.m.).
16 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.3/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 3rd meeting (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
16 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.4 Restricted	Summary record of the 4th meeting (Asmara, 14 February 1950, 10 a.m.).
16 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.5 Restricted	Summary record of the 5th meeting. (Asmara, 14 February 1950, 3 p.m.).
21 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.5/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 5th meeting (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
17 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.6 Restricted	Summary record of the 6th meeting (Asmara, 17 February 1950, 10 a.m.).
19 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.7 Restricted	Summary record of the 7th meeting (Asmara, 18 February 1950, 10 a.m.).
23 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.7/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 7th meeting (submitted by the delegations of Norway and Burma).
23 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.7/Corr.2	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 7th meeting (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
21 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.8/Part 1 Limited	Summary record of the 8th meeting (Asmara, 20 February 1950, 3 p.m.) (public).
3 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.8/Part 1/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to summary record of the 8th meeting, part 1.
21 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.8/Part 2 Restricted	Summary record of the 8th meeting (Asmara, 20 February 1950, 3 p.m.) (private).
1 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.8/Part 2/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 8th meeting, part 2 (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
21 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.9/Part 1 Limited	Summary record of the 9th meeting (Asmara, 21 February 1950, 3 p.m.) (public).
21 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.9/Part 2 Restricted	Summary record of the 9th meeting (Asmara, 21 February 1950, 3 p.m.) (private).
28 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.9/Part 1/ Corr. 1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 9th meeting, part 1 (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
28 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.9/Part 2/ Corr. 1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 9th meeting, part 2 (submitted by the delegation of Norway).
22 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.10/Part 1 Limited	Summary record of the 10th meeting (Asmara, 22 February 1950, 3 p.m.) (public).

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
16 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.10/Part 1/ Corr. 1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 10th meeting, part 1 (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
22 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.10/Part 2 Restricted	Summary record of the 10th meeting (Asmara, 22 February 1950, 3 p.m.) (private).
16 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.10/Part 2/ Corr. 1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 10th meeting, part 2 (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
23 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.11 Restricted	Summary record of the 11th meeting (Asmara, 23 February 1950, 3 p.m.).
24 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.12 Limited	Summary record of the 12th meeting (Asmara, 24 February 1950, 10 a.m.) (public).
16 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.12/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 12th meeting (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
24 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.13 Limited	Summary record of the 13th meeting (Asmara, 24 February 1950, 3:30 p.m.) (public).
16 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.13/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 13th meeting.
25 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.14 Limited	Summary record of the 14th meeting (Asmara, 25 February 1950, 10 a.m.) (public).
25 February 1950	A/AC.34/SR.15 Limited	Summary record of the 15th meeting (Asmara, 25 February 1950, 3 p.m.) (public).
14 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.15/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 15th meeting.
4 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.16/Part 1 Limited	Summary record of the 16th meeting (Asmara, 28 February 1950, 10 a.m.) (public).
4 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.16/Part 2 Restricted	Summary record of the 16th meeting (Asmara, 28 February 1950, 10 a.m.) (private).
16 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.16/Part 2/ Corr. 1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 16th meeting, part 2 (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
4 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.17 Restricted	Summary record of the 17th meeting (Asmara, 28 February 1950, 3 p.m.).
4 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.18 Limited	Summary record of the 18th meeting (Asmara, 3 March 1950, 10 a.m.) (public).
16 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.18/Corr.1	Corrigenda to summary record of the 18th meeting (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
8 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.19 Limited	Summary record of the 19th meeting (Asmara, 3 March 1950, 3 p.m.) (public).
5 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.20 Restricted	Summary record of the 20th meeting (Massawa, 5 March 1950, 7 p.m.) (private).
9 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.20/Corr.1	Corrigenda to summary record of the 20th meeting (submitted by the Chairman).
8 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.21 Limited	Summary record of the 21st meeting. (Asmara, 8 March 1950, 10 a.m.) (public).
11 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.22 Limited	Summary record of the 22nd meeting. (Asmara, 8 March 1950, 3 p.m.) (public).
11 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.23/Part 1 Limited	Summary record of the 23rd meeting. (Asmara, 9 March 1950, 3 p.m.) (public).

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
16 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.23/Part 2 Restricted	Summary record of the 23rd meeting, part 2. (Asmara 9 March 1950, 3 p.m.) (private).
17 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.24 Limited	Summary record of the 24th meeting. (Asmara, 13 March 1950, 10 a.m.) (public).
31 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.24/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 24th meeting.
31 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.24/Corr.1 A	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 24th meeting.
17 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.25 Limited	Summary record of the 25th meeting. (Asmara, 13 March 1950, 3 p.m.) (public).
26 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.25/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 25th meeting.
24 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.26 Limited	Summary record of the 26th meeting. (Asmara, 14 March 1950, 10 a.m.) (public).
24 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.27 Limited	Summary record of the 27th meeting. (Asmara, 14 March 1950, 3 p.m.) (public).
25 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.28 Limited	Summary record of the 28th meeting. (Keren, 16 March 1950, 7 p.m.) (public).
25 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.29/Part 1 Limited	Summary record of the 29th meeting part 1. (Asmara, 22 March 1950, 11 a.m.) (public).
25 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.29/Part 2 Restricted	Summary record of the 29th meeting part 2. (Asmara, 22 March 1950, 11 a.m.) (private).
29 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.29/Part 2/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 29th meeting (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
28 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.30 Restricted	Summary record of the 30th meeting (Asmara, 25 March 1950, 9 a.m.) (private).
28 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.31 Restricted	Summary record of the 31st meeting (Asmara, 25 March 1950, 3 p.m.) (private).
3 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.31/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 31st meeting (submitted by the Chairman, the delegations of Norway and South Africa).
28 March 1950	A/AC.34/SR.32 Limited	Summary record of the 32nd meeting (Asmara, 27 March 1950, 10 a.m.) (public).
3 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.33 Limited	Summary record of the 33rd meeting (Asmara, 29 March 1950 10 a.m.) (public).
3 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.34/Part 1 Limited	Summary record of the 34th meeting (Asmara, 29 March 1950, 3 p.m.) (public).
3 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.34/Part 2 Restricted	Summary record of the 34th meeting (Asmara, 29 March 1950, 3 p.m.) (private).
1 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.34/Part 1/ Corr. 1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 34th meeting, part I (submitted by the delegation of South Africa).
3 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.35 Limited	Summary record of the 35th meeting (Asmara, 30 March 1950, 12:10 p.m.) (public).
1 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.35/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 35th meeting (submitted by the Principal Secretary).
7 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.36 Restricted	Summary record of the 36th meeting (Asmara, 31 March 1950, 10 a.m.) (private).

