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Agenda item 23

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD
TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

(Covering its work during 1966)

Rapporteur: Mr. Ala'uddin H. ALJUBOURI (Iraq)

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* This document contains chapter I of the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly. Chapters II to XXIII are being issued separately in documents A/6300 (Part II) and Add.1-10. The report as a whole, incorporating the chapters circulated as addenda, will be issued subsequently under the symbol A/6300/Rev.1.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

30 November 1966

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, submitted to the General Assembly in accordance with Assembly resolution 2105 (XX) of 20 December 1965. This report covers the work of the Special Committee during 1966.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Gershon B.O. COLLIER
Chairman of the Special Committee

His Excellency U Thant
Secretary-General
United Nations
New York

CHAPTER I

ESTABLISHMENT, ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

I. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

1. The General Assembly, at its fifteenth session, by resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.
2. At its sixteenth session, the General Assembly considered the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and adopted resolution 1654 (XVI) of 27 November 1961, by which it established a Special Committee of seventeen members to examine the application of the Declaration, to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of the implementation of the Declaration, and to report to the General Assembly at its seventeenth session. The Special Committee was directed "to carry out its task by employment of all means which it will have at its disposal within the framework of the procedures and modalities which it shall adopt for the proper discharge of its functions".
3. At its seventeenth session the General Assembly, following its consideration of the report of the Special Committee,^{1/} adopted resolution 1810 (XVII) of 17 December 1962, by which it enlarged the Special Committee by the addition of seven new members. It invited the Special Committee "to continue to seek the most suitable ways and means for the speedy and total application of the Declaration to all territories which have not yet attained independence".
4. At the same session, the General Assembly, in its resolution 1805 (XVII) of 14 December 1962 on the question of South West Africa, requested the Special Committee to discharge, mutatis mutandis, the tasks assigned to the Special Committee for South West Africa by resolution 1702 (XVI). By resolution 1806 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, the General Assembly decided to dissolve the Special Committee for South West Africa.

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Annexes, addendum to item 25 (A/5238).

5. The General Assembly, at its eighteenth session, following its consideration of the report of the Special Committee,^{2/} adopted resolution 1956 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963. In this resolution, it requested the Special Committee "to continue to seek the best ways and means for the immediate and total application of the Declaration to all territories which have not yet attained independence, and to report to the General Assembly not later than at its nineteenth session".

6. At the same session, the General Assembly, in its resolution 1899 (XVIII) of 13 November 1963 on the question of South West Africa, requested the Special Committee to continue its efforts with a view to discharging the tasks assigned to it by resolution 1805 (XVII).

7. The General Assembly at the same session, by resolution 1970 (XVIII) of 16 December 1963, decided to dissolve the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and requested the Special Committee to study the information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations. It also requested the Special Committee to take this information fully into account in examining the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration in each of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and to undertake any special study and prepare any special report it might consider necessary.

8. At its nineteenth session, the General Assembly was unable to consider the report of the Special Committee on its work during 1964.^{3/} The Special Committee, however, continued to discharge its mandate during 1965 in the context of the declaration made by the President at the 1330th plenary meeting of the General Assembly at its nineteenth session, on 18 February 1965, to the effect that the General Assembly should for its own official records note that reports relating, inter alia, to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had in fact been received and that those bodies which had continuing responsibilities such as the Special Committee should continue to function, subject to the agreed budgetary limits for 1965.

^{2/} Ibid., Eighteenth Session, Annexes, addendum to item 23 (A/5446/Rev.1).

^{3/} At its nineteenth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2005 (XIX) on 18 February 1965, authorizing supervision by the United Nations of the elections which were to be held in the Cook Islands in April 1965.

9. At its twentieth session, the General Assembly, following its consideration of the reports of the Special Committee,^{4/} adopted resolution 2105 (XX) of 20 December 1965. The text of this resolution is reproduced below:

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and its resolutions 1654 (XVI) of 27 November 1961, 1810 (XVII) of 17 December 1962 and 1956 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963,

"Recalling also its resolutions 1805 (XVII) of 14 December 1962 and 1899 (XVIII) of 13 November 1963 by which it assigned to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples tasks relating to South West Africa, and its resolution 1970 (XVIII) of 16 December 1963 by which it entrusted to the Special Committee additional functions relating to information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations,

"Having considered the reports prepared by the Special Committee for the years 1964 and 1965,

"Noting with deep regret that five years after the adoption of the Declaration many Territories are still under colonial domination,

"Deploring the negative attitude of certain colonial Powers, and in particular the unacceptable attitude of the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, which refuse to recognize the right of colonial peoples to independence,

"Concerned about the policy of colonial Powers to circumvent the rights of colonial peoples through the promotion of the systematic influx of foreign immigrants and the dislocation, deportation and transfer of the indigenous inhabitants,

"Noting the action taken and envisaged by the Special Committee regarding the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable,

"Deploring further the attitude of certain States which, despite the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Special Committee, continue to co-operate with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and even to provide them with aid which is being used by the two Governments to intensify the repression of the oppressed African populations,

"Fully aware that the continuation of colonial rule and the practice of apartheid as well as all forms of racial discrimination threaten international peace and security and constitute a crime against humanity,

"Having adopted resolutions on specific Territories considered by the Special Committee,

"1. Reaffirms its resolutions 1514 (XV), 1654 (XVI), 1810 (XVII) and 1956 (XVIII);

"2. Notes with appreciation the work accomplished by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and congratulates it on the efforts it has made to implement the Declaration;

"3. Approves the reports of the Special Committee and again invites the administering Powers to implement the recommendations contained therein;

"4. Deeply regrets the refusal of certain colonial Powers to co-operate with the Special Committee and their continued disregard of the resolutions of the General Assembly;

"5. Calls upon the colonial Powers to discontinue their policy of violating the rights of colonial peoples through the systematic influx of foreign immigrants and the dislocation, deportation and transfer of the indigenous inhabitants;

"6. Requests the Special Committee to continue to perform its task and to continue to seek the best means for the immediate and full application of resolution 1514 (XV) to all Territories which have not yet attained independence;

"7. Approves the programme of work envisaged by the Special Committee during 1966, including the possibility of holding a series of meetings in Africa and the sending of visiting groups to Territories, particularly in the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Ocean areas;

"8. Requests the Special Committee to pay particular attention to the small Territories and to recommend to the General Assembly the most appropriate ways, as well as the steps to be taken, to enable the populations of the small Territories to exercise fully their right to self-determination and independence;

"9. Requests the Special Committee, whenever it considers it appropriate, to recommend a deadline for the accession to independence of each Territory in accordance with the wishes of the people;

"10. Recognizes the legitimacy of the struggle by the peoples under colonial rule to exercise their right to self-determination and independence and invites all States to provide material and moral assistance to the national liberation movements in colonial Territories;

"11. Requests all States and international institutions, including the United Nations specialized agencies, to withhold assistance of any kind to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa until they renounce their policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination;

"12. Requests the colonial Powers to dismantle the military bases installed in colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones;

"13. Requests the Special Committee to apprise the Security Council of developments in any Territory examined by it which may threaten international peace and security and to make suggestions which might assist the Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations;

"14. Requests the Secretary-General to take all necessary measures to promote the large-scale dissemination of the Declaration and of the work of the Special Committee, in order that world opinion may be sufficiently informed of the serious threat to peace posed by colonialism and apartheid, and calls upon all administering Powers to co-operate with the Secretary-General in his efforts;

"15. Requests the Secretary-General to continue to provide the Special Committee with all the facilities and personnel necessary for the implementation of its mandate."

10. At the same session, the General Assembly adopted a number of other resolutions assigning certain specific tasks to the Special Committee. Among these were the following resolutions concerning the items indicated:

<u>Resolution No.</u>	<u>Adopted on</u>	<u>Item</u>
2023 (XX)	5 November 1965	Aden
2063 (XX)	16 December 1965	Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland
2065 (XX)	16 December 1965	Falkland Islands (Malvinas)
2066 (XX)	16 December 1965	Mauritius
2067 (XX)	16 December 1965	Equatorial Guinea (Fernando Póo and Río Muni)
2068 (XX)	16 December 1965	Fiji
2069 (XX)	16 December 1965	American Samoa, Antigua, Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Dominica, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Grenada, Guam, Montserrat, New Hebrides, Niue, Papua, Pitcairn, St. Helena, St. Helena, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Tokelau Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands and the United States Virgin Islands
2070 (XX)	16 December 1965	Gibraltar

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<u>Resolution No.</u>	<u>Adopted on</u>	<u>Item</u>
2072 (XX)	16 December 1965	Ifni and Spanish Sahara
2073 (XX)	17 December 1965	Oman
2074 (XX)	17 December 1965	South West Africa
2076 (XX)	17 December 1965	Special educational and training programmes on South West Africa
2106 (XX)	21 December 1965	International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
2108 (XX)	21 December 1965	Special training programme for Territories under Portuguese administration
2109 (XX)	21 December 1965	Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations
2110 (XX)	21 December 1965	Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories
2111 (XX)	21 December 1965	Trust Territory of Nauru
2112 (XX)	21 December 1965	Trust Territory of New Guinea and the Territory of Papua
2116 (XX)	21 December 1965	Pattern of meetings and methods of work

11. At the 1408th plenary meeting, on 21 December 1965, the President of the General Assembly announced the nomination of Afghanistan as a member of the Special Committee to fill the vacancy created by the withdrawal of Cambodia (A/5983) from the membership of the Committee. The Special Committee, therefore, was composed of the following twenty-four members:

Afghanistan	Iraq	United Republic of Tanzania
Australia	Italy	Tunisia
Bulgaria	Ivory Coast	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Chile	Madagascar	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Denmark	Mali	
Ethiopia	Poland	United States of America
India	Sierra Leone	Uruguay
Iran	Syria	Venezuela
		Yugoslavia

12. This report covers the work of the Special Committee for the period 8 March to 30 November 1966 during which it held ninety plenary meetings, including forty meetings in Africa, and its Working Group and Sub-Committees held over 100 meetings.

II. OPENING OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE'S MEETINGS IN 1966

13. The first meeting of the Special Committee in 1966 (394th meeting), held on 8 March, was opened by the Secretary-General.

Opening statement by the Secretary-General

14. The Secretary-General welcomed the members of the Special Committee and particularly the newest member, the delegation of Afghanistan.

15. In the introduction to his last annual report on the work of the organization (A/6001/Add.1), he had observed that, while there had been a few positive developments, the major problems in the field of decolonization had remained without any positive movement towards peaceful solution. At the twentieth session of the General Assembly, the majority of delegations had expressed serious concern about the continued delay in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Accordingly, in resolution 2105 (XX), the General Assembly had requested the Special Committee to continue to seek the best means for the immediate and full application of the Declaration to all Territories which had not yet attained independence. Inspired by the same considerations, the Fourth Committee had for the first time given separate consideration not only to the more difficult colonial problems but to most of the Territories with which the Special Committee had been concerned. Consequently the General Assembly, on the recommendation of the Fourth Committee, had been able to adopt specific resolutions concerning individual Territories, which had outlined the particular direction, emphasis and action required in each case for the implementation of the Declaration.

16. In his note of 11 February 1966 (A/AC.109/L.260), he had drawn attention to the resolutions adopted by the Assembly at its twentieth session which concerned the work of the Special Committee. He had also made available a note (A/AC.109/L.261) drawing attention to specific points which members would wish to take into account in drawing up the programme of work for 1966.

17. The main problems before the Special Committee had not become more tractable. In particular, the situation in Southern Rhodesia was increasing the grave disquiet already felt by Member States. It might be appropriate to recall recent official statements by the United Kingdom Government to the effect that it would continue

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to seek a speedy end to the rebellion in the Territory and to help the people of Southern Rhodesia in making a fresh start towards majority rule and the establishment of a just society without discrimination. It was to be hoped that rapid progress would be registered in that regard and that, in conformity with the pertinent United Nations resolutions, the United Kingdom Government would without delay take the necessary measures to enable the people of Southern Rhodesia to determine their own future in accordance with the objectives of the Declaration.

18. With regard to the Territories under Portuguese administration, the Government of Portugal had maintained its disregard of the relevant United Nations resolutions. It had failed to give effect to the principle of self-determination as laid down in those resolutions and there was no sign of a reversal of its policy of political and economic integration of the Territories with Portugal. The situation in those Territories, which the Security Council had described as a serious disturbance of international peace and security, was one to which the Special Committee would probably wish to devote continued attention.

19. The refusal of the South African Government to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee concerning South West Africa were also a matter for serious concern. Far from discontinuing its policy of apartheid, the South African Government seemed to be taking various steps for the further implementation of that policy, including measures for the establishment of non-European "homelands". That grave situation would no doubt be the subject of consideration by the Special Committee in the light of current developments.

20. In resolution 2063 (XX), the General Assembly had requested the Special Committee to consider, in co-operation with the Secretary-General, what measures were necessary for securing the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. In transmitting the General Assembly resolution to Governments, he had requested information on the extent to which they would be prepared to make contributions towards the Fund for the economic development of those Territories. The Fund had been the subject of one of the recommendations which he had submitted in 1965 and which had been endorsed by the Special Committee and the General Assembly. A positive response from Governments would be a constructive step towards the achievement of the objectives sought by the Special Committee and the General Assembly.

21. The General Assembly had also requested the Special Committee to pay particular attention to the smaller Territories. Adequate information on the political, economic and social situation in those Territories and on the opinions, wishes and aspirations of the people would facilitate that task. In that connexion, the Special Committee's intention to use visiting groups, which had been endorsed by the General Assembly, was especially relevant.

22. The work of the Special Committee in 1966 would be unusually onerous and the programme of meetings correspondingly heavy. For that reason, he wished to draw attention to General Assembly resolution 2116 (XX) on the pattern of conferences and to express the hope that, in drawing up its programme of work, the Committee would appreciate the need for rational planning to facilitate the provision of the required technical and substantive support.

23. He offered good wishes for the success of the Committee's work and expressed his confidence that it would make a further constructive contribution to the implementation of the Declaration in conditions of peace and harmony. It was to be hoped that the Special Committee would receive all necessary co-operation from the administering Powers concerned.

Statements by members

24. The representative of Mali thanked the Secretary-General for having come in person to open the Committee's first meeting in 1966. His statement would be a source of inspiration to the members of the Committee, who saw in him an ardent defender of freedom and justice, tireless in his efforts to ensure respect for the rights of the oppressed peoples.

25. The Special Committee was beginning its meetings at a very troubled time. The international situation was marked by grave crises which might at any moment degenerate into a world conflict. The basic causes of those crises were the numerous violations of the right to self-determination and the numerous foreign interventions in the domestic affairs of other countries. While the peoples still under colonial domination were waging national liberation struggles against the colonial forces, the newly independent countries were subjected to an increasingly strenuous onslaught from imperialism and neo-colonialism. The determination of the colonial and neo-colonial Powers to preserve their political and economic domination was a serious violation of the United Nations Charter, which included important

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provisions on the right to self-determination. The Special Committee should work unremittingly to ensure that colonial peoples could fully exercise their right to independence and self-determination and should unflinchingly denounce the abuses of the colonial Powers.