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
1 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.36/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 36th meeting (submitted by the Principal Secretary).
10 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.37 Limited	Summary record of the 37th meeting (Asmara, 1 April 1950, 10 a.m.) (public).
10 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.38/Part 1 Limited	Summary record of the 38th meeting, part 1 (Asmara, 3 April 1950, 10 a.m.) (public).
10 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.38/Part 2 Restricted	Summary record of the 38th meeting, part 2 (Asmara, 3 April 1950, 10 a.m.) (private).
6 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.38/Part 2/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 38th meeting, part 2 (submitted by the delegation of South Africa).
10 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.39/Part 1 Limited	Summary record of the 39th meeting, part 1 (Asmara, 3 April 1950, 3 p.m.) (public).
1 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.39/Part 1/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 39th meeting, part 1 (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
10 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.39/Part 2 Restricted	Summary record of the 39th meeting, part 2 (Asmara, 3 April 1950, 3 p.m.) (private).
1 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.39/Part 2/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 39th meeting, part 2 (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
10 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.40 Limited	Summary record of the 40th meeting (Asmara, 5 April 1950, 3 p.m.) (public).
28 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.41 Limited	Summary record of the 41st meeting (Asmara, 6 April 1950, 9 a.m.).
28 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.42 Limited	Summary record of the 42nd meeting (Asmara, 6 April 1950, 3 p.m.).
6 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.42/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 42nd meeting (submitted by the delegation of South Africa).
12 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.42/Corr.1/ Add.1	Addendum to corrigendum to summary record of the 42nd meeting (submitted by the delegation of South Africa).
24 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.43 Limited	Summary record of the 43rd meeting, (Ras Hotel, Addis Ababa, 10 April 1950, 11 a.m.).
1 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.43/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 43rd meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
24 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.44 Limited	Summary record of the 44th meeting, (Ras Hotel, Addis Ababa, 11 April 1950, 5 p.m.).
24 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.44/Corr.1	Corrigenda to summary record of the 44th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
24 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.45 Limited	Summary record of the 45th meeting, (Semiramis Hotel, Cairo, 13 April 1950, 3 p.m.).
20 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.45/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 45th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
24 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.46/Part 1 Limited	Summary record of the 46th meeting, (Semiramis Hotel, Cairo, 15 April 1950, 5:45 p.m.).
24 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.46/Part 2 Restricted	Summary record of the 46th meeting, (Semiramis Hotel, Cairo, 15 April 1950, 5:45 p.m.).

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
25 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.46/Part2/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 46th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
24 April 1950	A/AC.34/SR.47 Limited	Summary record of the 47th meeting, (Excelsior Hotel, Rome, 19 April 1950, 10 a.m.).
1 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.48 Limited	Summary record of the 48th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 25 April 1950, 10:30 a.m.).
24 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.48/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 48th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
1 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.49 Restricted	Summary record of the 49th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 25 April 1950, 3:15 p.m.).
1 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.50/Part 1 Limited	Summary record of the 50th meeting (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 28 April 1950, 10 a.m.).
1 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.50/Part 2 Restricted	Summary record of the 50th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 28 April 1950, 10 a.m.).
24 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.50/Part 2/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 50th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
5 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.51/Part 1 Limited	Summary record of the 51st meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 3 May 1950, 10 a.m.).
24 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.51/Part 1/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 51st meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
5 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.51/Part 2 Restricted	Summary record of the 51st meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 3 May 1950, 10 a.m.).
24 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.51/Part 2/ Corr.1	Corrigendum to the summary record of the 51st meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
12 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.52 Restricted	Summary record of the 52nd meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 10 May 1950, 10 a.m.).
16 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.52/Corr.1	Corrigendum to the summary record of the 52nd meeting (submitted by the delegation of Pakistan).
17 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR./52/Corr.2	Corrigendum to the summary record of the 52nd meeting.
24 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.52/Corr.3	Corrigendum to the summary record of the 52nd meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
12 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.53/Part 1 Limited	Summary record of the 53rd meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 10 May 1950, 3:30 p.m.).
16 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.53/Part1/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 53rd meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Norway).
24 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.53/Part 1/ Corr. 2	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 53rd meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
4 June 1950	A/AC.34/SR.53/Part 1/ Corr.2/Rev. 1	Revision to corrigenda 2 to the summary record of the 53rd meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
12 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.53/Part 2 Restricted	Summary record of the 53rd meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 10 May 1950, 3:20 p.m.).
24 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.53/Part 2/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 53rd meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.54 Restricted	Summary record of the 54th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 11 May 1950, 10 a.m.).
25 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.54/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 54th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.55 Restricted	Summary record of the 55th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 11 May 1950, 3 p.m.).
17 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.55/Corr.1	Corrigendum to the summary record of the 55th meeting.
25 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.55/Corr.2	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 55th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.56 Restricted	Summary record of the 56th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 12 May 1950, 10 a.m.).
25 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.56/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 56th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.57 Restricted	Summary record of the 57th meeting (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 12 May 1950, 3 p.m.).
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.57/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 57th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
31 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.57/Corr.1/ Add.1	Addendum to the corrigenda to the summary record of the 57th meeting.
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.58 Restricted	Summary record of the 58th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 13 May 1950, 10 a.m.).
20 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.58/Corr.1	Corrigendum to the summary record of the 58th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of South Africa).
25 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.58/Corr.2	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 58th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.59 Limited	Summary record of the 59th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 15 May 1950, 10 a.m.).
25 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.59/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 59th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
17 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.60/Part 1 Limited	Summary record of the 60th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 15 May 1950, 3:30 p.m.).
30 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.60/Part 1/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 60th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
3 June 1950	A/AC.34/SR.60/Part 1/ Corr.2	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 60th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Norway).
20 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.60/Part 2 Restricted	Summary record of the 60th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 15 May 1950, 3:30 p.m.).
22 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.61 Restricted	Summary record of the 61st meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 16 May 1950, 10 a.m.).
22 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.62 Restricted	Summary record of the 62nd meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 16 May 1950, 2:30 p.m.).
30 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.62/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 62nd meeting, (submitted by the delegation of the Union of South Africa).

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
4 June 1950	A/AC.34/SR.62/Corr.2	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 62nd meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
22 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.63 Restricted	Summary record of the 63rd meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 17 May 1950, 10 a.m.).
31 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.63/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 63rd meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Norway).
22 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.64 Restricted	Summary record of the 64th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 17 May 1950, 3 p.m.).
30 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.64/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 64th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of the Union of South Africa).
22 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.65 Restricted	Summary record of the 65th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 19 May 1950, 10 a.m.).
3 June 1950	A/AC.34/SR.65/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 65th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
22 May 1950	A/AC.34/SR.66 Restricted	Summary record of the 66th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 20 May 1950, 10 a.m.).
1 June 1950	A/AC.34/SR.66/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 66th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of the Union of South Africa).
6 June 1950	A/AC.34/SR.67 Restricted	Summary record of the 67th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 6 June 1950, 10 a.m.).
6 June 1950	A/AC.34/SR.68 Restricted	Summary record of the 68th meeting of the Commission, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 6 June 1950, 3 p.m.).
8 June 1950	A/AC.34/SR.69 Restricted	Summary record of the 69th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 8 June 1950, 10 a.m.).
8 June 1950	A/AC.34/SR70	Summary record of the 70th meeting of the Commission, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 8 June 1950, 3 p.m.).
11 January 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.1 Restricted	List of delegations.
28 February 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.1/Rev.1 Restricted	List of delegations.
13 January 1950	A/AC.34/Inf. 2 Restricted	Transportation programme.
17 January 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.2/Rev.1 Restricted	Transportation programme.
16 January 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.3 Restricted	Secretariat.
20 January 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.3/Rev.2 Restricted	Secretariat.
28 February 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.3/Rev.3 Restricted	Secretariat.
10 February 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.4 Restricted	Administrative arrangements for the mission.
11 February 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.5 Restricted	Newspapers and periodicals published in Eritrea.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
11 February 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.6 Restricted	Political parties and organizations.
20 February 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.7 Restricted	List of Commission documents.
27 February 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.8 Restricted	Distribution of communique to the inhabitants of Eritrea.
2 March 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.8/Add.1 Restricted	Distribution of communique to the inhabitants of Eritrea.
28 February 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.9 Restricted	Publication of schedule of visits.
3 March 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.10 Restricted	List of Commission documents.
13 March 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.11 Restricted	Communication from the Administering Authority dated 13 March 1950.
17 March 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.12	Communication from the Special Liaison Officer, British Administration in Eritrea.
18 March 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.13	List of summary records of field group hearings.
24 March 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.14 Restricted	List of communications from the British Administration in answer to the various Questionnaires.
6 April 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.14/Rev.1 Restricted	List of communications from the British Administration in answer to the various Questionnaires.
31 March 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.15 Restricted	Chairmanship of the Commission.
10 April 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.16 Restricted	List of Commission documents.
1 May 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.16/Corr.1 Restricted	Corrigendum to the list of Commission documents.
27 April 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.17 Restricted	List of summary records of field group hearings.
23 May 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.18 Restricted	List of Commission documents.
25 May 1950	A/AC.34/Inf.18/Corr.1	Corrigendum to the list of Commission documents.

SUB-COMMISSION I: ECONOMIC SUB-COMMISSION

AGENDA

8 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 1	Provisional agenda for the 1st meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
13 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 2	Provisional agenda for the 2nd meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
21 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 3	Provisional agenda for the 3rd meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
25 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 4	Provisional agenda for the 4th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
29 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 5	Provisional agenda for the 5th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
29 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 5/ Rev. 1	Provisional agenda for the 5th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
29 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 6	Provisional agenda for the 6th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
30 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 6/ Rev.1	Provisional agenda for the 6th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
31 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 6/ Rev. 2	Provisional agenda for the 6th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
31 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 7	Provisional agenda for the 7th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
1 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 8	Provisional agenda for the 8th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
3 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 9	Provisional agenda for the 9th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
4 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 10	Provisional agenda for the 10th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
5 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 10 Rev.1	Provisional agenda for the 10th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
5 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 11	Provisional agenda for the 11th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
27 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 12	Provisional agenda for the 12th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
28 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 13	Provisional agenda for the 13th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
2 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 14	Provisional agenda for the 14th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
2 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 15	Provisional agenda for the 15th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
2 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 16	Provisional agenda for the 16th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
2 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 17	Provisional agenda for the 17th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
2 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 18	Provisional agenda for the 18th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
3 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 19	Provisional agenda for the 19th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
4 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 20	Provisional agenda for the 20th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
4 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 21	Provisional agenda for the 21st meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
6 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 22	Provisional agenda for the 22nd meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
6 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/Agenda 23	Provisional agenda for the 23rd meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.

SUMMARY RECORDS

9 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.1 Restricted	Summary record of the 1st meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission (Asmara, 9 March 1950, 12 noon).
14 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.1/ Corr. 1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 1st meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
16 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.2 Restricted	Summary record of the 2nd meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission (Asmara, 14 March 1950, 9 a.m.).
23 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.2/ Corr. 1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 2nd meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission.
29 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.3 Restricted	Summary record of the 3rd meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission (Asmara, 22 March 1950, 10 a.m.).
3 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.4 Restricted	Summary record of the 4th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission (Asmara, 27 March 1950, 3 p.m.).

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
3 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.5	Summary record of the 5th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission (Asmara, 28 March 1950, 3 p.m.).
16 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.5/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 5th meeting, (submitted by the British Administration).
5 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.6 Restricted	Summary record of the 6th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission, (Asmara, 30 March 1950, 3 p.m.).
16 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.6/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 6th meeting, (submitted by the British Administration in Eritrea).
5 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.7 Restricted	Summary record of the 7th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission, (Asmara, 31 March 1950, 3 p.m.).
5 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.8 Limited	Summary record of the 8th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission, (Asmara, 1 April 1950, 3 p.m.).
10 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.9 Restricted	Summary record of the 9th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission, (Asmara, 3 April 1950, 3 p.m.).
16 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.9/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 9th meeting, (submitted by the British Administration in Eritrea).
10 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.10 Restricted	Summary record of the 10th meeting of the Economic Sub-Commission, (Asmara, 5 April 1950, 10 a.m.).
24 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.11 Restricted	Summary record of the 11th meeting, (Asmara, 6 April 1950, 3 p.m.).
16 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.11/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 11th meeting.
24 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.12 Restricted	Summary record of the 12th meeting (Semiramis Hotel, Cairo, 15 April 1950, 3 p.m.).
16 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.12/ Corr. 1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 12th meeting.
2 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.13/ Restricted	Summary record of the 13th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 29 April 1950, 10 a.m.).
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.13/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 13th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Norway).
16 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.13/ Corr.2	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 13th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of South Africa).
2 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.14/ Part 1 Limited	Summary record of the 14th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 29 April 1950, 2:30 p.m.).
25 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.14/ Part 1/Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 14th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
2 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.14/ Part 2 Restricted	Summary record of the 14th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 29 April 1950, 2:30 p.m.).
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.14/ Part 2/Corr.1	Corrigendum to the summary record of the 14th meeting, part 2.
25 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.14/ Part 2/Corr.2	Corrigendum to the summary record of the 14th meeting, part 2 (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
2 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.15 Restricted	Summary record of the 15th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 1 May 1950, 9 a.m.).

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
16 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.15/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 15th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of South Africa).
25 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.15/ Corr.2	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 15th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
2 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.16 Restricted	Summary record of the 16th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 1 May 1950, 2:30 p.m.).
17 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.16/ Corr.1	Corrigendum to the summary record of the 16th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Norway).
25 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.16/ Corr.2	Corrigenda to the summary record of the 16th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
2 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.17 Restricted	Summary record of the 17th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 2 May 1950, 9 a.m.).
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.17/ Corr.1	Corrigendum to summary record of the 17th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Norway).
16 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.17/ Corr.2	Corrigenda to summary record of the 17th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of South Africa).
25 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.17/ Corr.3	Corrigenda to summary record of the 17th meeting, (submitted by the delegation of Guatemala).
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.18 Restricted	Summary record of the 18th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 2 May 1950, 2:30 p.m.).
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.19 Restricted	Summary record of the 19th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 3 May 1950, 2:30 p.m.).
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.20 Restricted	Summary record of the 20th meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 4 May 1950, 9 a.m.).
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.21 Restricted	Summary record of the 21st meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 4 May 1950, 2:30 p.m.).
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.22 Restricted	Summary record of the 22nd meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 5 May 1950, 3 p.m.).
15 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/SR.23 Restricted	Summary record of the 23rd meeting, (Palais des Nations, Geneva, 8 May 1950, 4 p.m.).