26. The representative of Afghanistan said that his country regarded membership of the Special Committee as a privilege and an honour. Afghanistan, which had shown whole-hearted support for the Declaration on the Granting of Independence, had always given full approval to the recommendations of the Special Committee. Its devotion to the cause of the abolition of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations was a matter of recorded history. Afghanistan had been the first country in Asia to oppose colonialism from the moment of its appearance. At the cost of untold sacrifices, it had waged a struggle against colonialism and had finally been able to stand among the peoples and nations of the world as a champion of the cause which was enshrined in the mind of man and the conscience of humanity and had been reflected in the Declaration. It was in that spirit that Afghanistan would co-operate fully in the Special Committee in efforts to achieve justice and equality among all nations and peoples. The foremost desire of Afghanistan was that all peoples and nations should achieve their goals and fulfil their aspirations through understanding and by peaceful means.

27. The representative of Ethiopia expressed his delegation's appreciation of the wise statement by the Secretary-General, which would help and guide the Committee in its work. His delegation was convinced that, although certain racist minorities were still bent on the futile course of trying to reverse the inexorable tide of history, the Committee would remain firm in the discharge of its duties until all the colonial peoples were emancipated and colonial domination had been replaced by freedom and independence.

28. The representative of Uruguay, speaking on behalf of the Latin American countries, which were represented on the Committee by his own delegation and those of Chile and Venezuela, said that the Latin American countries had not only always been staunch advocates of law, democracy and freedom but had unswervingly supported the principles upheld by the Committee in its efforts to liberate the oppressed peoples and to eradicate colonialism, so that the rule of law and freedom might be the guiding principle of coexistence between men and nations.

29. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania thanked the Secretary-General for the wise words he had spoken and stated that the United Republic of Tanzania had always appreciated the value of the Committee, for it would not consider that its own independence had been totally achieved until every African in the continent could breathe the air of freedom. His country looked forward eagerly to the day when all those now under the colonial yoke would have achieved independence. Its policies with regard to the evils of colonialism were well defined and it would never deviate from them. His delegation would work untiringly in the cause of decolonization and would co-operate with all those who were striving to eradicate colonialism and thus to complete the task of the Committee at an early date.

30. The representative of the Ivory Coast said that, as the Secretary-General had stressed in his heartening words to the Committee, the task that the General Assembly had assigned to the Committee was one of great magnitude. He was sure that all the members of the Committee would approach that task with the same feelings with which they had always been animated and which had been so well understood by the outgoing officers, whose work had been highly appreciated by his delegation.

31. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics expressed his delegation's gratitude to the Secretary-General for the unflagging interest he had shown in the work of the Committee. The Secretary-General's statement at the present meeting and the support which he gave the Special Committee would undoubtedly be a source of inspiration to its members to do everything possible within the framework of the United Nations to implement the lofty ideals of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. He welcomed the delegation of Afghanistan as a new member of the Committee and expressed the conviction that Afghanistan, a country whose untiring efforts in the struggle against the forces of colonialism were well known, would make a valuable contribution to the common efforts to bring about the rapid elimination of the remaining colonial régimes.

Election of officers

32. At its 394th meeting, on 8 March 1966, the Special Committee unanimously elected the following officers:

Chairman:	Mr. Gershon Collier (Sierra Leone)
Vice Chairmen:	Mr. José Piñera (Chile) and Mr. John Malecela (United Republic of Tanzania)
Rapporteur:	Mr. Ala'uddin Aljubouri (Iraq)

Statement by the Chairman

33. The Chairman thanked the members of the Special Committee for the high honour conferred upon his country and his person. He hoped to be able to guide the work of the Committee into productive channels along the lines already laid down by his illustrious predecessor.

34. He also wished to express to the Secretary-General the Committee's gratitude for his having attended the meeting and having made a comprehensive statement on the work and problems of the Committee.

35. The Special Committee had made a remarkable contribution to the process of decolonization throughout the world. Its visit to Africa in 1965 had brought its work nearer to those peoples of Africa who were still suffering under colonial rule and had given publicity to its work. Since millions of people were still struggling for equality and dignity, the Committee should pursue its mandate with increased vigour. It should extend its activities outside New York to reach the victims of colonialism all over the world and particularly in Africa. Only if co-operation was displayed by all members would the Committee's work reflect a real consensus of United Nations thinking and demonstrate that the Organization was totally committed to the eradication of colonialism. The efforts of the Special Committee would do much to uphold the rule of law and would make a worthy contribution to the ennoblement of the United Nations as the real conscience of the international community.

Statement by the outgoing Chairman

36. Mr. Sori Coulibaly (Mali) speaking as the outgoing Chairman, stated that the progress of decolonization was slow, not because the Committee had spared any

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effort, but because there were men and Governments that did not believe in the equality of peoples and continued to violate the principles of the Charter. Governments, imperialist companies and men who lived by exploiting others preferred to ignore all humanitarian principles and derive super-profits at the price of the blood and sweat of the patriots of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and elsewhere. The Government of Portugal was murdering and torturing Africans in order to maintain the privileges which kept alive a backward metropolitan country incapable of adaptation. In South Africa and South West Africa, apartheid and a police régime were maintaining a white population in opulence while the Africans were herded into reservations on the soil of their ancestors. In Southern Rhodesia, a white racist minority had proclaimed the independence of the Territory in order to perpetuate its domination over almost 4 1/2 million Africans.

37. The persistence of those anachronistic situations was a threat to international peace and security and a challenge to the United Nations and the Special Committee. The Committee would have an important place in the history of the struggle against injustice, exploitation and humiliation. Colonialism and apartheid should be liquidated as soon as possible, because they were a disgrace to mankind. At a time when man was liberating himself from the laws of gravity and walking in outer space, colonial domination and apartheid were paradoxical, unjust, humiliating and abhorrent. The colonial peoples, which suffered not only from exploitation but also from humiliation, placed great hopes in the Committee. The Committee should go to their countries, live their tragic life and tell the world about them. It should forcefully fight the colonial Powers and exert effective pressure on all States which gave assistance to those Powers or were responsible for the arbitrary activities of the racist minorities illegally in power in certain colonial or semi-colonial territories. The delegation of Afghanistan would no doubt make an important contribution to the work of the Committee.

38. He expressed gratitude to all his friends and colleagues for their confidence and understanding and to the Under-Secretary and the other members of the Secretariat for their assistance. The tributes paid to him by the members of the Committee had shown that the differences of opinion which had from time to time arisen had not affected the deep feelings of friendship and respect which bound them together.

III. ORGANIZATION OF WORK

39. The Special Committee discussed the organization of its work for the year at its 394th, 395th to 397th and 399th meetings, at which general statements were made by members.

Statements by members

40. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated that the Committee should adopt procedures that would enable it to move forward towards achieving the goal proclaimed in the Charter and in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, namely that of guaranteeing to all peoples, large and small, the right to self-determination and independence. While a decisive part in the struggle for the definitive elimination of colonial régimes would, of course, be played by the peoples themselves, with the support given to them by many States which had adopted an anti-colonialist policy, the Government of the Soviet Union considered that the United Nations, which was the most comprehensive international forum, could and should play a useful role in that struggle.

41. The adoption in 1960 of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the decisions of the twentieth session of the General Assembly recognizing the legality of the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence, the appeal by the General Assembly to all States to provide moral and material assistance in that struggle, and the condemnation of colonialism in all its manifestations as a crime against humanity and a threat to peace and security had proved to be of substantial political support in the people's fight to throw off the colonial yoke.

42. The Special Committee had a special role to play in the anti-colonialist struggle by unmasking the colonialists and drawing attention to the situation in colonial territories. In his opinion, the Committee had been right the previous year to decide, on the initiative of the Afro-Asian and socialist States, to hold a series of meetings on African countries. Those meetings had produced positive results; they had enabled the Committee to enlist the participation in its work of many representatives of national liberation movements in African colonies, to work out and adopt more effective provisions which had formed the basis for the decisions of the twentieth session of the General Assembly, to establish contact with the Organization of African Unity and to strengthen the unity of those

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countries which supported the rapid elimination of the remaining colonial régimes. The experiment should certainly be continued and, in accordance with paragraph 7 of General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX), the Committee should decide to hold a session in Africa in the current year.

43. His delegation had supported that resolution and continued to think that a further session in Africa was essential and would be of great value. At its meetings in Africa the Committee would be able to make a comprehensive examination of the progress made in the implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Committee itself on such important questions as Southern Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonies, South West Africa and other matters connected with the elimination of colonial régimes in Africa. It would also be able to give its views on the action which should be taken by the General Assembly and the Security Council to compel the colonialists to comply with United Nations decisions on those issues.

44. The Soviet Union delegation welcomed the invitation extended to the Special Committee by the Government of Tanzania to visit Dar es Salaam in 1966 and to hold some of its meetings in Africa in close proximity to the places where Africans were waging a struggle for liberation from the colonialist yoke. His delegation would also like to express its support for the idea put forward by several delegations during the Committee's session in Africa that the Security Council should hold a session in Africa to consider the situation in Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies and to examine the policy of apartheid pursued by the Government of the Republic of South Africa in South Africa and in South West Africa. Such a session would enable the representatives of African countries and the leaders of the national liberation movements to participate in the work of the Council with a view to working out specific measures, in accordance with the Charter, to ensure the implementation of the decisions adopted by the Security Council and other United Nations organs. It would also make it possible to co-ordinate the work of the Security Council and the Organization of African Unity on those questions.

45. During the twentieth session of the General Assembly, the representatives of a number of national and patriotic organizations in South West Africa, as well as the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations, had resolutely

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condemned the policy pursued by the racist Verwoerd régime in respect of South West Africa and had called for the unconditional implementation of United Nations resolutions concerning that Territory. In particular many delegations had favoured the adoption by the United Nations of a decision to terminate South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa and to take specific steps to transfer power in the Territory to the legitimate representatives of the people. The Soviet Union delegation entirely shared the views of those delegations. The examination by the Special Committee and the General Assembly of the situation in South West Africa had shown that the Government of South Africa was using the Mandate to serve the interests of international monopolies and to further its annexationist policy in respect of that Territory.

46. In his opinion, the Special Committee would be perfectly justified in pronouncing itself unequivocally in favour of withdrawing the Mandate for South West Africa from the Republic of South Africa and recommending to the General Assembly and the Security Council the adoption of appropriate decisions on the subject. His delegation shared the view held by some Members of the United Nations that a special session of the General Assembly should be convened as soon as the International Court of Justice had completed its proceedings in the case of South West Africa, to consider the question of terminating South Africa's Mandate and of making appropriate recommendations to the Security Council so that the latter could take the necessary action.

47. It was well known that the colonial Powers had recourse to all kinds of manoeuvres to block the implementation of United Nations decisions, in order to preserve their rule in the Territories under their control. They resorted to various kinds of constitutional devices, bribery and conspiracy; they left people to rot in prison; they killed thousands of freedom-fighters and prohibited the activities of patriotic and nationalist parties and organizations. Where those methods of persecution and terror failed to produce the desired results, the colonialists resorted to overt forms of military oppression, using the most modern means of destruction, including napalm bombs and toxic substances. They interfered in the internal affairs of other States and imposed systems that protected the interests of the imperialist monopolies. It was obvious that, in the face of those colonialist intrigues, the United Nations and all States must

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take new and resolute steps to bring about the final elimination of the remnants of the colonial system.

48. His delegation therefore considered that at the present stage of the Committee's work primary attention should be given to ensuring the implementation by the colonial Powers of the decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its twentieth session and by the Security Council in regard to the granting of independence to Southern Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, South West Africa, Aden and the entire southern part of the Arabian peninsula. His delegation shared the view expressed by a number of delegations at the twentieth session of the General Assembly that the Committee should seriously examine the question of setting specific dates for the granting of independence to colonial Territories in accordance with the wishes of the peoples. If the colonialists refused to carry out such decisions and failed to grant independence by the date specified, they should be declared aggressors and measures such as those provided in Chapter VII of the Charter should be enacted against them.

49. During the discussion of the report of the Special Committee at the twentieth session of the General Assembly, considerable attention had been devoted to the unsatisfactory situation regarding the implementation of the principles of the Declaration in respect of the smaller colonial Territories. It had been suggested that, in view of the inadequate information available regarding those Territories, visiting groups should be sent to them to establish direct contact with the people and their representatives. That legitimate request of the General Assembly should be fulfilled. If the colonial Powers were really in favour of the self-determination of peoples, they should abandon their position of refusing to allow representatives of the Special Committee to visit those Territories.

50. The General Assembly had adopted a number of important decisions on the consequences of the activities of foreign monopolies in colonial Territories, the liquidation of military bases in those Territories and the withholding of any economic, financial or technical assistance by the specialized agencies of the United Nations, particularly the International Bank for Reconstruction and

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Development and the International Monetary Fund, to the Governments of Portugal, the Republic of South Africa and the authorities of the white settler Government in Southern Rhodesia. The discussions in the Special Committee had shown clearly the harmful effects of the activities of the international monopolies and of the presence of military bases in those Territories and the danger which they represented for the cause of the liberation of peoples from colonial oppression. The Committee must do everything in its power to ensure that the decisions which the General Assembly had adopted on those questions were carried out and must call on the colonial Powers to provide it with all relevant information on the progress made in giving effect to those decisions.

51. The Committee should not be content to have submitted to the General Assembly its report on the implications of the activities of foreign monopolies in South West Africa and the Portuguese Territories; it should pursue, in co-operation with the Secretary-General, the study of that problem in respect of those Territories and in respect of Southern Rhodesia.

52. With regard to military bases in colonial Territories, the Committee in co-operation with the Secretary-General, should study the question of the harmful influence of such bases on the cause of the liberation of the peoples of those Territories from colonial oppression and should make recommendations to the General Assembly and the Security Council.

53. In addition, the Chairman or the officers of the Committee should establish direct contact with the specialized agencies and request them to submit information on the action taken or envisaged with a view to implementing the United Nations recommendations concerning the cessation of economic, financial and technical assistance to Portugal, the Republic of South Africa and the white settler Government in Southern Rhodesia.

54. The Special Committee might take the initiative in drawing the attention of other United Nations bodies, in particular the Social Commission and the Commission on the Status of Women, to aspects of the criminal policies of the colonialists which came within the competence of those bodies. He recalled that, on the initiative of the Special Committee, the question of the flagrant violation of human rights in colonial Territories had been included as an important and urgent matter in the provisional agenda of the twenty-second session of the Commission and he hoped that such co-operation among United Nations organs would be continued.

55. In the post-war period, the national liberation movement had dealt a crushing blow to the colonial system of imperialism, oppression and enslavement and dozens of newly independent countries had been built upon the ruins of the old colonialist world. The last vestiges of the colonial system were crumbling but the colonialists continued to offer stubborn resistance and to do everything possible to maintain their domination. It was the duty of the United Nations and of the Special Committee to help the peoples who were fighting for their liberation and to do their utmost to ensure the implementation of the principles of the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Soviet Union Government's position in that regard was in complete accord with the purposes and principles of the Declaration and his delegation was prepared to co-operate closely with all delegations which supported anti-colonialism.

56. In conclusion, he informed the Committee that the previous day the Soviet Union Government had become one of the first nine countries to sign the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

57. The representative of Italy stated that his delegation was facing the new session of the Special Committee in the firm conviction that the Committee was contributing to an important task, namely, the transformation of the society of nations from an old structure into a new order in which there would be freedom and equal opportunities for all nations, under the rule of law. Although that transformation had already been accomplished to a great extent, the Committee was still called upon to secure the disappearance from the face of the earth of the remnants of colonialism and to ensure that that change was brought about by peaceful means, through the process of self-determination. The General Assembly had requested the Committee to keep the problem of decolonization in the spotlight of world public opinion and at the same time to study all the details and complexities - political, economic, social, cultural - that had prevented the speedy attainment of independence by a considerable number of Territories still under consideration. He was referring in particular to the subject of small Territories, which was on the agenda and for which his delegation would suggest a high degree of priority.

58. His delegation firmly believed in the value of the methods of conversation, negotiation, conciliation and compromise - not as far as principles were concerned,

but with regard to practical measures - and favoured calling the attention of what had been rightly defined as the "world conscience" to specific problems in order to exert all due moral pressure on reluctant parties. His delegation placed great reliance on the role that the Secretary-General could play in facilitating the solution of problems arising out of colonial situations. It hoped that the Special Committee would not be a prisoner of old formulas that were applicable to conventional decolonization but which might be less valid for the special cases on the agenda.

59. The three points to be considered in the organization of the Committee's work were the agenda, the priorities and the methods of work.

60. With regard to the agenda, the resolutions on the subject of decolonization adopted by the General Assembly at its twentieth session gave a clear picture of the work required of the Committee. The papers prepared by the Secretariat (A/AC.109/L.260 and L.261) were also useful and he suggested that document A/AC.109/L.261 could be regarded as the provisional agenda for 1966.

61. With regard to priorities, his delegation regarded all colonial problems as urgent and would accept any recommendation agreeable to the majority of members. He hoped that the Committee would give adequate priority to the problem of so-called small Territories, which were particularly complex and required special attention.

62. As far as methods of work were concerned, the Committee should take a preliminary position on a number of important questions. The first was whether in the weeks to come and in its report to the General Assembly the Committee should consider all or only some of the Territories listed in document A/AC.109/L.261. His delegation favoured consideration of them all; whichever policy was adopted, however, it was essential to adhere to it and not change it in mid-session.

63. The second question was whether resolutions should be based on debates held in plenary meetings or on sub-committee discussions and reports to the full Committee. His delegation favoured the sub-committee method, which had proved successful in the preparation of a large part of the Committee's 1965 report.

64. Lastly, the question of a time-table was more urgent than usual, in view of the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2116 (XX) on the pattern of conferences.

65. His delegation appreciated the reasons which had prompted four Member States to invite the Committee to hold part of its 1966 session in their respective capitals, but it felt that a decision on the matter could be taken only after careful consideration of the organizational problems he had outlined. Preliminary consideration of those problems could be referred, as in the past, to an expanded working group consisting of the officers of the Committee and four other members, but it would be necessary to hear the views of as many Committee members as possible before the working group was actually convened.

66. The representative of Yugoslavia said that the problems before the Committee were as difficult as ever. Certain colonial Powers, supported by others with identical interests, were doing their utmost to retain their influence in the Territories under colonial rule, to suppress national liberation movements and to halt progressive processes on a wider scale. Such a situation was an evident danger to peace and security, as had been recognized by the great majority of the representatives who had spoken at the twentieth session of the General Assembly.

67. The Committee's session in Africa in 1965 had been of great value. Such visits and contacts with petitioners enabled the members of the Committee to study the situation in certain Territories, the attitudes of the administering Powers towards the problems of the Territories and the extent to which the provisions of certain resolutions had been implemented. A further session of the Special Committee in Africa would be in keeping with the spirit of General Assembly resolution 2011 (XX) on co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity and his delegation hoped that such co-operation would become a constant feature of the Committee's activities.

68. He hoped that in preparing the Committee's programme the Working Group would consider the problem of the participation of foreign capital in the economies of colonial Territories, which was closely related to the protraction of the decolonizing process.

69. The problems of so-called small Territories also were significant; visiting missions of the Special Committee to such Territories would help towards the solution of the problem.

70. His delegation regarded the problems of colonialism and peace as interdependent. It was ready to support all measures that would guarantee faster and more effective action by the Committee in speeding the process of decolonization and the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

71. The representative of India said that in the planning of the calendar of work it should be borne in mind that the Committee was beginning its session three or four weeks later than in previous years. In spite of the reduced time available, however, the Committee must follow the specific instructions of the General Assembly to keep the various Territories under discussion and to report to the Assembly at its twenty-first session.

72. He hoped that a working group to discuss the Committee's programme would be announced at the next meeting or soon after. The working group could plan which Territories would be taken up during the next three months and make recommendations concerning a possible visit to Africa, which would require a good deal of advance preparation. His delegation had always considered that it was useful the Committee to visit Africa, for such visits gave the members a more realistic picture of the situation in the Territories.

73. The Sub-Committee on Petitions should be appointed and start functioning soon, since there were a number of petitions awaiting action. Similarly, the Committee should decide whether the three Sub-Committees on the small Territories in the Caribbean and the Atlantic Ocean, in the Indian Ocean and in the Pacific Ocean should be revived or whether their composition should be changed.

74. Lastly, there were important questions relating to the Committee's report to the General Assembly. In the past the Committee's reports had run to almost 2,000 pages each year and few people, if any, were able to read them in their entirety. In view of the financial problems and the vast amount of work entailed in the preparation and translation of such voluminous reports, he hoped that the Committee would be able to consider, in the early weeks of the session, what could be done to reduce the size of the report while preserving the right of every delegation to make known its views.

75. The representative of the United Kingdom said that in its four years of work the Special Committee had virtually completed its examination of the colonial Territories on its agenda and a large number of resolutions had been adopted by the General Assembly on the basis of the Committee's recommendations. His Government had whole-heartedly supported some points in those resolutions, had partially agreed with others and had found others unacceptable. The disagreements in the Committee had been mainly concerned with methods, since in most cases there

was general agreement on the Committee's objectives. It had been suggested that the Committee should concentrate on seeing that the provisions of all the Assembly resolutions were carried out. He did not think that that was necessarily the right, or the only, approach. It would be more productive to examine carefully the practical problems of the various Territories and the means for overcoming them. This required steady and detailed work, not necessarily by resolution but perhaps more by consensus. The special difficulties and characteristics of each Territory should be considered in greater depth, and perhaps in a more objective manner, than during the first general examination.

76. His Government bore the responsibility for the administration of United Kingdom Territories and for their progress to full self-government and self-determination, but it fully recognized the interest of the international community in those matters and had always willingly co-operated with the Committee in its work. That co-operation would be continued in the future, for the United Kingdom objectives were the same as those often endorsed by the Committee, namely, self-determination, decolonization at all practicable speed, and urgent help to the colonial peoples to enable them to take their place in the modern world with a status that they themselves had freely chosen and accepted.

77. If the Committee was to make a more truly objective study, however, it would have to go beyond those objectives and face the real and varied problem in the remaining colonial Territories. His Government's policies in the Territories it administered were naturally designed to help the people of those Territories to overcome their problems, which ranged from racial divisions and suspicions in some places to economic backwardness or a lack of any feeling of national unity and consciousness in others. His delegation was ready to provide the Committee with information on those policies and would welcome constructive proposals from the Committee. The United Kingdom Permanent Representative and Minister of State in New York would willingly take part in informal discussions of problems or proposals; moreover, the Colonial Secretary in London was prepared to consider any suggestion that representatives of the Committee should visit London to discuss particular cases of special importance or complexity.

78. The United Kingdom's contributions could be made more effective by some adjustments in the Committee's methods of work. Firstly, in the light of General Assembly resolution 2116 (XX) and of the recommendations of the Advisory Committee

on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (A/6130, para. 6), the Committee should draw up within the next week or two its detailed programme for the entire year, with dates for discussions of particular Territories or subjects laid down from the outset. There might some loss of flexibility, but that would be far outweighed by the improvement in the organization of the work. The administering Powers, including the United Kingdom, could then prepare more effectively for discussion of their own Territories and could provide the Committee with more information and, where appropriate, bring in specialists and experts from their own countries or possibly from the Territories themselves.

79. The second aspect of the more constructive elaboration he suggested would be increased consultation between the Working Group and the administering Power concerned. His delegation had no doubt whatsoever of the great usefulness of the Working Group and favoured its continuation.

80. Similarly, the preparation and drafting of reports and draft resolutions could be based on a broader cross-section of opinion in the Committee, taking the views of the administering Powers more fully into account; the Committee's work might then be more productive and more objective, and hence of more real value to the people of the colonial Territories themselves. The wishes and views of the colonial peoples, as publicly expressed through their democratically elected leaders and representatives, might be reflected more fully in the Committee's reports and recommendations. Resolutions frequently reflected only the point of view of the majority; the Committee might usefully proceed much more by balanced consensus or by reports which adequately covered all the points of view, even when they were in conflict.

81. The use of small groups or sub-committees within the Committee to deal with particular Territories or areas had obvious advantages: small groups could consider problems in greater depth and perhaps with less formality. In the past, however, some of the advantage had been lost by subsequent full debates on the same subjects in the plenary Committee. To avoid duplication, the Committee might in appropriate cases refrain from full debates on the reports of small groups and, instead, incorporate those reports in its report to the General Assembly without necessarily endorsing or approving them.

82. While his delegation was grateful to the four African Governments which had extended invitations to the Committee, all he had said about the advantages of small groups and the undesirability of expanded debate by the full Committee applied with even greater force to the suggestion of another visit to Africa. The 1965 visit had already acquainted the Committee better with African problems and personalities; a second visit would not encourage the objective studies which he had suggested and the Committee had little time before the autumn session of the General Assembly to prepare its report. An elaborate and costly tour of several African countries could be justified only if it brought very considerable and tangible advantages unattainable by other means; his delegation did not believe that such justification existed in the present case and it would therefore regard a second African tour by the whole Committee as a waste of time and money.

83. He thought it would be useful to the Committee to have some information concerning his Government's programme for progress in constitutional development and decolonization in its remaining colonial Territories. He would deal first with the four Territories whose course to independence was now mapped out and set. British Guiana was due to become independent on 26 May, Bechuanaland on 30 September and Basutoland, subject to the submission of a formal request by the procedure laid down, later in 1966. It had been decided at the Mauritius Conference in September 1965 that the United Kingdom Government would be prepared to take the necessary steps to declare Mauritius independent if the new Legislative Assembly so requested. There would be six months of internal self-government after the elections which were due to take place after the report of the Electoral Commission had been dealt with.

84. In addition to those Territories, invitations had recently been sent to the parties represented in the Barbados Legislature to attend a conference in London in July 1966 for the purpose of discussing their Government's request for early independence. New constitutional proposals had been put forward and published recently for the Caribbean Territories of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts, St. Lucia and St. Vincent and would be the subject of conferences in London in spring 1966.

85. As the Committee was aware, South Arabia was due to become independent by 1968. Recent developments affecting that Territory included the publication of the report

of the constitutional advisers commissioned by the Federal Government to draw up proposals for a constitution for the whole of South Arabia. Secondly, there had been the announcement by the United Kingdom Government that, as part of its over-all defence review, it intended to withdraw its forces from the Aden base when South Arabia became independent. Thirdly, there had been the decision by the Federal Government to recommend that all orders which for political reasons required South Arabians to live outside their country should be lifted so that those people should be free to return. The United Kingdom Government hoped that all those developments would encourage consultations among all sections of opinion in South Arabia with a view to the reaching of agreement on the necessary constitutional measures for independence.

86. The Territories he had mentioned accounted for nearly 5 million out of the 9.5 million people in all the United Kingdom dependent Territories, not including Rhodesia.

87. In the remaining Territories, constitutional progress was continuing, in almost all cases at an accelerated rate. Most of them were small in area and population and their problems and requirements defied generalization. It was those problems, varied and different in each case, which his Government, in co-operation with the peoples of the Territories, was seeking to tackle in the last phases of the great historical movement towards decolonization. In the Seychelles a Constitutional Commissioner had been appointed to advise on future constitutional advance and had already begun his work. In Swaziland the Constitutional Committee had been considering the next stages of constitutional progress, and it was expected that final decisions on the form of an internal self-government constitution would be taken later in 1966. The next stage in the constitutional development of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands was now being considered. In Bermuda, the joint select committee of the two houses of the Legislature appointed to consider constitutional changes had recommended, inter alia, lowering the voting age from 25 to 21 and abolishing the second vote previously enjoyed by some Bermudians on a property basis. Those recommendations had been put into effect and Bermuda now had an electoral system of one man, one vote.

88. In addition, measures designed to achieve constitutional progress were likely to be taken in the near future with regard to Fiji, the British Virgin Islands, Montserrat, the Cayman Islands, the Falkland Islands and the Solomon Islands.

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89. Lastly, there were certain Territories which were the subject of territorial claims by other countries. In the case of Gibraltar, the United Kingdom Government had agreed with the Government of Spain that, following General Assembly resolution 2070 (XX), talks should be held between the two Governments in London. The question of the frontier between Venezuela and British Guiana had been discussed in London and Geneva by the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Foreign Minister of Venezuela, with the participation of the Prime Minister of British Guiana. He was sure that the resulting agreement, which had been signed in Geneva in February, would be welcomed in the Committee.

90. With regard to the Falkland Islands, the Governments of the United Kingdom and Argentina had informed the United Nations of the agreement reached between the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Argentine Foreign Minister that discussions, as recommended in General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX), should be pursued without delay for the purpose of finding a peaceful solution.

91. This heavy programme of decolonization and constitutional progress for 1966 showed that the United Kingdom Government was making every effort to assist the people of its colonial Territories to achieve the objectives which all members sought. He hoped that his delegation's suggestions for making the Committee's work more effective would be fully discussed.

92. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania recalled that while the Committee had been in Addis Ababa the previous year the suggestion had been made that the Security Council should meet in Africa to consider some of the serious questions of colonialism, such as those of the Portuguese Territories. His delegation considered that a meeting in Africa by a body such as the Security Council would be of great value, since for many Africans Portuguese colonialism constituted a threat to the peace and security of the continent, as the Security Council itself had once observed. He therefore hoped that the Committee would do its utmost to make that suggestion become a reality.

93. His delegation felt that the Committee should make greater use of the sub-committee system it had followed the previous year. It should re-establish the sub-committees it had had the previous year, but the composition of those bodies could be left to the officers of the Committee to decide. The Sub-Committee on British Guiana could, however, be abolished, since that Territory was to become

independent during the present year. It could be replaced by a sub-committee that would deal with the small islands to be considered at the present session. Once the sub-committees were re-established, they would be able to draw up their programmes of work and present them to the Committee for approval. The Committee would then be able to prepare a programme of work for the entire year.

94. With regard to the visit to Africa, his delegation had always held the view that the best meeting place for the Committee was the place nearest to areas where colonialism still existed. Since, unfortunately, there were still colonies in Africa, his delegation considered it necessary for the Committee to meet in that continent. It hoped that the Committee's experience in Africa the previous year would be sufficient justification for another visit. If the idea of holding a session in Africa was accepted, all questions concerning that continent should be taken up while the Committee was there. He hoped that the decision would be taken quickly, so that the host countries would have time to prepare for the Committee's visit.

95. While his delegation thought that the question of small Territories should be considered at the current session, it also felt that the Committee should send a group of three or four members to such places with a view to obtaining additional information. In making that suggestion, his delegation was not disregarding the reports of the administering Powers; it merely thought that a report from such a small group would supplement the information submitted by those Powers.