RESTRICTED

11 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/R.1	Economic information available to the Economic Sub-Commission.
16 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/R.1/ Add.1	Economic information available to the Economic Sub-Commission.
16 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/R.2	Economic information received from non-governmental organizations.
23 March 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/R.3	Communication from the British Administration in answer to questions by the Economic Sub-Commission.
4 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/R.4	Communication from the British Administration in answer to a request for additional information on educational, public service, employment and public health.
24 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/R.5	Communication by the British Administration in answer to a request for information on agriculture.
27 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/R.6	Communication from the British Administration in answer to a request for additional information on mineral resources.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Title</i>
27 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/R.7	Report of the Economic Sub-Commission, (first draft).
27 April 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/R.7/ Corr.1	Corrigenda to the Report of the Economic Sub-Commission.
3 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/R.8	Report of the Economic Sub-Commission, (second draft).
4 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/R.9	Communication from the British Administration in answer to request for additional information on mineral resources.
6 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/R.8/ Add.1	Report of the Economic Sub-Commission, (second draft).
25 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/R.10	Communication by the British Administration in answer to a request for information on employment, trade, industry and finance.
25 May 1950	A/AC.34/SC.1/R.11	Communication by the British Administration in answer to a request for information on public health.

ANNEX 17

List of Visits and Hearings (arranged chronologically)

<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Witness and Party Represented</i>	<i>Document No.</i>
Asmara	24 February	Ibrahim Sultan, Eritrean Bloc for Independence	A/AC.34/SR.12
Asmara	24 February	Ibrahim Sultan, Eritrean Bloc for Independence Omar Ahmed, Tribes of the Baraba Group (Agordat Branch, Moslem League)	A/AC.34/SR.13
Asmara	25 February	Kaliffa Saleh Bumnet, Independent Eritrea Party, Keren	A/AC.34/SR.14
Asmara	25 February	Ali Omar Osman, Adi Caieh Branch (Akele Guzai Division) of the Moslem League Adum Humed Agdubai, District of Keren and the Sea Coast Dr. Vincenzo di Meglio, CRIE Sheik Hamid Mohed Nur Abualama, Beni Amir Tribes, Agordat	A/AC.34/SR.15
Gura, Decamere, Marabe and Saganeiti	27 February	<i>Gura</i> Deg. Berbe Asberom, Independence Party Deg. Ghebrai Toclu, Unionist Party of Saganeiti Gr. Asberom Abraha, Liberal Unionist Party <i>Decamere</i> Haggi Soliman Abdul Kadir, Moslem League Bashiai Ogba Mahari, Liberal Unionist Party Shelika Teklilimkiel Woldenkiel, Independent Eritrea Party Cag. Hadghembes Cufiom, Unionist Party, Decamere and Engana Habte Tesfu, Liberal Unionist Party Ras Tesemma Asbarom, Independence Bloc and Liberal Progressive Party, Marabe Mohamed Osman Mohamed Nur, Moslem League Azmac Mahenzel, Az Saleh Ibrahim, Shelecca Andemariam Tesfa, New Eritrea <i>Saganeiti</i> Fitaurir Gheremedhin Berhane, Unionist Party	A/AC.34/R.38
Hamasien Division at Zazzega, Himberti and Falugue	27 February	<i>Zazzega</i> Fiturai Haragat Abbai, Takkale Agaba District Bashai Hagoo Ibrahim, Moslems in Minabe Zerai and Takkale Agaba Districts Kegnazmach Mohamed Sleh Ali Bekit, Moslem Branch of Unionist Party Tedla Woldu, Christian Copts of Minabe Zerai District Asmach Gerekidan Bidu, Christian Copts of Dekki Teskim District Blatta, Mebratu, Gennetou, Unionist Party in Hamasien Division	A/AC.34/R.42

<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Witness and Party Represented</i>	<i>Document No.</i>			
Hamasien Division at Zazzega, Himberti and Falugue	27 February	<i>Himberti</i> Grazenech Hailu Tesfagergas, Logga Chwa District Nuru Hussein, Moslem people of Logga Chwa District Kashi Gabrimichael, Tesfarlideh, Kabesa Chwa District Abdur Rahim Ogbakeder, Moslems of Adi Guardat village in Kabesa Chwa District Blatta Mebratu Gennetou, Unionist Party	A/AC.34/R.42			
		<i>Falugue</i> Basahai Menelik Gilagaber and Bashai Gobru Germedhin, Saharti District Bashai Sahaiye Asta and Bashai Tesfarmariam Desta, District of Wokerti Bashai Gevriet Tesfai and Atul Metzgenha Gebresgi, Woderti District Nuru Hussain Humed, Moslems in Saharti, Wokerti and Lamza Gyeznach Beiene Mevratu, Headman of three Districts				
		Asmara		28 February	Mr. Pollera, Italo-Eritrean Association	A/AC.34/SR.16/Part 1
		Asmara		28 February	Tedla Bairu, Unionist Party	A/AC.34/SR.17
		Adi Caieh		1 and 2 March	Nasser Pasha, Achele Guzai Branch of Moslem League Haggi Mohamed Ali, Moslem League, Miniferi Tribes Graz. Mohamed Said Ali Bay, Miniferi Tribes Judge Masho, Liberal Progressive Party	A/AC.34/R.51
		Adi Caieh and Coatit		1 and 2 March	<i>Adi Caieh</i> Independence Bloc Graz. Bahta Habtegherghis, New Eritrea Party Barachi Ghebre, Independent Party of Eritrea Fit. Moges Zahlai, War Veterans <i>Coatit</i> Berhi Gheredhin, Independent Eritrean Party Una. Negasc Mohammed, Moslem League Ghereiesus Woldegabe, Unionist Party Abraha Ghebregzhi, Liberal Unionist Party	A/AC.34/R.53
		Adi Caieh and Senafe			<i>Adi Caieh</i> Asma Beienne, Unionist Party Fiotorari Saleh Omar, Moslem element of Unionist Party Osman Mohamed, Liberal Unionist Party Deg. Belai Negusse, Unionist Party Haji Mohamed Ali, Unionist Party	A/AC.34/R.53