96. With regard to the questions of Aden and Oman, he suggested that it would be useful if the Committee took up those items in Cairo, where it would have an opportunity of hearing petitioners from those areas.

97. The representative of Syria said that, despite the optimism which had been expressed with regard to the imminent end of colonialism, there were indications of a recalcitrant attitude on the part of some colonial Powers and of a consolidation of reactionary power to suppress the identity of some indigenous peoples. In one place, it would be claimed that strategic interests were involved - a claim which made the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) conditional upon other factors; in another place, colonialism would disappear in name only and be replaced by economic ties. In South West Africa, the world was witnessing a gradual and deliberate, although disguised, conquest of an African land by a minority of foreign settlers.

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98. The Committee should bring all its energies to bear on those problems, in the hope that it might help to alleviate the sufferings of subjugated peoples. In that spirit, his delegation strongly supported the suggestion that the Committee should visit the African capitals which had extended invitations. Experience had shown that the colonial Powers were often reluctant to furnish a complete picture of the conditions prevailing in the Territories under their administration and it had become a matter of course for them to reject requests for visits by United Nations missions. If the Committee could only convey the message that the majority of peoples followed with deep interest and supported, morally at least, the legitimate struggle of the peoples for independence, its visit would accomplish a great deal. An early decision by the Committee not only would be a matter of courtesy to the host Governments but would affect the Committee's time-table. If the visit were agreed upon, it would be logical to discuss questions concerning Africa in Africa; the questions of Aden and Oman could profitably be discussed in Cairo, a city which petitioners could reach easily. The Committee could then deal with the other questions on its agenda either before or after its visit to Africa.

99. Sub-committees might be established to assess the present situation in specific Territories, or, in the case of sub-committees dealing with new questions such as that of Oman, to make suggestions about the method of work on the item.

100. There would be no harm in the Committee omitting from its report certain parts that had been included in previous reports, but it should continue to exercise the authority vested in it by the General Assembly and to adopt clear and unambiguous resolutions. If previous resolutions had not been implemented, that was the fault of the colonial Powers and not of the language used in the resolutions. If the colonial Powers had left it to the United Nations to decide what was right and what was wrong, the work of the Committee would have been completed long since.

101. The representative of Mali said that, in organizing its work, the Committee should bear in mind the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX).

102. As in the past, the Committee should establish a working group which would draw up an order of priority for the various questions before the Committee. The consideration of those questions would require a debate by the Committee itself, but it should be remembered that the phase of denunciation of colonialism was past and that attention should be concentrated on proposing specific means for its

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eradication. The time had come to fulfil the hopes of millions of people for release from colonial domination. Sub-committees would be able to study more closely certain aspects of colonial exploitation, particularly the economic and military aspects connected with the operations of foreign monopolies and the establishment and maintenance of military bases. The small Territories, in particular, were being used as bases for aggression and his delegation supported the suggestion of the Tanzanian representative that visiting groups should be sent to such Territories. It was because of such economic and military considerations that it was difficult for those small Territories to achieve independence.

103. His delegation welcomed the forthcoming independence of Guiana and Bechuanaland. The Committee should study the Territories under Portuguese domination and propose a deadline for their attainment of independence. The withdrawal of South Africa's Mandate for South West Africa should also be proposed; the International Court of Justice would undoubtedly condemn the policies of apartheid pursued by the racist Government of South Africa against the population of South West Africa, in violation of the very spirit of the Mandate.

104. His delegation was grateful to the Governments of Algeria, Ethiopia, Somalia, the United Arab Republic and the United Republic of Tanzania for their kind invitations to the Special Committee. A visit to Africa would show members the scope of the struggle for liberation being waged by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Aden and South Arabia. The Committee would obtain information from petitioners and the peoples concerned would realize that the United Nations understood their problems.

105. The Committee's reports should deal only with new developments; for the past history, members could refer to earlier reports.

106. The representative of Poland said that the Committee's methods of work should reflect the aims and objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the specific tasks and obligations laid down in General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX). The latter resolution had requested the Committee to seek the best means for the immediate and full application of resolution 1514 (XV) to all Territories which had not yet attained independence. The Committee should therefore seek new methods and new approaches to the questions on its agenda, in order successfully to implement all the resolutions adopted on particular Territories. It should

consider how the colonial Powers were implementing the decisions already taken by the General Assembly; certain Powers, particularly South Africa and Portugal, were continuing to defy the United Nations. The Polish delegation agreed that the Committee should recommend the withdrawal from South Africa of its Mandate for South West Africa. It therefore supported the idea of convening a special session of the General Assembly as soon as the International Court of Justice had concluded its consideration of the question. It also agreed that the Committee should pursue the idea of the Security Council meeting in Africa to consider the situation in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies. The Committee was perfectly entitled to suggest such a procedure, since paragraph 13 of resolution 2105 (XX) authorized it "to make suggestions which might assist the Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations".

107. Also in accordance with resolution 2105 (XX), the Committee should recommend a deadline for the accession to independence of each Territory in accordance with the wishes of the people. It was obvious that colonial Powers interested in preserving their rule in the Territories under their domination were resorting to all kinds of delaying tactics.

108. His delegation fully supported the idea of a visit to Africa and was grateful to the five Governments which had extended invitations to the Committee. It would be equally important to send visiting missions to certain Territories in order to establish direct contact with the population, ascertain their wishes and aspirations and determine the real situation. The colonial Powers, which called the legitimate struggle of the people for liberation an act of terrorism, could not be expected to take into account the views of the oppressed peoples. It was to be hoped that the administering Powers would abandon their earlier position of refusing to allow representatives of the Special Committee into their Territories.

109. The Committee should follow its established practice of appointing sub-committees. The advantages of such a practice outweighed the disadvantages; above all, it would save time and expedite the Committee's work.

110. With regard to the Committee's reports, it would be logical in future to omit the historical background material, which could be found in earlier reports.

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111. The representative of Sierra Leone said that, under the resolutions adopted at the twentieth session of the General Assembly, the Committee was required to report to the twenty-first session of the Assembly on the Territories on its agenda; for some of the Territories, particularly the smaller ones, the Committee had to consider new ways of solving peculiar problems; lastly, it had to suggest deadlines for the independence of some Territories.

112. His delegation hoped that the Committee would visit Africa, because it thought that the gains which could result from such a visit would outweigh all other considerations. It was the Committee's duty to make every effort to liberate the Territories on that continent which were becoming "chronic" cases of colonialism. The working group should be established as soon as possible and should start by considering whether or not a visit should be made to Africa. Problems such as those of Southern Rhodesia, the Portuguese Territories, South West Africa, Aden and the Federation of South Arabia should be considered during the visit to Africa.

113. In planning its programme, the Committee should bear in mind the time and the resources at its disposal. Considerations of economy, however, should not obscure the primary aim of ensuring that all Territories still under colonial rule received independence. The time remaining before the visit to Africa could be used to consider the other Territories on the agenda and to establish the sub-committees. In addition, more background material could be prepared for the visit to Africa.

114. The United Kingdom representative had mentioned the possibility of a visit to London by representatives of the Committee. It was regrettable, however, that the United Kingdom would not allow visiting missions into the actual Territories concerned. That attitude left doubt about the sincerity of the United Kingdom. Visiting missions to individual Territories on the agenda, particularly the smaller islands, would allow the same kind of direct contact as had been made during the Committee's previous visit to Africa.

115. The task of the Secretariat would be facilitated if all background material were omitted from future reports of the Committee.

116. The representative of Bulgaria said that the statement made by the Secretary-General at the opening of the session (see paras. 14-23 above) had provided guidelines for the Committee's work, in the light of the discussions at the twentieth session of the General Assembly and at meetings of the Special Committee.

As the Secretary-General had pointed out, the major problems in the field of decolonization had remained without any positive movement towards peaceful solution and the majority of delegations had expressed serious concern about the continued delay in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence.

117. Although the majority of delegations agreed on the methods to be followed and thought that the Committee should do everything possible to obtain the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly, certain delegations had expressed a different view. The United Kingdom representative, for example, had said that it was not necessarily the right or the only approach to concentrate on seeing that the provisions of all the Assembly resolutions were carried out. If it was the policy of the United Kingdom Government not to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly, it was understandable that the views of the United Kingdom delegation on the subject of the Committee's methods of work differed from those of the majority of delegations. The United Kingdom representative had stated that his Government bore the responsibility for the administration of United Kingdom Territories and for their progress to full self-government and self-determination. That, however, did not absolve the United Kingdom from its obligations, since it claimed that there was no disagreement about general objectives.

118. Moreover, the United Kingdom representative had suggested that the Special Committee should not adopt resolutions but should endeavour to arrive at a consensus, for resolutions reflected only the opinion of the majority, whereas the consensus was the common denominator, namely, the maximum that the colonial Powers could give. It was therefore obvious that opinions differed considerably with regard to the policy which the United Nations had thus far followed in respect of decolonization.

119. The Bulgarian delegation agreed with the United Kingdom representative's statement that the Committee should be careful to organize its work in such a way as not to spend United Nations money unwisely. His delegation wished to emphasize, however, that the Committee should not seek to effect economies by leaving entire populations in Africa and other parts of the world to suffer under the colonial yoke. That was why his delegation considered that the Committee should not let

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the mere desire to save a few pennies prevent it from taking the necessary initiatives in organizing its work. The Committee should go ahead with the proposals made by various delegations for speeding up its work in connexion with the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

120. Some delegations, in particular that of the United Kingdom, had categorically opposed the proposal that the Committee should hold meetings in Africa. The Committee's last visit to Africa had been of great value. During that visit those who were fighting for freedom, independence and self-determination in the Territories under Portuguese domination, in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and other colonial Territories, had been able to appear before the Committee, and the members of the Committee had been able to live in the atmosphere in which the African peoples were waging their desperate struggle against a powerful enemy helped by all the imperialist and reactionary forces of the world. Direct contact with the representatives of those struggling peoples had had a positive influence on the anti-colonial decisions which the Committee had adopted in Africa. There was no doubt regarding the urgent need for the Committee to hold another session in Africa, for events in Southern Rhodesia and elsewhere were evidence of a new offensive by the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism. A session of the Committee in Africa would enable the United Nations to bring its full weight to bear at that decisive stage in the fight against colonialism.

121. From time to time certain decisions adopted in the United Nations were not effectively implemented. That was why his delegation supported the idea of the Security Council meeting in Africa. At a time when the racists and colonialists were becoming more and more arrogant in their aggressive policy against the oppressed peoples and the young African States, the United Nations body entrusted with the primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security would be able to take the necessary decisions on the spot and to hear the representatives of the African peoples who were in such desperate straits.

122. His delegation therefore suggested that if the Committee did not adopt a resolution on that subject, the Chairman should get in touch with the President of the Security Council during the year in order to suggest a visit to Africa by the Council.

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123. The situation in South West Africa had always been one of the most difficult problems. It was well known that the racist Verwoerd Government intended to annex the Territory of South West Africa. That Government had shown nothing but contempt for the decisions of the United Nations, which was primarily responsible for South West Africa. His delegation supported the idea of a special session of the General Assembly on the subject, to be convened as soon as the International Court of Justice had handed down its decision on the question of South West Africa. The Mandate for South West Africa should be withdrawn from South Africa.

124. The Special Committee should of course devote special attention to the question of Aden and the South Arabian peninsula, Oman and other colonial Territories. Attempts had recently been made by certain circles to deprive the peoples of those regions of the possibility of intensifying their struggle for independence. The Special Committee - and the Security Council, if it went to Africa - should endeavour to help those peoples in their efforts for liberation.

125. The colonial Powers should not be given the impression that the Committee was less interested in the so-called small colonial Territories. Manoeuvres aimed at perpetuating colonial domination under new guises had recently been undertaken in some of those Territories and the Committee must be vigilant. The General Assembly resolutions on the Territories in the Caribbean, the Atlantic and the Pacific should be scrupulously implemented. He had in mind particularly the General Assembly decision that visiting missions should be sent to those Territories, a point which had been taken up by the representative of Tanzania in his proposal that groups should visit the small Territories. The States administering those Territories should realize that by receiving such missions they would be giving proof of their goodwill and their recognition of the rights of the peoples of the Territories to independence and self-determination.

126. During the past year the Special Committee had devoted much attention to the role of foreign monopolies in Africa. On the basis of studies made by the Committee and in its Sub-Committee I, the General Assembly had taken important decisions concerning the consequences of the activities of foreign monopolies in South West Africa and the Portuguese colonies. The study on the role of monopolies in Southern Rhodesia should be completed and the Committee should recommend to the Assembly practical action to be taken against the harmful influence of the most important imperialist and neo-colonialist bodies in Africa.

127. If the considerations he had set forth were taken into account and if the Committee followed the guidelines indicated in the resolutions of the General Assembly, in the Secretary-General's statement at the opening meeting and by most of the delegations which had spoken, it would be able to work constructively to make the current year one of co-operation in the field of decolonization.

128. The representative of Iraq recalled that, in his statement to the Committee, the Secretary-General had spoken of the unusually heavy programme with which the Committee was faced. The magnitude of the Committee's obligations and responsibilities was indeed in sharp contrast with some ideas which had been expressed regarding its work, especially the suggestion that its deliberations should be curtailed.

129. The Committee had been entrusted by the General Assembly with the task of helping the peoples still under colonial rule and oppression in their struggle for independence and emancipation. It had been given the responsibility of keeping under review the questions of Aden, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, the Territories under Portuguese administration, Oman and all the other colonial Territories. As the Committee was in permanent session, it would always be entitled to take up any question that arose in connexion with United Nations resolutions and the refusal of colonial Powers to give effect to those resolutions. The Committee's prompt action with regard to the repressive measures recently carried out by the United Kingdom authorities against the people of Aden was an indication of the importance of its role and it should be careful not to abdicate its rights and responsibilities.

130. The Committee should of course organize its work in such a way as to make it possible for delegations and petitioners to participate as fully as possible, but it should not adopt rigid rules or set unchangeable dates for the consideration of items. His delegation would like to put forward the following suggestions.

131. Firstly, the Committee might hold a general debate on the questions before it and try to evaluate the progress achieved thus far. It could discuss the items in detail when it met in Africa. His delegation thanked the Governments of Algeria, Somalia, the United Arab Republic, Ethiopia and the United Republic of Tanzania for their kind invitations, which it hoped the Committee would accept. He was convinced that a session in Africa would be of the utmost benefit.

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132. Secondly, the Committee should give serious consideration to the question of setting immediate dates for the attainment of independence by various colonial Territories. His country had stressed the importance of that question at the second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo, and it was glad to see that that idea had gained support.

133. Thirdly, the Committee should consider ways and means of making its work known throughout the world, particularly in the colonial Territories. The Office of Public Information might be requested to study the matter and to submit a report to the Committee on how the public could be better informed of the plight of the people suffering under the colonial yoke and of the efforts made by the Committee and the General Assembly.

134. Lastly, his delegation saw merit in the sub-committee system and was ready to continue to participate in the sub-committees. There should, however, be no delegation of powers from the Committee itself to its subsidiary bodies. His delegation also supported the suggestion that visiting groups should be sent to the small Territories.

135. The representative of Iran said that in discussing the organization of its work the Committee should bear certain basic factors in mind.

136. Firstly, the Committee should organize its work in such a way as would best accelerate the attainment of the objectives set by the General Assembly. It would accomplish more if it spent most of the time available in helping to expedite the attainment of independence by a number of Territories than if it prepared a report covering all the Territories. His delegation fully supported the suggestion made by the Tanzanian representative that the question of the small Territories should be studied in greater detail. The Committee might send sub-committees to those areas or collect information through other means to supplement the data supplied by the administering Powers. It would then be able to take appropriate action on the question of those Territories.

137. Secondly, it must be borne in mind that the Committee had a heavy agenda and relatively little time available to it. It had been invited by five Member States to hold meetings in Africa. His delegation thanked those countries for their kind invitations and was fully in favour of holding a session in Africa. In organizing

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its work the Committee must first decide whether it would hold meetings in Africa and, if so, for how long. It must also determine which questions it would deal with during its session in Africa so that other items could be examined in the intervening period.

138. Thirdly, his delegation fully shared the view expressed by the representatives of Italy and Tanzania that greater use should be made of the sub-committee system. The present sub-committees should be reconsidered; some might be dispensed with and new ones might be needed. In determining the composition of the sub-committees, care should be taken to maintain adequate geographical representation and to arrange that every member had an equal opportunity to serve in the various bodies.

Decisions

139. On the conclusion of the debate on organization of work, the Special Committee, at its 399th meeting, requested the Working Group to consider and submit recommendations regarding the Committee's programme of work for the current year, taking into account the two notes by the Secretary-General (A/AC.109/L.260 and L.261), and the invitations extended to the Committee by the Governments of the United Republic of Tanzania (A/AC.109/147), the United Arab Republic (A/AC.109/148), Ethiopia (A/AC.109/149), Somalia (A/AC.109/150) and Algeria (A/AC.109/152) to hold meetings at their respective capitals, as well as the views expressed by members during the debate.

140. On the basis of the recommendations contained in the 22nd, 23rd and 24th reports of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.265/Rev.1, L.270 and L.275), the Special Committee, at its 400th and 409th meetings, took decisions regarding its programme of work for 1966 including the order of priorities for the consideration of the items before it. These decisions, as subsequently modified at the 410th, 462nd and 471st meetings, are reflected in section V of this chapter.

141. In addition, the Special Committee decided to hold a series of meetings in Africa and to accept the invitations from the five Governments to hold meetings at their respective capitals, beginning on 23 May 1966 in Dar es Salaam.

142. It further decided to maintain Sub-Committees I, II and III and requested them to begin their work without delay. In addition to their terms of reference, as laid down in General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XX) and 2105 (XX), the

Special Committee requested the Sub-Committees to carry out the specific tasks which are mentioned in the Secretary-General's notes contained in A/AC.109/L.260 and L.261 concerning the items referred to them. It also authorized the Sub-Committees to submit recommendations regarding the sending of visiting groups to the Territories with which they were concerned.

143. In addition, the Special Committee at its 409th meeting, on 26 April 1966, decided to refer to Sub-Committee I for consideration and report the item relating to the activities of foreign economic and other interests in Southern Rhodesia and their mode of operation, pursuant to operative paragraph 9 of the resolution on the question of Southern Rhodesia, adopted at the 328th meeting of the Committee on 22 April 1965 (A/6000/Add.1, para. 292).

IV. MEETINGS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND ITS WORKING GROUP AND SUB-COMMITTEES

Special Committee

144. The Special Committee held ninety meetings during 1966, as follows:

First session:

394th to 415th meetings, 8 March to 18 May 1966,
United Nations Headquarters

416th to 427th meetings, 23 to 31 May 1966, Dar es Salaam

428th to 432nd meetings, 2 to 4 June 1966, Mogadiscio

433rd to 439th meetings, 6 to 9 June 1966, Addis Ababa

440th to 447th meetings, 11 to 15 June 1966, Cairo

448th to 455th meetings, 17 to 22 June 1966, Algiers

Second session:

456th to 483rd meetings, 6 July to 30 November 1966,
United Nations Headquarters

Working Group

145. At the 399th meeting, the Special Committee nominated Ethiopia and India to fill two vacancies in the membership of the Working Group arising from the change in the composition of the Bureau. The Working Group therefore consisted of the four officers of the Committee, namely, Mr. Gershon Collier (Sierra Leone), Chairman, Mr. José Piñera (Chile) and Mr. John Malecela (United Republic of Tanzania) Vice-Chairmen and Mr. Ala'uddin Aljubouri (Iraq), Rapporteur, and the representatives of Bulgaria, Ethiopia, India and Italy.

146. During the period covered by the present report, the Working Group held ten meetings and submitted one oral and four written reports.^{5/}

Sub-Committee on Petitions

147. The Special Committee, at its 399th meeting, decided to continue the Sub-Committee on Petitions with the same membership as in 1965, except for the replacement of Ethiopia by Syria. The Sub-Committee on Petitions therefore consisted of the following members:

^{5/} A/AC.109/L.265/Rev.1, L.270, L.275 and L.338. The oral report submitted by the Chairman is contained in A/AC.109/SR.462.

Australia	Syria
India	Tunisia
Madagascar	Venezuela
Poland	

148. The Sub-Committee on Petitions held 23 meetings and submitted 23 reports to the Special Committee.^{6/} The Sub-Committee on Petitions considered, during the period, a total of 243 communications, including fifty-eight requests for hearings. The petitions circulated by the Sub-Committee are listed in the chapters of the present report dealing with the Territories to which they refer.

Sub-Committee I

149. At its 400th meeting, the Special Committee decided to maintain Sub-Committee I with the same membership as in 1965. The composition of Sub-Committee I therefore was as follows:

Denmark	Tunisia
Ethiopia	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Mali	United Republic of Tanzania
Syria	Yugoslavia

150. At its 23rd meeting on 27 April 1966, Sub-Committee I elected Mr. John Malecela (United Republic of Tanzania) Chairman and Mr. Rafic Jouejati (Syria) Rapporteur.

151. Sub-Committee I held ten meetings and submitted three reports to the Special Committee on the following items which had been referred to it for consideration:

- (a) Activities of foreign economic and other interests in Southern Rhodesia and their mode of operation (A/AC.109/L.332 and Add.1);
- (b) Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence in the Territories under Portuguese administration (A/AC.109/L.334 and Add.1);
- (c) Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena (A/AC.109/L.335).

^{6/} A/AC.109/L.259, L.262, L.267, L.278, L.291, L.292, L.298, L.299, L.301, L.304, L.307, L.308, L.310, L.311, L.312, L.317, L.324 and Corr.1, L.328, L.331, L.336, L.340, L.349, and L.354.

152. Details of the Special Committee's consideration of these reports are contained in chapters III, V and XIV of the present report.

Sub-Committee II

153. At its 400th meeting, the Special Committee decided to maintain Sub-Committee II with the same membership as in 1965, except for the replacement of Cambodia by Afghanistan. The composition of the Sub-Committee I therefore was as follows:

Afghanistan	Iraq
Australia	Poland
Chile	Sierra Leone
India	United States of America

154. At its 42nd meeting, on 28 April 1966, Sub-Committee II elected Mr. Kadhim Khalaf (Iraq) Chairman and Mr. C.R. Gharekhan (India) Rapporteur.

155. Sub-Committee II held fourteen meetings and submitted six reports on the following items which had been referred to it for consideration:

- (a) Question of sending visiting missions to the Territories referred to the Sub-Committee (A/AC.109/L.318);
- (b) Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands (A/AC.109/L.318/Add.1);
- (c) Niue and the Tokelau Islands (A/AC.109/L.318/Add.2);
- (d) New Hebrides (A/AC.109/L.318/Add.3);
- (e) American Samoa, Guam and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (A/AC.109/L.318/Add.4);
- (f) Trust Territory of Nauru, Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, and Cocos (Keeling) Islands (A/AC.109/L.318/Add.5).

156. Details of the Special Committee's consideration of the Sub-Committee's reports relating to specific Territories are contained in chapters XV to XIX of the present report and of the question of sending visiting missions in section VI of the present chapter.

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Sub-Committee III

157. At its 400th meeting, the Special Committee decided to maintain Sub-Committee III with the same membership as in 1965. The composition of the Sub-Committee III therefore was as follows:

Bulgaria	Madagascar
Iran	Uruguay
Italy	Venezuela
Ivory Coast	

158. At its 42nd meeting on 5 May 1966, the Sub-Committee elected Mr. Leonardo Díaz González (Venezuela) Chairman and Mr. Mohsen Sadigh Esfandiary (Iran) Rapporteur. From 9 August, following the departure from New York of Mr. Díaz González, Mr. Esfandiary acted as Chairman.

159. Sub-Committee III held nineteen meetings and submitted one oral and one written report to the Special Committee during the period.

160. The report of the Sub-Committee III, submitted orally by its Rapporteur to the Special Committee at the 413th meeting, dealt with the question of sending visiting missions to the Territories referred to the Sub-Committee, and was subsequently incorporated in its written report (A/AC.109/L.329 and Corr.1, paras. 6-13). An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the question is contained in section VI of the present chapter.

161. The remainder of the Sub-Committee's report (A/AC.109/L.329/Add.1, paras. 14-212) dealt with the following items which had been referred to it for consideration:

- (a) United States Virgin Islands;
- (b) British Virgin Islands, Barbados, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent;
- (c) Bermuda, Bahamas, Turks and Caicos Islands and Cayman Islands;
- (d) Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

162. Details of the Special Committee's consideration of the report of the Sub-Committee relating to these Territories are contained in chapter XXII of the present report.

Sub-Committee on Aden

163. At the 401st meeting, the Chairman of the Special Committee nominated Afghanistan to fill the vacancy in the membership of the Sub-Committee on Aden created by the withdrawal of Cambodia from membership of the Special Committee. The composition of the Sub-Committee on Aden therefore was as follows:

Afghanistan	Venezuela
Iraq	Yugoslavia
Ivory Coast	

164. On 10 May 1966, the Sub-Committee on Aden elected Mr. Danilo Lekic (Yugoslavia) Chairman.

165. The Sub-Committee on Aden held five meetings and submitted one written and two oral reports.^{7/}

166. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the reports of the Sub-Committee relating to Aden is contained in chapter VI of the present report.

Sub-Committee on South West Africa

167. By a resolution adopted at its 439th meeting, held in Addis Ababa on 9 June 1966 (A/AC.109/177), the Special Committee decided to establish a Sub-Committee on South West Africa.^{8/} At the 455th meeting, the Special Committee, on the proposal of the Chairman, decided that the Sub-Committee on South West Africa should be composed of the following members:

Denmark	Poland
Ethiopia	Tunisia
India	Venezuela
Ivory Coast	

168. On 21 July 1966, the Sub-Committee elected Mr. Lij Endelkachew Makonnen (Ethiopia) Chairman, and Mr. C.R. Gharekhan (India) Rapporteur.

169. The Sub-Committee on South West Africa held four meetings and submitted its report (A/AC.109/L.325) to the Special Committee at the 467th meeting on

^{7/} A/AC.109/L.289. The oral reports submitted by the Chairman are contained in A/AC.109/SR.414 and SR.462.

^{8/} For details, see chapter IV.

15 September. Details of the Special Committee's consideration of the report are contained in chapter IV of the present report.

Sub-Committee on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland

170. By a resolution adopted at its 439th meeting, held in Addis Ababa on 9 June 1966 (A/AC.109/178), the Special Committee decided to establish a Sub-Committee on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.^{9/} At the 455th meeting, the Special Committee, on the proposal of the Chairman, decided that the Sub-Committee on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland should be composed of the following members:

Afghanistan	Madagascar
Bulgaria	Mali
Iran	Uruguay
Italy	

171. On 27 July 1966, the Sub-Committee elected Mr. Pedro P. Berro (Uruguay) Chairman, and Mr. Matey Karasimeonov (Bulgaria) Rapporteur.

172. The Sub-Committee on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland held six meetings and submitted its report (A/AC.109/L.326) to the Special Committee at the 466th meeting on 14 September. Details of the Special Committee's consideration of the report are contained in chapter VII of the present report.

Sub-Committee on Equatorial Guinea (Fernando Póo and Río Muni)

173. By a resolution adopted at its 454th meeting, held in Algiers on 21 June 1966 (A/AC.109/186), the Special Committee decided to establish a Sub-Committee on Equatorial Guinea (Fernando Póo and Río Muni).

174. At the 460th meeting, the Special Committee decided that the Sub-Committee on Equatorial Guinea should be composed of the following members:

Chile	Sierra Leone
Denmark	Syria
Mali	United Republic of Tanzania
Poland	

^{9/} For details, see chapter VII.

175. The Sub-Committee elected Mr. Gershon Collier (Sierra Leone) Chairman and Mr. Rafic Jouejati (Syria) Rapporteur.

176. The Sub-Committee visited Madrid and Equatorial Guinea (Fernando Póo and Río Muni) from 17 to 24 August 1966, where it held discussions with officials of the Spanish Government and with a large number of bodies, groups and individuals. It submitted its report (A/AC.109/L.348) to the Special Committee at the 482nd meeting on 18 November. Details of the Special Committee's consideration of the report are contained in chapter IX of the present report.

Sub-Committee on Fiji

177. By a resolution adopted at its 463rd meeting, on 7 September 1966 (A/AC.109/102), the Special Committee decided to appoint a Sub-Committee on Fiji for the purpose of studying at first-hand the situation in the Territory and to report to the Special Committee as soon as possible.

178. At the 483rd meeting on 30 November 1966, the Chairman informed the Special Committee that he would proceed to the appointment of the Sub-Committee at an early date during the next session of the Committee.

V. CONSIDERATION OF TERRITORIES

179. During the period covered by this report, the Special Committee considered the following Territories:

<u>Territories</u>	<u>Meetings</u>
South West Africa	395, 396, 398 (UN Headquarters) 417, 418, 420 (Dar es Salaam) 433-435, 437-439 (Addis Ababa) 455 (Algiers) 460, 465-468 (UN Headquarters)
Aden	397-401, 413, 414 (UN Headquarters) 431 (Mogadiscio) 436 (Addis Ababa) 441-447 (Cairo) 462, 473 (UN Headquarters)
Southern Rhodesia	401-407, 410 (UN Headquarters) 418, 419, 423-427 (Dar es Salaam) 432 (Mogadiscio) 447 (Cairo) 469, 470 (UN Headquarters)
Fiji	410, 412, 413, 461-463, 469, 483 (UN Headquarters)
Territories under Portuguese administration	418-420, 427 (Dar es Salaam) 436 (Addis Ababa) 450-455 (Algiers) 470, 474, 475 (UN Headquarters)
Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland	421-423 (Dar es Salaam) 437-439 (Addis Ababa) 450, 455 (Algiers) 456-458, 466-468 (UN Headquarters)
French Somaliland	429, 430 (Mogadiscio) 438 (Addis Ababa) 470-472, 475 (UN Headquarters)
Ifni and Spanish Sahara	435, 436 (Addis Ababa) 472-475, 478, 479, 481 (UN Headquarters)
Oman	446, 447 (Cairo) 480, 482 (UN Headquarters)
Equatorial Guinea (Fernando Póo and Río Muni)	447 (Cairo) 451, 452, 454 (Algiers) 460, 482 (UN Headquarters)
Gibraltar	464, 475, 480, 482 (UN Headquarters)

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Territories referred to Sub-Committee I

Meetings

Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena 396, 470, 474

Territories referred to Sub-Committee II

Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn
and Solomon Islands 468, 473

Niue and Tokelau Islands 468, 473

New Hebrides 468, 473

American Samoa, Guam and the Trust
Territory of the Pacific Islands 469, 473

Trust Territory of Nauru, Papua and
the Trust Territory of New Guinea,
and Cocos (Keeling) Islands 469, 473

Territories referred to Sub-Committee III

United States Virgin Islands 476-478, 482

British Virgin Islands, Antigua,
Barbados, Dominica, Grenada,
Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla,
St. Lucia and St. Vincent 463, 476-478, 482

Bermuda, Bahamas, Turks and Caicos
Islands and Cayman Islands 466, 467, 476-478, 482

Falkland Islands (Malvinas) 476-478, 482

180. Details of the Special Committee's consideration of the Territories listed above and its conclusions and recommendations thereon are given in chapters III to XIX and XXII of the present report.