<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Witness and Party Represented</i>	<i>Document No.</i>
Adi Caieli and Senafe	1 and 2 March	<i>Senafe</i> Kadi Ali Omar, Moslem League Asmach Ibrahim Negusse, Liberal Progressive Party Kag. Seium Kassa, New Eritrea Party Gras. Tesfai Zerai, Independence Bloc Kag. Beserat Gheme Dhin, Old Veterans of War Association	A/AC.34/R.53
Asmara	3 March	Osman Tekles, New Eritrea Party Ali Ibrahim, Old Veterans of War Association, Asmara	A/AC.34/SR.19
Ghinda in Red Sea Division	4 March	Scek Mohammed Jahia Ahmed Dirkhi and Mohammed Omar Cadi, Independent Moslem League Graz. Haile Mallou, Unionist Party Graz. George Haptit, Unionist Party Bashai Mohamed Gabra Hawata, Moslem Bash. Woldenki Tesfasgai, Unionist Party	A/AC.34/R.51
Ghinda in Red Sea Division	4 March	Omar Sehfar, Independence Bloc Bas. Gheresghier Teclé, Liberal Progressive Party Jassin Hassan Naib, National Party of Ghinda	A/AC.34/R.56
Massawa Naval Base in Red Sea Division	5 March	Idris Mohammed Naeb, Independent Moslem League Moh Idris Nur El Din, Unionist Party Zaree Fasahaie, Unionist Party	A/AC.34/R.57
Massawa Airport in Red Sea Division		Yassin Mahmoud Batouk, Moslem League Ahmed Hassan, Moslem League Achmed Abdel-Mader Bashai and Yassin Effendi Hassan Naib, National Party of Massawa Ali Ibrahim Bescir, Independent Eritrea Party Abdullah Mohammed Saieck, New Eritrea Party Garachmat Omar Suleman, War Veterans	A/AC.34/R.60
Arkiko and Wakiro in the Red Sea Division	6 March	<i>Arkiko</i> Saleh Hassan Naib, Moslem League Arey Osman and Said Osman Ramadan, National Party Cav. Said Hassan Omar, Mohamed Eff. Osman Jaaly, and Sheikh Osman Adam Bey, Eritrean Independent Party Ahmed Mahmoud Nobinett and Abi Haggi Idris, New Eritrea Party Jetrane Mahmoud Ahmad Tcheroum, The Party of War Veterans	A/AC.34/R.82

<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Witness and Party Represented</i>	<i>Document No.</i>
Arkiko and Wakiro in the Red Sea Division	6 March	Yasin Abdel Kamel Gameel, Unionist Party Mohamed Ali Sheikh Elamin, Moslem League (Asus-Mashalit, Aflanda, Ad Zizel tribes) Elmin Moussa, Unionist Party (Imbarami-Gumbot-Ad Dirki-Asus Dogali tribes) Ismach Sheik El Amin and Ibrahim Mushalim, Independent Moslem League <i>Wakiro</i> Dabbat Mashal, Moslem League Mr. Suliman, Moslem League Hassan Naib, National Party	A/AC.34/R.82
Sheb in the Western Province	6 March	Haji Mohammed Shangub, Moslem League of Keren (Dagdaghe tribe) Shaikh Bashir Mohammed Ibrahim, Moslem League of Keren (Bit Mahla tribe) Mohammed Sulamim Mahmoud, Independence Bloc Shaikh Osman Isciak Hiptes, Unionist Party (Ad Timariam tribe) Saad Mohammed, Adum Ahmed Omar and Higgiai Mohammed Al Ceda, Independent Moslem League (Aflenda Ad Teel tribe) Blatta Ghibbitan Cant. Mohammed, Unionist Party (Mensa Bet Sciaken tribe)	A/AC.34/R.59
Assab	7 March	Mohammed Omar Akitu Moslem League (Danakil tribe) Ali Ahmed, Moslem League (Adi Ali tribe) Mr. Ronda, Dr. Salle Aldo, Mr. Roberti, Assab element of the CRIE	A/AC.34/R.64
Asmara	8 March	Religious Personalities (hearing requested through Patriotic Association for Union with Ethiopia) Abuna Marcos, Ethiopian Coptic Church for Eritrea and Tigrai Abuna Kidenamarian, Ethiopian Rite for Eritrea Cashu Chebresellase Haptu, Evangelical Church Eritrea Sheik Mohammed Ali Alamin, Massawa	A/AC.34/SR.21
Asmara	8 March	Gheresghier Woldemariam, The Intellectual Association for Eritreans Rosario Cinnirella, The University Circle	A/AC.34/SR.22
Asmara	9 March	Seyun Maasho, Liberal Unionist Party	A/AC.34/SR.23/Part I
Teramni in the Serae Division	10 March	Lidge Solumon Cahsai, Azmac Merac Gudun, and Azmac Zeggai Woldegabriel, Unionist Party Az Berne Ghimamdon and Bashai Nugusse, Liberal Progressive Party	A/AC.34/R.71

<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Witness and Party Represented</i>	<i>Document No.</i>
Teramni in the Serae Division	10 March	<p>Ande Behane Levanor and Cashai Ande Berhane Teraman, Eritrea Nuova Abdullah Said, Moslem League</p> <p>Abba Fessahais Woldesellasse, Monk of Endabbona Enda Abune Abranica, Independent Party</p> <p>Azmac Berhe Gherechidan, Liberal Progressive Party</p>	A/AC.34/R.71
Adi Ugri in the Serae Division	10 March	<p>Prof. Molica Pasquale and Rag. Vito Licata, Italian Community of Adi Ugri</p> <p>Bashir Mohamed Dester, Moslem League Az. Ibrahim Adem, The New Eritrea Party Fit. Sefer Mohamed, War Veterans Maravi Mengustu, Independent Eritrean Party Bashai Neuaia Berhane, Unionist Party Asmac Asfah Asborom, Liberal Unionist Party</p>	A/AC.34/R.79
Mai Aini in the Serae Division	11 March	<p>Unionist Party</p> <p>Cashi Chidanemariam Meconem, Asmac Abbai Gulgia, Cashi Gheremedhin Wolegherghis, Cashi Gheremedhin Tesfo, Mohamed Chiar Bashir, and Haji Omar Adhanon Moslem League Negasc Hagod</p>	A/AC.34/R.76
Adi Quala and Deranto	11 March	<p><i>Adi Quala</i></p> <p>Blotta Aseffau Redda, Liberal Unionist Party Azmac Teferi Woldenchiel, Unionist Party Comm. Degiac Sebihatu Johannes, Liberal Progressive Party</p> <p>Haggi Mohamed Iman Abderhim, Moslem League Ato Teuele Cocobu, Independent Eritrea Party Chesci Teclenariam Tecchie, New Eritrea Party</p> <p><i>Deranto</i></p> <p>Fit. Volden Chiel Mahari, Unionist Party</p> <p><i>Adi Ugri</i></p> <p>Mohamed Idris, Moslem League Fit Saleh Omar, Eritrean Independence Party Blotta Ahmed Aden, New Eritrea Party Balambaros Adhanom Wolderfiel Independent Eritrean Party Deg. Woldenchiel Ras Chidanemariam, Eritrea Nuova</p>	A/AC.34/R.80