181. The Special Committee took note of the accession to independence of British Guiana on 26 May 1966. (See A/AC.109/SR.421.)

182. Owing to lack of time, Sub-Committee II was unable to consider Brunei and Hong Kong.^{10/} Information concerning these two Territories is given in chapters XX and XXI of the present report.

183. Sub-Committee III was unable to consider British Honduras owing to lack of time. Information on this Territory is contained in chapter XXII of the present report.

^{10/} The representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Bulgaria and Poland stated that since the question of Hong Kong was directly related to the People's Republic of China, the United Nations and its organs, including the Special Committee, could not consider this matter until the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China were restored in the United Nations.

VI. QUESTION OF SENDING VISITING GROUPS TO TERRITORIES

134. In operative paragraph 7 of its resolution 2105 (XX) of 20 December 1965, the General Assembly approved "the programme of work envisaged by the Special Committee during 1966, including the possibilities of holding a series of meetings in Africa and the sending of visiting groups to Territories, particularly in the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Ocean areas".

135. In approving the twenty-second report of the working group (A/AC.109/L.265/Rev.1), the Special Committee, at its 400th meeting, on 4 April 1966, authorized its Sub-Committees I, II and III to submit, as appropriate, recommendations to the Special Committee regarding the sending of visiting groups in relation to Territories with which they are concerned.

Recommendation of Sub-Committee III

136. At the 413th meeting, the Special Committee considered an oral report submitted by the Rapporteur of Sub-Committee III concerning the question of sending visiting missions to the Territories referred to it. The recommendation made by Sub-Committee III in this regard, as reproduced below, as well as the statements made by members of the Sub-Committee, are incorporated in its report (A/AC.109/L.329) which is annexed to the present chapter as annex I. Summaries of the statements made by members during the Special Committee's consideration of the report of the Sub-Committee are given below.

137. In making the report, Mr. Mohsen Sadigh Esfandiary (Iran), Rapporteur of the Sub-Committee III, stated that at its meeting on 5 May 1966 the Sub-Committee had authorized its Chairman to contact the representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States in order to ascertain their views concerning the request made by the General Assembly in resolution 2069 (XX), operative paragraph 3, on the question of visiting missions.

138. The reply from the United Kingdom representative had been that the question of visiting missions raised difficult problems of principle for his Government and that he could not say anything that might encourage the Sub-Committee to expect any changes in his Government's previously expressed attitude. His delegation would be prepared to transmit to the United Kingdom Government any specific

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request or suggestion from the Committee for a visit to a particular Territory, but that action could not be taken to imply any commitment that the United Kingdom Government would be able to respond to such a request.

189. The representative of the United States had said that he was not in a position to give a reply to the question of visiting missions in general. Any specific proposal from the Sub-Committee for a visit to a Territory for which the United States was responsible would be transmitted to his Government, but he could not offer any encouragement that his Government would change its position.

190. After considering the replies, the Sub-Committee had adopted by consensus the following recommendation:

"The Sub-Committee recommends to the Special Committee that, in agreement with the position adopted on the question of visiting missions by the General Assembly at its twentieth session, as set out in paragraph 3 of resolution 2069 (XX) of 16 December 1965 and in the pertinent part of paragraph 7 of resolution 2105 (XX) of 20 December 1965, it invite the administering Powers, in cases where the Special Committee may decide to send out visiting missions to any of the Territories being considered by Sub-Committee III, to make it possible for such visits to take place and to extend to them their co-operation."

191. The representative of the United States of America reserved the position of her Government in regard to the question of visiting missions. Any specific request for a visiting mission would be transmitted by her delegation to the United States Government, but she could not at present offer any encouragement that her Government's position on the matter would change.

192. The representative of Australia reserved his Government's position on the matter.

193. The representative of the United Kingdom confirmed that his delegation's position had been stated accurately by the Rapporteur of Sub-Committee III. If the Committee decided to approve the Sub-Committee's report, he wished to reserve his Government's position.

194. The representative of Bulgaria said that, in order to enable the Special Committee to have some idea of what was happening in the Territories under consideration and to make recommendations to the General Assembly at its twenty-first session, it was essential that visiting missions should be sent to those Territories to obtain information direct from the people. In view of the

discouraging replies given by the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom, Sub-Committee III had felt it necessary to recommend that the Special Committee should invite the administering Powers to make it possible for the visits decided upon by the Special Committee to take place and to co-operate with visiting missions. He would point out that the Sub-Committee's recommendation added nothing to what the Special Committee and the General Assembly had already asked.

195. The representative of India supported the interim report presented by the Rapporteur of Sub-Committee III.

196. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that on the basis of a cursory study his delegation felt that the report of Sub-Committee III was in complete conformity with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its twentieth session, in particular resolutions 2069 (XX) and 2105 (XX). The General Assembly had specially instructed the Special Committee to consider the question of establishing dates for the independence of colonial Territories in accordance with the wishes of their peoples. It was essential to send visiting missions to colonial Territories in order to ascertain the views of the people concerning their future development and the status they desired for their Territory. The refusal of the colonial Powers to admit visiting missions, even after repeated requests by the General Assembly, must be regarded as a refusal to co-operate with the Committee and with the United Nations. The Committee should therefore adopt the report of Sub-Committee III and thus make clear the concern of its members for decisions of the General Assembly.

197. The representative of Mali said that his delegation supported the report of Sub-Committee III and was sure that the Special Committee would adopt it, especially as it included two important provisions from resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its twentieth session. The sending of visiting missions to small Territories as well as to others, would provide the Special Committee and the General Assembly with information that would enable them to adopt adequate measures leading to the granting of independence to colonial Territories by the administering Powers in co-operation with the United Nations.

198. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that his delegation supported the report of Sub-Committee III, which reflected the decisions of the

General Assembly. The adoption of the Sub-Committee's report would provide an opportunity for the colonial Powers to give the Committee the co-operation they had always promised it, by allowing visiting missions to go to the Territories. 199. The representative of Italy recalled that in the course of the debate in Sub-Committee III his delegation had expressed certain reservations, not about the principle of visiting missions, which it supported, but about the nature of the consensus reached. The Special Committee was only a small body and its pronouncements could not make the resolutions of the General Assembly any more important or more weighty. In addition, it was unrealistic to ask administering Powers to give a positive response to a hypothetical question: whether they would accept visiting missions which the Special Committee might decide to send to the Territories under their administration.

200. The representative of Venezuela said that Sub-Committee III was not merely reaffirming General Assembly resolutions but was making a specific recommendation on the basis of the relevant provisions of two Assembly resolutions. It was not asking for a response from the administering Powers; it was appealing for their support and co-operation in the event of the Special Committee's deciding to send visiting missions to their Territories. Venezuela fully supported the consensus and the report of the Sub-Committee.

201. The representative of Syria said that his delegation endorsed the report. There was no harm in emphasizing General Assembly resolutions which had still not been implemented.

202. The representative of Iran said that the reservations of the Italian delegation had been noted in the records of the Sub-Committee. The consensus had been reached after hearing those reservations and with the consent of the Italian representative.

203. The representative of Uruguay recalled that his delegation's views had been expressed during the discussion in Sub-Committee III. He associated himself with the remarks made by the representative of Venezuela and supported the consensus.

204. The representative of Tunisia said that the report should not give rise to lengthy discussion; it was based on decisions taken at the twentieth session of the General Assembly. His delegation supported the report and hoped that the administering Powers would give their full co-operation.

205. The representative of Sierra Leone expressed whole-hearted support for the report. Only through visiting missions would the Special Committee be able to gain a first-hand knowledge of the problems of the colonial Territories to find a speedy solution to them.
206. The representatives of Ethiopia and the Ivory Coast expressed support for the Sub-Committee's report.
207. The representative of Afghanistan said that his delegation endorsed the report. It was not discouraged by the reservations expressed, particularly by the United Kingdom and United States delegations, and it hoped that, when they were requested to do so, the administering Powers would co-operate with the Special Committee for the benefit of the people of the dependent Territories.
208. At the same meeting, the Special Committee adopted the report of the Sub-Committee and approved the recommendation contained therein, on the understanding that the reservations expressed by members would be reflected in the record.
209. By letters dated 17 May 1966, the Chairman, on behalf of the Special Committee, transmitted to the Permanent Representatives of the United Kingdom and of the United States to the United Nations the text of the recommendation thus approved by the Special Committee concerning the question of sending visiting missions to Territories referred to that Sub-Committee (A/AC.109/170).
210. By letter dated 23 May 1966, the Permanent Representative of the United States acknowledged receipt of the Chairman's letter.
211. In a letter dated 26 May 1966 (A/AC.109/171), the Deputy Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom stated as follows in reply:

"... The question of visiting missions raises difficult problems of principle for the United Kingdom Government and I am unable therefore to say anything that might encourage the Special Committee to expect any change in my Government's previous attitude to the question as frequently explained to the Special Committee and its Sub-Committees. The United Kingdom delegation would naturally be prepared to transmit to the United Kingdom Government, and seek instructions on, any specific request or suggestion for a visit to a particular territory that the Committee might consider it appropriate to put forward. This cannot, however, be taken as implying any commitment that the United Kingdom Government would be able to respond to such a request."

Recommendation of Sub-Committee II

212. The Special Committee, at the 468th meeting, considered the section of the report of the Sub-Committee II on the question of visiting missions to the Territories referred to it (A/AC.109/L.318), which is reproduced as annex II to the present chapter. Summaries of the statements made by members during the Special Committee's consideration of the report of the Sub-Committee II concerning this question are given below.

213. Following the introduction of the report by the Rapporteur of the Sub-Committee the representative of the United Kingdom stated his delegation's reservations concerning the sending of visiting missions to Territories administered by the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom delegation had made clear its position on the question during the Sub-Committee's meetings and he drew the attention of the members of the Special Committee to the summary records of these meetings. With regard to visiting missions, he also drew attention to the comments of the United Kingdom delegation set forth in document A/AC.109/171.

214. The representative of the United States of America expressed the reservations of his delegation on the question of the desirability of visiting missions.

215. The representative of Australia said that the Australian position on the question of visiting missions was set forth in document A/AC.109/L.318; although in certain circumstances visiting missions could be of a great value, it was doubtful whether they would be useful in the case of the Territories under Australian administration, to which the Trusteeship Council had already sent a number of visiting missions. Just as the administering Power had responsibilities, which it did not seek to deny, it also had the right to make decisions and could not agree in advance to any recommendation without having considered its financial implications, especially when there was a possibility of duplication of effort. The Australian delegation was, however, prepared to transmit to its Government any proposal that the Committee might make on the subject.

216. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics recalled that the majority of the members of Sub-Committee II had recommended, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX), the sending of visiting groups to Territories in the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Ocean areas, since they considered

that those missions would make it possible to obtain first-hand information on the situation in those Territories and on the best means of securing the implementation of the Declaration. Unfortunately it was clear from the summary records and the report of the Sub-Committee that the administering Powers did not share that view and were resorting to pretexts of all kinds in order to obstruct the sending of such missions. The arguments adduced by those Powers did not withstand scrutiny. The United Kingdom delegation said that it was prepared to transmit to its Government any recommendation relating to the sending of visiting missions, but at the same time it made it quite clear that such action did not imply any obligation on the part of the United Kingdom. What could be thought of a Government which sought to ignore the competence of the United Nations and was afraid of the consequences that the Organization's action might have in the economic and political fields? It would seem that the United Kingdom had something to conceal in those Territories. The United States representative, for his part, tried to assure the Committee that the situation in the Territories in the Pacific administered by his Government was so satisfactory that there was no point in sending a visiting mission there. The Special Committee had often heard the fine words of the United States delegation, but it was clear from the facts that the United States had so far done nothing to implement resolution 1514 (XV) in its Territories. Evidence of that was to be found in the report of the WHO Visiting Mission to the Territory of the Pacific Islands, which revealed the deplorable sanitary conditions in which the people of the Territory lived. Australia, too, had followed the example of its partners by stating that it had the right to refuse to receive visiting missions in the areas under its jurisdiction. The Australian Government seemed to forget that the Charter and the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) imposed certain obligations on it with respect to the peoples under its administration. By its refusal, Australia demonstrated its contempt for the right of peoples to self-determination, which had become one of the fundamental rules of international law, and for the will of the majority of the States Members of the United Nations. The attitude of New Zealand was scarcely more satisfactory, since the New Zealand Government stated that it did not object to the sending of visiting missions but would be able to receive such missions only as part of a broader survey of the situation in the

region. In view of the negative attitude of the other administering Powers, New Zealand's reply was nothing but a disguised refusal. In fact, those four Powers were seeking primarily to conceal the actual situation in the bastions of colonialism which still existed in the Pacific and which they were using in their struggle against the national liberation movements in South-East Asia, and in particular against the people of Viet-Nam. It sufficed to look at a map to see that all those Territories were situated along the major Pacific Ocean routes and were of extreme importance for military communications. Moreover, before the Second World War, the imperialist Powers had already been vying with each other for possession of the most important bases. Twenty years after the cessation of hostilities, their armed forces were still there and by their presence were contributing to the unbridled exploitation of the Territories. After the collapse of the colonial system in the other parts of the world, the Pacific Islands had become an even greater target for the greed of the colonialist Powers. It was worth noting that since that time gold had been found in Fiji and silver and manganese in the Solomons, while Nauru's phosphates were a tempting prize for foreign monopolies. From the agricultural point of view, the Pacific Territories were no less attractive to the large commercial companies, for their perfect climate made them an ideal site for the cultivation of bananas, copra, citrus fruits, coffee, cocoa and medicinal herbs. Seeking to increase their profits still further, the colonial Powers had adopted a whole series of measures to strengthen their position in the extractive and sugar industries and in tropical agriculture. It was regrettable that the working papers prepared by the Secretariat gave very little information in that regard. That was not surprising, since those documents were based essentially on information made available by the administering Powers, which were seeking to keep world opinion in ignorance of the actual situation in those Territories with regard to public health, social security, land tenure, the conditions governing the engagement and dismissal of employees, and the very small part that the indigenous inhabitants played in the civil service. 217. All those facts prevented the Committee from determining what the true situation was and from ascertaining the wishes of the people with regard to their future political and social status. The Committee must gain a true picture of the real situation in the Territories as soon as possible. The only way of doing

so was to visit the Territories and to have direct contact with the population. There was no justification for a refusal on the part of the administering Powers; any such refusal to comply with resolution 2105 (XX) and to facilitate the activities of such visiting missions would only confirm the fact that their assurances that they wished to co-operate were only empty words designed to deceive world opinion. If the United Kingdom representative was sincere in saying that the Secretariat reports did not adequately reflect the progress achieved in the Territories, why did he not admit that it was only by sending visiting missions there that the true situation could be ascertained?

213. The representative of the United States of America, replying to the Soviet representative, said that he would provide detailed information on the United States Territories in the Pacific when the Committee discussed the reports on that area. With regard to the question of United States bases, the Committee was well aware that the United States had been obliged to maintain its military presence precisely because of the attitude of certain Powers and because of the needs both of its own defence and of that of the region. When the situation in that part of the world had returned to normal, the United States Government would make it its duty to devote the resources at present being used for military purposes to other ends. In the present circumstances that was unfortunately out of the question.

219. The representative of Australia reserved the right to reply to the remarks of the Soviet representative at the appropriate time. It was well known that no Government was more faithful in discharging the obligations it had undertaken than the Government of Australia. Since the United Nations had been set up six or seven visiting missions had been able to visit the Territories under Australian administration and their members had been made most welcome. He referred the Committee to the reports of those missions, which gave a detailed account of the situation obtaining in the Territories in question.

220. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that his delegation fully supported the conclusions and recommendations in the various parts of the report. At the present time, the essential thing was that the anachronism which the continued survival of colonialism in mid-twentieth century represented should be brought to an end as quickly as possible. The Tanzanian delegation hoped that the administering Powers would place no obstacles in the way of visiting missions and would give them their full co-operation.

221. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that he merely wished to point out that the United States representative's reply confirmed the fact that the Territories in question were being transformed into military bases instead of being developed economically, socially and politically, as laid down in the Charter.

222. As for the large number of visiting missions to which the Australian representative had alluded, most of them had been composed, for the most part, of representatives of administering Powers and their conclusions were therefore unreliable, since the opinion of the other members had not usually been reflected in their reports.

223. At the same meeting the Special Committee adopted the report of Sub-Committee II on this question and endorsed the recommendation contained therein, it being understood that the reservations expressed by members would be reflected in the record.

VII. IMPLEMENTATION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS 2105 (XX) AND 2107 (XX) AND PERTINENT RESOLUTIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE: REQUESTS TO INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

A. INTRODUCTION

224. At its 415th meeting on 18 May 1966, the Special Committee requested the Secretary-General to communicate with the various international institutions in connexion with the appeals addressed to them by the General Assembly and by the Special Committee in their resolutions relating to the implementation of the Declaration and to the Territories under Portuguese administration and South West Africa. The Special Committee asked the Secretary-General to request these institutions to inform the Committee as a matter of urgency, first, whether the requests and appeals to them had been brought before their respective executive organs for decision, and secondly, what action they had taken or contemplated taking in response to those appeals and requests.

225. The paragraphs of the General Assembly resolutions containing requests and appeals to international institutions read as follows:

/Resolution 2105 (XX)/

"11. Requests all States and international institutions, including the specialized agencies of the United Nations, to withhold assistance of any kind to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa until they renounce their policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination;"

/Resolution 2107 (XX)/

"9. Appeals to all specialized agencies, in particular to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund to refrain from granting Portugal any financial, economic or technical assistance so long as the Government of Portugal fails to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

"10. Requests the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the specialized agencies concerned and other international relief organizations to increase their assistance to the refugees from the Territories under Portuguese administration and to the people who have suffered from military operations;"

226. The Secretary-General transmitted the Special Committee's requests to a number of international institutions including the specialized agencies by letters dated 6 June 1966.

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B. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

Introduction

227. The Special Committee considered this item at its 464th to 467th meetings between 9 and 15 September 1966.

228. During its consideration of this question, the Special Committee had before it a note by the Secretariat (A/AC.109/194 and Add.1) containing the replies received by the Secretary-General from various international institutions, including the specialized agencies concerning the implementation of General Assembly resolutions 2105 (XX) and 2107 (XX) and pertinent resolutions of the Special Committee.

General statements by members

229. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that he was glad that, at the suggestion of the Working Group, the question of the implementation of General Assembly resolutions 2105 (XX) and 2107 (XX) had been placed on the agenda of the Special Committee.

230. It was the opinion of the USSR delegation - and the same opinion had been expressed many times by various other delegations - that the Special Committee should do its utmost to ensure that the resolutions directed towards the rapid elimination of the colonial régimes were put into effect. The Committee could make no claim to efficiency if it was content to set forth measures that were considered desirable and did not concern itself about the implementation of the United Nations decisions.

231. It was indeed the fundamental task of the Special Committee to keep a close watch on the implementation by the colonial Powers of the General Assembly decisions concerning the manifold aspects of decolonization. That task was all the more important in that those Powers stopped at nothing in their efforts to obstruct the implementation of those decisions; they did their utmost to maintain their domination over the colonial Territories, either directly or through puppet régimes, and even used force in their fight against the national liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

232. In view of those manoeuvres on the part of the colonial Powers, it was even more urgently necessary to ascertain how the resolutions of the General Assembly

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and the Committee were being put into effect by all those concerned, and by the specialized agencies of the United Nations as well.

233. In that connexion, the USSR delegation was sorry to note that some agencies were disregarding the General Assembly resolutions, although they had been directly asked to take steps to put them into effect. The replies of the specialized agencies to the questions of the Secretary-General, who in accordance with a decision taken by the Committee on 18 May 1966 had asked them to inform him what they had done to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Committee, and in particular to comply with the provisions of paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX), could not be considered satisfactory. While some specialized agencies had already considered the General Assembly's request and had taken, or were preparing to take, certain steps in that connexion - UNESCO, for example, was to be congratulated on its decision to place the question of the tasks that devolved upon it in the light of the resolutions on the liquidation of colonialism and racism adopted by the General Assembly at its twentieth session on the agenda of the fourteenth General Conference - some replies showed that a number of agencies were disregarding the decisions of the General Assembly. That was true in particular of the replies of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund. Those agencies had in fact evaded the question. They had not even deigned to state, in reply to the Secretary-General's request, what steps they proposed to take to comply with the General Assembly's decisions. Such an attitude was tantamount to a repudiation of the wishes of the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations. In the case of the International Bank, that fact was confirmed by the policy of that agency, which had just approved two loans, amounting to \$30 million, for the expansion of the Portuguese electrical network. That decision was patently contrary to resolution 2107 (XX), and in particular paragraph 9 of that resolution. Moreover, the Bank had repeated that offence by approving a loan of \$20 million to none other than the Government of South Africa, thus bringing the number of loans already granted to the South African Government by the Bank to eleven, with a total value of \$241.8 million. The authorities of the Bank, which was dominated by United States capital, were certainly not unaware of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, which had been brought to their attention as early as March 1966.

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That action on the part of the Bank was in flagrant contradiction both with the United Nations policy of refusing all assistance to racists and colonialists and with the United Nations resolution asking for sanctions to be applied against the Portuguese and South African colonialists. By granting large loans to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, the International Bank had simply given further proof of the criminal alliance of international capital and the colonialists, united in their efforts to combat the national liberation movements of the peoples of South West Africa, Mozambique and Angola and other colonial peoples.

234. He urged that the Committee should condemn the decision of the International Bank to grant loans to Portugal and South Africa and demand that the agreements already concluded should be cancelled. The Committee must ensure that the Bank respected the United Nations resolutions condemning colonialism in all its forms, such as racism and apartheid, as a crime against humanity.

235. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania expressed his delegation's appreciation of the replies received from certain international bodies and United Nations agencies on the subject of General Assembly resolutions 2105 (XX) and 2107 (XX). His delegation had noted with particular satisfaction that the WHO Regional Committee for Africa had adopted a resolution suspending Portugal's right to participation in the Committee and suspending any assistance to that country.

236. His delegation wished, however, to record its disapproval of the disregard and lack of co-operation shown by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Although in its reply the Bank claimed to have brought the request before its Executive Directors, it was not only surprising but somewhat shocking to find that the Bank had recently granted the neo-fascist régime of South Africa a loan of \$20 million. The Bank had also granted assistance to the Portuguese colonialist régime for various projects which might increase that régime's power to suppress the African people of Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea. Since 1963, when the Bank had signed an agreement for a loan of some \$5 million to the fascist Government of Portugal, that Government had stepped up its aggressive war against the people of those Territories. While his delegation acknowledged that the activities of the Bank were beneficial to some areas, it felt that the extension of any assistance that might in any way alleviate some of

the self-created problems of the Portuguese colonialists and South African racists was contrary to the interests and legitimate aspirations of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and South West Africa. His delegation called upon all those who cherished freedom and independence to join in the universal struggle against colonialism and its crimes against humanity. There was ample evidence to show that the Portuguese colonialist régime could not continue its policies without the assistance it was receiving from its friends. Similarly, the South African régime was able to go on flouting world public opinion because it received encouragement and assistance from its hypocritical trading partners.

237. In his delegation's view, all international institutions and agencies should act in concert to ensure that the principles underlying the decisions of the General Assembly were respected. Such concerted action was of great importance both materially and morally to the masses of the African people in their struggle to overcome colonialist aggression and apartheid. Any action by an international body contrary to the decisions of the United Nations was a challenge to the Organization and a blow to national liberation movements. It was therefore his delegation's hope that the International Bank would reconsider its position and extend its full co-operation not only to the United Nations but to the heroic peoples of South West Africa and so-called Portuguese Guinea, who were waging a struggle against the forces condemned by civilized humanity.

238. In conclusion, his delegation hoped that all international institutions which had not yet done so would immediately take all the steps called for in resolutions 2105 (XX) and 2107 (XX).

239. The representative of Syria said that, when the Secretary-General had been requested to draw the attention of the specialized agencies to the provisions of the United Nations resolutions enjoining those agencies to refrain from extending to South Africa and Portugal assistance which would run counter to the objectives of the United Nations, it had been expected that those agencies would give a clear-cut undertaking that they would comply with the resolutions. Some agencies had done so, but others had given evasive answers, saying, for example, that they had referred the matter to their administrators. Perhaps, having made loans to both South Africa and Portugal, those agencies did not know how to reply or perhaps they considered their administrators above the

United Nations. In either case, it was a serious matter. For the time being, however, the Committee might simply say that it expected more thorough replies where the commitment to put the United Nations resolutions into full effect was beyond question.

240. The representative of Bulgaria, referring to documents A/AC.109/194 and Add.1, expressed regret that certain international institutions and specialized agencies forming part of the United Nations family had waited until the Committee's decision of 18 May 1966 and the sending of the Secretary-General's note before reacting to the General Assembly resolutions. That was particularly true of the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which were specifically mentioned in resolution 2107 (XX).

241. Those two bodies had once again submitted a purely formal reply - a procedure which did not reflect a very accommodating attitude towards the United Nations and had been the subject of expressions of disapproval by the General Assembly. It might be supposed that those replies indicated that the two organizations in question had been merely inactive with regard to the task of decolonization being undertaken by the United Nations. In fact, however, even after the decision adopted by the Special Committee on 18 May, the International Bank had approved two loans amounting to \$30 million to enable Portugal to improve its electric supply system. The Bank had thus shown genuine contempt for the decisions of the United Nations, particularly resolution 2107 (XX), which appealed to the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund to refrain from granting Portugal any financial, economic or technical assistance so long as the Portuguese Government failed to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The loans granted to Portugal were not an isolated case; the recent \$20 million loan to the Government of South Africa was further proof that it was part of the Bank's policy to co-operate with colonialist and racist régimes. It was to be noted that the Bank had already granted South Africa eleven loans totalling \$241.8 million. The studies made by the Special Committee and by Sub-Committee I had thrown light on the pernicious part played by the international financial interests which were partners of the racist and colonialist régimes in exploiting the natural resources of the colonial countries. The Committee must not permit those interests to pursue their policy of assisting the Portuguese and South African régimes through two bodies which were affiliated with the United Nations.

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242. His delegation was pleased to note that a number of international institutions and specialized agencies took a serious attitude towards General Assembly decisions and towards the appeals which the Assembly had addressed to them. Some, such as the International Labour Organisation and the World Health Organization, had not only taken account of United Nations resolutions on decolonization in their general work but had adopted specific measures to implement those resolutions. The World Health Organization and its nineteenth Assembly were to be commended for adopting a resolution which suspended Portugal's right to participate in the Regional Committee for Africa and in regional activities until its Government furnished proof of its willingness to conform to the injunctions of the United Nations and which also suspended technical assistance to Portugal in application of General Assembly resolution 2107 (XX).

243. The representative of India said that his delegation had given its full support to the efforts of the United Nations to induce the Governments of Portugal and South Africa to abandon their present policies; in that spirit, it had supported General Assembly resolutions 2105 (XX) and 2107 (XX), which appealed to the specialized agencies to refrain from granting assistance to Portugal and South Africa until they renounced their present policies. Since resolution 2107 (XX) mentioned in particular the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, his delegation had been disappointed to hear of the recent granting of new loans to South Africa by the Bank. Any such help would only encourage the Governments of Portugal and South Africa in their shameful policies. At the same time, his delegation paid a tribute to the Bank and the Fund for their record in helping developing countries to achieve decent levels of living.

C. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

244. At the 466th meeting on 14 September 1966 the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania introduced a draft resolution concerning General Assembly resolutions 2105 (XX) and 2107 (XX): requests to international institutions including the specialized agencies (A/AC.109/L.330), jointly sponsored by Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia.

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245. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania observed that the Committee had already examined the report of the Secretary-General based on the replies he had received to his request to international institutions not to give any assistance to South Africa and Portugal. The Afro-Asian group and Yugoslavia had considered the matter further and had agreed that the time had come for concrete action. They had therefore produced the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.330) requesting those international institutions which were enabling the Portuguese and South African régimes to continue their unjust treatment of innocent Africans to desist from that policy. He read out the text of the draft resolution.

246. The draft resolution asked for nothing more than justice, and the Committee should surely adopt it.

247. The representative of Iran stressed the need to deny South Africa and Portugal any assistance, financial or other, so long as they continued their policy of oppressing the African population, as indicated in operative paragraphs 2 and 3 of the draft resolution.

248. The request was addressed, in particular, to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, which had done much to bridge the gap between rich and poor by helping developing countries but would be doing just the opposite by providing aid to South Africa and Portugal; for such aid would strengthen the régimes of those countries which pursued policies wholly detrimental to the welfare of the African population.

249. He hoped that all the specialized agencies, in particular the Bank and the Fund, would refrain from granting aid to South Africa and Portugal, and that the draft resolution would be adopted unanimously.

250. The representative of Tunisia said that he would have preferred the Committee take a decision on the draft resolution by consensus, since, in his view, it was couched in sufficiently moderate terms to gain the support of all members of the Committee.

251. He deplored the fact that the Bank and the Fund had continued to grant new loans to Portugal and South Africa although General Assembly resolutions 2105 (XX) and 2107 (XX) had been communicated to them. The draft resolution now submitted made a further appeal to them to co-operate in implementing resolutions of the General Assembly.