<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Witness and Party Represented</i>	<i>Document No.</i>
Arresa in the Serae Division	12 March	Fiteurari Gaston Zemere, War Veterans Fiteurari Laine Chidanemariam, Unionist Party (Dekki Tesfa District) Azmac Naizghi Semere, Unionist Party, (Dembelas District) Fiteurari Abderahman Abdelkai, Unionist Party (Missiam District) Cashi Ben Gheremariam, Unionist Party (Harfe Grotto District)	A/AC.34/R.72
Asmara	13 March	Mohammed Omar Kadi, Independent Moslem League, Massawa Hassan Mohammed Ahmed, Dankalia District	A/AC.34/SR.25
Asmara	14 March	Comm. Guido de Rossi, Italo-Eritrean Association Mr. Maiorani Mr. Roberto Carrelli Mr. Pollera	A/AC.34/SR.26
Asmara	14 March	Asfaha Wolde Michael, Eritrean Association of Ethiopia Abdulla Mohammed Medani, Moslem representative	A/AC.34/SR.27
Ad Taklezan (Hamasiem District)	15 March	Ghashi Abraha Brosto, Unionist Party Keshi Bocrazien Mehzun and Gherenkiel Bekazien, Independence Bloc Bezabeh Tessema, Independent Eritrea Party	A/AC.34/R.87
Keren (Western Province)	15 March	Idris Abdalla Hummed, Moslem League Cab. Idris Liggian, Sheikh Hakin Ali, Ambaie Hapte, and Sheikh Mohammed Osman, Unionist Party Sheik Musa Adam, Moslem League Ibrahim Sultan, Moslem League Mohammed Ali Iobetit, The Tribes of the Four Precincts of Keren (Bet Give tribe)	A/AC.34/R.88
El Abered and Ponte Ansibar (Western Province)	15 March	Abraha Ghidanai, Unionist Party Tesfasghi Ghebresghi, New Eritrea Party Basea Abraha Naud, Eritrean Independent Party Hadgo Assabo, Eritrean Independence Party	A/AC.34/R.93
Hal Hal in the Western Province	16 March	Idris Adam, Moslem League (Maria Tzallim) Kantebai Karar Mohammed, Unionist Party (Beit Tawke) Chenvazmaz Zaree, Unionist Party (Beit Tawke) Asgadom Abrihim (former serf) Khaliffa Mussa Haid, Independence Bloc (Moslem League)	A/AC.34/R.94

<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Witness and Party Represented</i>	<i>Document No.</i>
Kamchewa in the Western Province	16 March	Mohamed Nur Manmud, Moslem League (Almada Adgaieh tribe and eight others) Biemnet Mahmud, Moslem League Omar Sheikh Muhamed Pasha, Unionist Party Hamid Humed Tai, Moslem League (Almada tribe) New Eritrea Party (no name given), War Veterans (no name given)	A/AC.34/R.112
Mensura	17 March	Hamid Farag Hamid, Moslem League (Walid Naho tribe) Salih Hag Idris, Moslem League Dirar Mohamed (New Eritrea Party) Soliman Mohamed Osman, Unionist Party (Natab tribe)	A/AC.34/R.109
Maba in the Western Province	17 March	Mohamed Ali Abdella, Moslem League Hassan Cantebai Osman, Unionist Party Califfa Ahmed Margaba, Moslem League Haj. Mohamed Idris, New Eritrea Party Mohamed Omer Osman, War Veterans	A/AC.34/R.114
Agordat	18 March	Hamed Mohamed Nur Abualama, Moslem League (Beni Amir tribe) Ibrahim Mahmoud Dirar, Unionist Party Idris Nur Mohamed, Eritrean Independence Party Caliph Bumnet, Eritrean Independence Party Hassam Mohamed Unockiai, Agordat Branch of the Moslem League Fessaha Woldemariam, Eritrean Independence Party Osman Takles, New Eritrea Party Mohamed Adam, Old Veterans of War Miss Zeinab Abu Baker, Moslem Mr. Jorini, Italo-Eritrean Association Mr. Giovanni, Italo-Eritrean Association	A/AC.34/R.113
Nicota in the Western Province	19 March	Adum Mohammed Adam, Unionist Party Sher Mohammed Abdurhman, Moslem League Califfa Amar Omer Tacururai, Moslem League Humed Hazam, Eritrea Nueva	A/AC.34/R.102
Tessenei in the Western Province	19 March	Shiack Gemih Gauig and Bashai Tevelde Dobeg, Unionist Party Idris Mohanmed, Eritrea Nuova Party Iassin Shick Adin, Moslem League Gaber Omar, Moslem League	A/AC.34/R.105

<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Witness and Party Represented</i>	<i>Document No.</i>
Tessenei in the Western Province	19 March	Shick Omer Ismail, The Old Veterans of War Association Shiek Soliman Abdella, Moslem League (Beni Amer tribes)	A/AC.34/R.105
Barentu in the Western Province	19 March	Sheik Mohammed Idris Ari, Moslem League Mohammed Abdulla, Moslem League Futarari Yasin Idris Garonai, Unionist Party Mahmoud Mantai, Moslem League Frot Tala Konama, New Eritrea Party Hagar Tote, Old Veterans of War Association	A/AC.34/R.146
Ducambia in the Western Province	20 March	Sheik Ibrahim Humed, Unionist Party (Kunama tribe) Mohamed Badomi, Moslem League (Kunama tribe) Saeed Siror, Moslem League (Beni Amir tribe) Idris Ali, New Eritrea Party (Maria tribe) Dogo Touba, Old Veterans of War Association, (Kunama tribe)	A/AC.34/R.135
Gulluj in the Western Province	20 March	Haj. Salih Asfadat, Moslem League (Bet Guc tribe) Sheik Osman Abdella Soliman, Unionist Party Mohamed Ali Mohamed, Moslem League (Faidab tribe)	A/AC.34/R.110
Keren	21 March	Mr. Luigi Ertola, Keren branch of the CRIE	A/AC.34/R.136
Zula	23 March	<i>Hasha</i> Bella Sebhat Effendi, Unionist Party Haj Ismaic Mohamed, Liberal Unionist Party Hassan Mohamed Ahmed, Independent Moslem League <i>Foro</i> Moslem League Hoggi Ali Mohamed (Dankalia) Sheik Ibrahim Calil (Zula) Said Molid Ali Kamoron (Dahlak) Sheik Humad Amor, Eritrean Independent Party (Zula) Fitamari Almed Molid, War Veterans (Zula) Sheik Elamin Haggi Hum, Nationalist Party (Zula) Almed Ismail, New Eritrea Party (Zula)	A/AC.34/R.121
Asmara	29 March	Dr. Vincenzo di Meglio, CRIE	A/AC.34/SR.34/Part I

<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Witness and Party Represented</i>	<i>Document No.</i>
Asmara	3 April	Hagos Adem, Moslem Mosques at Acria Ahmed Salih Basaad (Asmara) and Nag Nur Ahmed (Hamasien), Moslem League (Hamasien District) and Asmara League	A/AC.34/SR.38/Part I
Asmara	5 April	Bocrezien Musul, representing twenty-five Coptic priests Mufti Ibrahim Elmukhtar (Head of the Sharia courts in Eritrea), Moslem League Emanuele Sordino, Associazione Meticci dell'Eritrea	A/AC.34/SR.40

M A P S

Annex 18

38°

ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

WESTERN PROVINCE

PROVINCE

HAMASLEN

SERAE

ACHELE GUZA

ETHIOPIA





16°

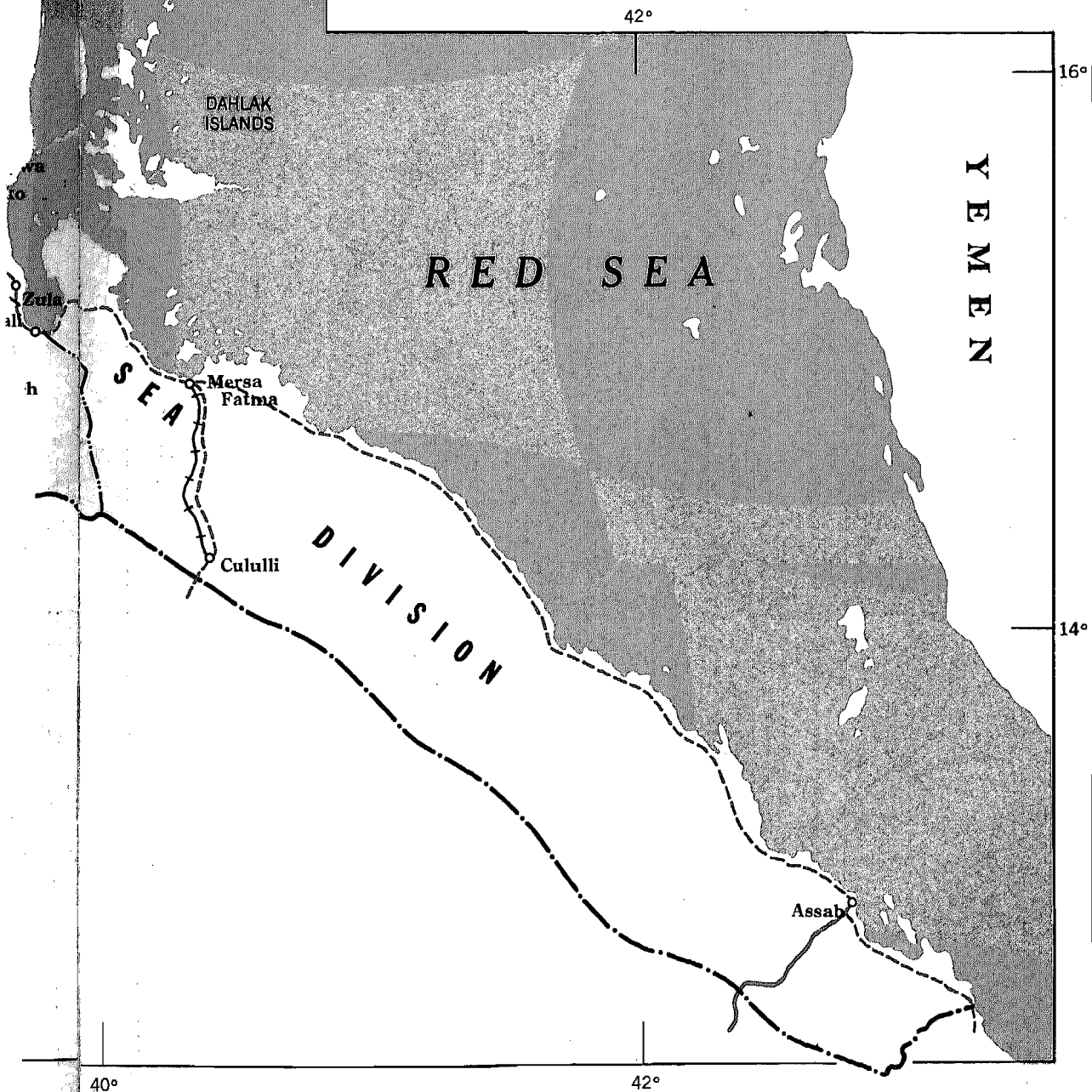
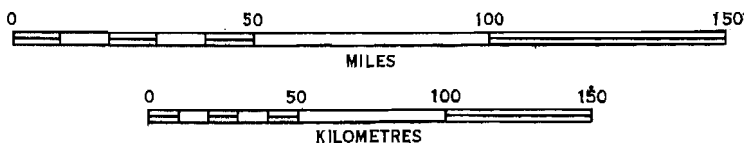
14°

38°



E R I T R E A
ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES
AND
COMMUNICATIONS

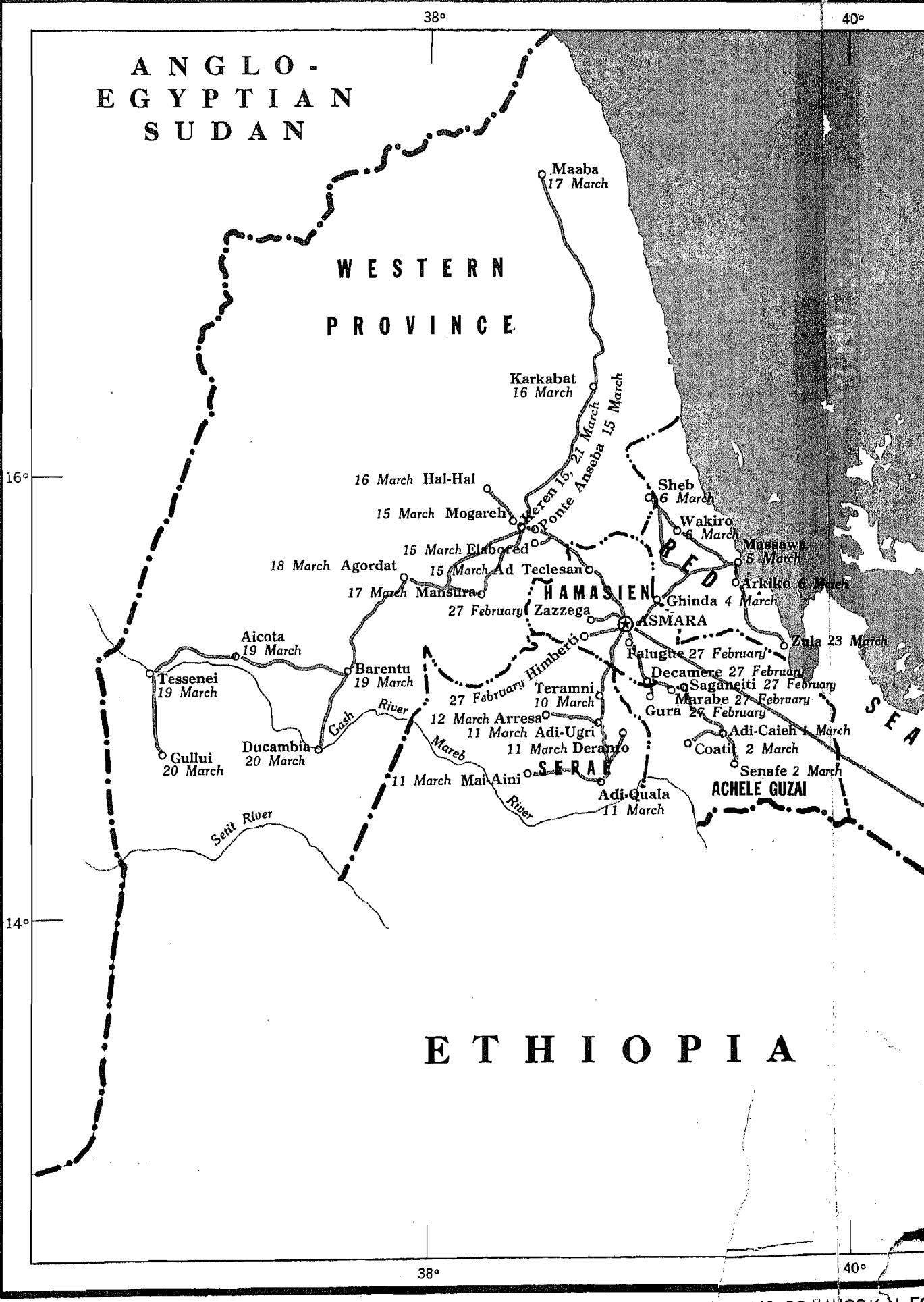
- | | |
|---|---|
|  Road |  Railway |
|  Track |  Divisional boundary |



ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

WESTERN PROVINCE

ETHIOPIA



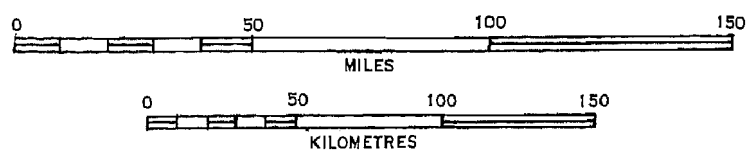
40°

ERITREA

ETHNIC MAP SHOWING AREAS VISITED BY THE COMMISSION

Arab/Beja Arab/Afar
Negroid Christian plateau dwellers

— Routes followed by Field Groups
- - - - - Divisional boundary



Sheb 6 March
Wakiro 6 March
Massawa 5 March
Arkiko 6 March
Ghinda 4 March
SMARA
Agre 27 February
Decamere 27 February
Saganeiti 27 February
Marabe 27 February
Gura 27 February
Adi-Caieh 1 March
Coatit 2 March
Senafe 2 March
ACHELE GUZAI

DAHLAK ISLANDS

SEA

RED SEA

YEMEN

DIVISION

By air to Assab

Assab
7 March

PIA

40°

42°

14°

SALES AGENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

ARGENTINA

Editorial Sudamericana S.A.
Alsina 500
BUENOS AIRES

AUSTRALIA

H. A. Goddard Pty. Ltd.
255a George Street
SYDNEY, N. S. W.

BELGIUM

Agence et Messageries de la
Presse, S. A.
14-22 rue du Persil
BRUXELLES
W. H. Smith & Son
71-75 Boulevard Adolphe Max
BRUXELLES

BOLIVIA

Librería Científica y Literaria
Avenida 16 de Julio, 216
Casilla 972
LA PAZ

BRAZIL

Livraria Agir
Rua Mexico 98-B
Caixa Postal 3291
RIO DE JANEIRO

CANADA

The Ryerson Press
299 Queen Street West
TORONTO

CEYLON

The Associated Newspapers of
Ceylon, Ltd.
Lake House
COLOMBO

CHILE

Edmundo Pizarro
Merced 846
SANTIAGO

CHINA

The Commercial Press Ltd.
211 Honan Road
SHANGHAI

COLOMBIA

Librería Latina Ltda.
Apartado Aéreo 4011
BOGOTÁ

COSTA RICA

Trejos Hermanos
Apartado 1313
SAN JOSÉ

CUBA

La Casa Belga
René de Smedt
O'Reilly 455
LA HABANA

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

F. Topic
Narodni Trida 9
PRAHA 1

DENMARK

Einar Munksgaard
Nørregade 6
KØBENHAVN

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Librería Dominicana
Calle Mercedes No. 49
Apartado 656
CIUDAD TRUJILLO

ECUADOR

Muñoz Hermanos y Cía.
Nueve de Octubre 703
Casilla 10-24
GUAYAQUIL

EGYPT

Librairie "La Renaissance d'Egypte"
9 Sh. Adly Pasha
CAIRO

ETHIOPIA

Agence éthiopienne de publicité
P. O. Box 8
ADDIS-ABEBA

FINLAND

Akateeminen Kirjakauppa
2, Keeskuskatu
HELSINKI

FRANCE

Editions A. Pedone
13, rue Soufflot
PARIS, V^e

GREECE

"Eleftheroudakis"
Librairie internationale
Place de la Constitution
ATHÈNES

GUATEMALA

José Goubaud
Goubaud & Cía. Ltda.
Sucesor
5a Av. Sur No. 6 y 9a C. P.
GUATEMALA

HAITI

Max Bouchereau
Librairie "A la Caravelle"
Boite postale 111-B
PORT-AU-PRINCE

ICELAND

Bokaverzlun Sigfusar
Eymundssonar
Austurstreti 18
REYKJAVIK

INDIA

Oxford Book & Stationery Company
Scindia House
NEW DELHI

INDONESIA

Pembangunan - Ophouw
Uitgevers en Boekverkopers
Gunung Sahari 84
DJAKARTA

IRAN

Bongahé Piaderow
731 Shah Avenue
TEHERAN

IRAQ

Mackenzie's Bookshop
Booksellers and Stationers
BAGHDAD

ISRAEL

Leo Blumstein
P.O.B. 4154
35 Allenby Road
TEL-AVIV

LEBANON

Librairie universelle
BEYROUTH

LUXEMBOURG

Librairie J. Schummer
Place Guillaume
LUXEMBOURG

NETHERLANDS

N. V. Martinus Nijhoff
Lange Voorhout 9
'S-GRAVENHAGE

NEW ZEALAND

United Nations Association of
New Zealand
P. O. 1011, G.P.O.
WELLINGTON

NORWAY

Johan Grundt Tanum Forlag
Kr. Augustgt. 7A
OSLO

PAKISTAN

Thomas & Thomas
Fort Mansion, Frere Road
KARACHI

PERU

Librería internacional del Peru,
S.A.
Casilla 1417
LIMA

PHILIPPINES

D. P. Pérez Co.
132 Riverside
SAN JUAN, RIZAL

SWEDEN

A.-B. C. E. Fritze's Kungl.
Hofbokhandel
Fredsgatan 2
STOCKHOLM

SWITZERLAND

Librairie Payot S. A.
LAUSANNE
Hans Raunhardt
Kirchgasse 17
ZURICH I

SYRIA

Librairie universelle
DAMAS

TURKEY

Librairie Hachette
469 Istiklal Caddesi
BEYOGLU-ISTANBUL

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Van Schaik's Bookstore, Pty., Ltd.
P. O. Box 724
PRETORIA

UNITED KINGDOM

H. M. Stationery Office
P. O. Box 569
LONDON, S.E. 1

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

International Documents Service
Columbia University Press
2960 Broadway
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

URUGUAY

Librería Internacional S.R.L.
Dr. Hector D'Elia
Calle Uruguay 1331
MONTEVIDEO

VENEZUELA

Escritoría Pérez Machado
Conde a Piñango 11
CARACAS

YUGOSLAVIA

Drzavno Preduzece
Jugoslovenska Knjiga
Marsala Tita 23-11
BEOGRAD

(5081)