252. The representative of Bulgaria stated that his delegation welcomed draft resolution A/AC.109/L.330 because it felt that it was time for the Committee to take a clear, unequivocal stand on the activities of international institutions with regard to colonial problems and particularly with regard to the implementation of General Assembly resolutions. His delegation agreed with the sponsors of the draft resolution that the Committee should express appreciation to those international institutions and specialized agencies which were seriously trying to act on the Assembly's appeals and assist in the process of decolonization, and condemn those which, like the International Bank, were taking action contrary to the Assembly's decisions and continuing to aid the Portuguese and South African colonialists and racists. His delegation shared the view of those speakers who had called upon the International Bank to cancel the loans recently granted to Portugal and South Africa. Although no such provision appeared in the draft resolution, his delegation supported and would vote for the latter, since it expressed the ideas which it was the task of the United Nations to uphold.

253. The representative of Australia said that, as an expression of concern regarding important aspects of the present policies of South Africa and Portugal, draft resolution A/AC.109/L.330 was bound to evoke the Australian delegation's sympathy. Despite its opposition to those policies, however, the Australian delegation could not but express its anxiety when efforts were made to control or channel international aid for political purposes, particularly when the limiting of aid might in practice mean deprivation or the elimination of opportunity for innocent people. The observance of agreements was vital to the conduct of human relations. Under the terms of article IV of the Agreement between the United Nations and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, neither organization was to present formal recommendations to the other without reasonable prior consultation with regard thereto and the United Nations recognized that action taken by the Bank on loans should be determined by the independent exercise of the Bank's own judgement. The draft resolution before the Committee did not seem to be in accord with either the spirit or the letter of that Agreement. For those reasons, his delegation could not support the draft resolution as it stood.

254. The representative of the United Kingdom recalled that his delegation had reserved its position on the issue of the introduction of political controversy

in the specialized agencies in a statement at the last session of the General Assembly (1395th plenary meeting). His delegation had accordingly reserved its position on the same matter at the 415th meeting of the Special Committee and wished now to reserve its position on draft resolution A/AC.109/L.330, on which it would abstain.

255. The representative of the United States of America reserved the position of her delegation on the draft resolution, in the light of the agreements between the United Nations and the Bank and the Fund; in that regard, she wished to associate her delegation with the reservations expressed by the Australian delegation.

256. The representative of Uruguay said that his delegation had voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX) but not of resolution 2107 (XX); in view of that fact, and in the absence of instructions, his delegation would have to abstain on the draft resolution. That abstention did not affect the basic position of Uruguay in condemning the policies of South Africa and Portugal.

257. The representative of Denmark said that at the last session of the General Assembly his delegation had either reserved its position or abstained from voting on provisions similar to those in the present draft resolution. It must therefore reserve its position with respect to the present draft resolution also. Its attitude was approximately the same as that expressed by the Australian representative.

258. At its 467th meeting on 15 September 1966, the Chairman before putting the draft resolution to the vote, informed the Special Committee, that in operative paragraph 3 the words "from rendering any financial assistance" had been revised by the sponsors to read "from rendering any financial or other assistance".

259. At the same meeting, the Special Committee adopted the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.320) as orally revised, by 16 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

260. The representative of Venezuela speaking in explanation of his vote, said that his delegation had been obliged to abstain in the vote, primarily because it had received no instructions. In conformity with the position taken by his delegation on the same matter at the last session of the General Assembly, its abstention should not be interpreted as a change in its position regarding the policies of Portugal and South Africa, a position which was well known to the Special Committee.

261. The resolution (A/AC.109/206) thus adopted by the Special Committee, at its 467th meeting, on 15 September 1966, concerning General Assembly resolutions 2105 (XX) and 2107 (XX): requests to international institutions and specialized agencies, reads as follows:

"The Special Committee,

"Having considered the replies^{11/} received from international institutions and the specialized agencies on the implementation of paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX) of 20 December 1965 and paragraph 9 and 10 of resolution 2107 (XX) of 21 December 1965, containing requests and appeals addressed to them,

"Noting with appreciation that several international institutions and specialized agencies have undertaken or intend to undertake in the near future measures for the implementation of the above-mentioned resolutions,

"Regretting that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund continue to grant substantial loans and credits to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa in disregard of the above-mentioned resolutions,

"1. Expresses its appreciation to those international institutions and specialized agencies which are co-operating with the United Nations in the implementation of General Assembly resolutions 2105 (XX) and 2107 (XX) and appeals to them to continue their efforts in this regard;

"2. Expresses its deep disappointment at the granting of new loans and the extension of credits to the Governments of South Africa and Portugal by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund;

"3. Urges the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund to co-operate in the implementation of General Assembly resolutions 2105 (XX) and 2107 (XX), by refraining from rendering any financial or other assistance to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa until they have renounced their policies of colonial domination and racial discrimination."

262. The text of this resolution was transmitted to international institutions and the specialized agencies by a letter dated 2 October 1966.

11/ A/AC.109/194 and Add.1.

VIII. QUESTION OF THE LIST OF TERRITORIES TO WHICH THE DECLARATION IS APPLICABLE

263. In its report to the General Assembly at its twentieth session, the Special Committee stated that "subject to any directives the General Assembly at its twentieth session may wish to give for the speedy implementation of the Declaration, the Special Committee intends to continue its consideration of the question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable."^{12/}

264. In the seventh preambular paragraph of its resolution 2105 (XX) of 20 December 1965, the General Assembly noted "the action taken and envisaged by the Special Committee regarding the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable".

265. At its 471st meeting, the Special Committee considered a report submitted by the Working Group concerning this question, which is contained in paragraphs 6 to 10 of the latter's twenty-fifth report (A/AC.109/L.338). These paragraphs read as follows:

"6. The Working Group noted that in its report to the General Assembly at its twentieth session the Special Committee had stated as follows: 'Subject to any directives the General Assembly at its twentieth session may wish to give for the speedy implementation of the Declaration, the Special Committee intends to continue its consideration of the question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable.'^{13/}

"7. The Working Group was also aware that, in the seventh preambular paragraph of its resolution 2105 (XX) of 20 December 1965, the General Assembly noted 'the action taken and envisaged by the Special Committee regarding the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable'.

"8. In this connexion, members recalled that, as stated in its report to the General Assembly at its twentieth session,^{14/} the Special Committee at its last session had before it a letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cuba requesting the inclusion of the question of Puerto Rico on the agenda of the Special Committee but that, owing to lack of time, the Committee was unable to examine that request.

"9. Members also recalled that in his address at the opening meeting of the Special Committee in Addis Ababa on 6 June 1966 (A/AC.109/SR.433) the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) drew attention to the omission of the Comoro Archipelago from the list of

^{12/} A/6000, chapter I, paragraph 66.

^{13/} Ibid.

^{14/} Ibid., paragraph 65

Territories to which the Declaration applies, and requested that the necessary corrections be made.

"10. Following an exchange of views on various suggestions, the Working Group agreed that the question of the inclusion of these Territories, namely, Puerto Rico and the Comoro Archipelago, required further detailed study and that, in view of the lack of time at this session, it should make such a study at an early date during the next session of the Special Committee. It further agreed that, at that time, it would also consider any other Territories which might be included in the list of 'all other Territories which have not yet attained independence'."

266. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics pointed out that the question of the inclusion of Puerto Rico on the agenda of the Special Committee had already been considered the previous year and it was clear from document A/6000, chapter I, paragraphs 65-66, that the Committee had decided to continue its consideration of the question at subsequent sessions. Since that time, many requests had been received to the same effect, stating that the inclusion of Puerto Rico on the Committee's agenda was fully justified. His delegation was therefore in favour of considering the question during the current session; it was a perfectly clear issue since the people of Puerto Rico had not been given an opportunity to express their wishes freely concerning the future status of their country.

267. The representative of Bulgaria said that his delegation would agree with the consensus that the question of the inclusion of Puerto Rico on the Committee's agenda should be discussed early in the next session. The Special Committee was quite competent to consider Puerto Rico as a dependent Territory to which resolution 1514 (XV) was fully applicable. The Declaration in that resolution was the raison d'être of the Committee and statements appearing in United Nations documents before that Declaration had been adopted could not be allowed to prevent the Special Committee from considering all dependent Territories. He had welcomed the request made by the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in 1964 that the Special Committee should consider the question of Puerto Rico in the light of resolution 1514 (XV).

268. The representative of the United States of America explained that the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico was fully self-governing and autonomous, a fact which had been confirmed by the General Assembly, and was therefore not subject to the

jurisdiction of the Special Committee. Her delegation would view very seriously any attempt to discuss the matter since that would question Puerto Rico's self-governing status. That status had been established following an overwhelming vote by the people of Puerto Rico in 1952. In view of the adoption of resolution 748 (VIII) by the General Assembly in 1953, her delegation considered that the subject should not be included in the Special Committee's agenda.

269. At the same meeting, the Special Committee approved the proposals contained in paragraph 10 of the report of the Working Group, it being understood that the reservations expressed by members would be reflected in the records.

IX. CONSIDERATION OF OTHER MATTERS

Implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) with regard to colonial Territories considered by the Special Committee during its meetings in Africa (1966)

270. At its 454th and 455th meetings, held in Algiers on 21 and 22 June 1966, the Special Committee considered a draft resolution relating to the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) with regard to colonial Territories considered by the Committee during its meetings in Africa (1966). The draft resolution was adopted by the Special Committee at its 455th meeting on 22 June 1966 (A/AC.109/188). Details of the Special Committee's consideration of this item are contained in chapter II of the present report.

Report of the delegation of the Special Committee to the international conference concerning South West Africa. Oxford (March 1966)

271. At the 396th meeting, the Special Committee decided to accept an invitation extended to it to send observers to an international conference concerning South West Africa to be held at Oxford, England, from 23 to 27 March 1966. At the 398th meeting, the Committee decided that the delegation of observers to attend the conference on behalf of the Special Committee should consist of Mr. Hans Tabor (Denmark) and Mr. Gershon Collier (Sierra Leone). The Special Committee took into consideration the report of the delegation to the conference (A/AC.109/L.290) in its examination of the question of South West Africa, an account of which is contained in chapter IV of the present report.

Co-operation with the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States

272. At the 403rd meeting, the Special Committee decided to accede to a request by cable from the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) that the Organization be represented as an observer at the Special Committee's meetings. Accordingly, representatives of the Organization attended the Committee's meetings at United Nations Headquarters, in Dar es Salaam and Addis Ababa as observers.

273. At the 440th meeting, the Committee decided to accede to a request dated 11 June 1966 from the Acting Secretary-General of the League of Arab States (A/AC.109/182) that the League be represented as an observer at the Special

Committee's meetings in Cairo. Accordingly, a representative of the League of Arab States attended the Committee's meetings in Cairo in an observer capacity. 274. In a letter dated 20 September 1966, the Chairman of the Special Committee, having regard to section II, paragraph 14, sub-paragraph (c) thereof, transmitted the report of the Sub-Committee on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland to the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity.

Matters relating to Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland

(a) Appointment of United Nations Special Representatives

275. The Special Committee, in operative paragraph 7 of its resolution of 9 June 1966 on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland (A/AC.109/178), requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee, to appoint United Nations Special Representatives in each of the Territories for the purpose of following up the progress towards independence and to report to the General Assembly as soon as possible. The report of the Secretary-General concerning this matter was made available to members of the Special Committee in document A/AC.109/199.

(b) Operation of the Fund for Economic Development of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland

276. In operative paragraph 9 of its resolution 2063 (XX) of 16 December 1965 on the question of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to appoint resident representatives in the three Territories and to report to the Assembly at its twenty-first session on the operation of the Fund established under paragraph 7 of the same resolution. In operative paragraph 5 of its resolution adopted on 9 June 1966 (A/AC.109/178) the Special Committee addressed a further appeal to all States to contribute to the above-mentioned Fund.

277. In his report to the General Assembly at its twenty-first session (A/6439), the Secretary-General expressed regret that, as the contributions pledged so far were insufficient, it had not been possible to bring the Fund into operation.^{15/} Specific pledges of contributions received up to that time to the Fund were:

^{15/} A/6439, paragraph 6.

Cyprus, £100; Democratic Republic of Congo, \$US2,500; and Liberia \$US6,000. In addition, Denmark and India had indicated that their Governments would contribute to the Fund when it became operational. Since then a further pledge has been received from Kuwait for \$US2,000.

278. As regards the appointment of resident representatives in the three Territories, the Secretary-General stated in his report^{16/} that the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) had established separate offices headed by a Deputy Resident Representative in each of the Territories under the general supervision of the Regional Representative of the UNDP in Lusaka, Zambia.

Information on Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter

279. The General Assembly, by resolution 1970 (XVIII) of 16 December 1963, decided to dissolve the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and entrusted its functions to the Special Committee. The Special Committee accordingly considered, at its 472nd and 473rd meetings on 12 and 19 October 1966, an item on information on Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter. Details of the Special Committee's consideration of this item are contained in chapter XXIII of the present report.

Activities of foreign economic and other interests in Southern Rhodesia and their mode of operation

280. At its 328th meeting, on 22 April 1965, the Special Committee adopted a resolution on the question of Southern Rhodesia.^{17/} In operative paragraph 9 of that resolution the Special Committee decided "to study in co-operation with the Secretary-General and the agencies of the United Nations the implications of the activities of foreign economic and other interests in Southern Rhodesia and their mode of operation in order to assess their economic and political influence".

281. At its 409th meeting on 26 April 1966, the Special Committee decided, without objection, to refer to Sub-Committee I, for consideration, the item relating to the activities of foreign economic and other interests in Southern Rhodesia and their mode of operation.

^{16/} A/6439, paragraph 7.

^{17/} A/600C/Add.1, paragraph 292.

282. Sub-Committee I, submitted its report on this item to the Special Committee on 29 September 1966. Details of the Special Committee's consideration of the report are contained in chapter III of the present report.

Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence in the Territories under Portuguese administration

283. The Special Committee, in its resolution adopted at its 277th meetings, on 3 July 1964,^{18/} requested "Sub-Committee I of the Special Committee, with the assistance of the Secretary-General, to study the activities of foreign and other interests, which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence in the Territories under Portuguese administration". On the basis of the study by Sub-Committee I, the Special Committee submitted a report on the matter to the General Assembly at its twentieth session,^{19/} in which it endorsed the conclusions and recommendations of the Sub-Committee. In its conclusions and recommendations, the Sub-Committee informed the Special Committee as follows:

"278 ... In order to enable it to have a more comprehensive view of the effects of foreign economic and other activities in the other major sectors of the economic life of the Territories under Portuguese administration, the Sub-Committee has asked the Secretariat to prepare background papers on the agricultural and allied industries, foreign owned railways and economic relations in Mozambique with South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. After the Sub-Committee has reviewed the additional information it will report to the Special Committee and submit further observations, conclusions and recommendations as may be necessary." ^{20/}

284. Sub-Committee I continued its consideration of this question in 1966 and submitted a supplementary report to the Special Committee at the 470th meeting on 6 October 1966. An account of the Sub-Committee's consideration of this report is contained in chapter V of the present report.

^{18/} Official Records of the General Assembly Nineteenth Session, Annex No. 8 (A/5800/Rev.1), chapter V, paragraph 352.

^{19/} A/6000/Add.3 (Part II).

^{20/} Ibid., annex, paragraph 278.

Matters relating to the small Territories

285. In operative paragraph 8 of its resolution 2105 (XX) of 20 December 1965, the General Assembly requested "the Special Committee to pay particular attention to the small Territories and to recommend to the General Assembly the most appropriate ways, as well as the steps to be taken, to enable the populations of the small Territories to exercise fully their right to self-determination and independence".

286. In requesting its Sub-Committees I, II and III to carry out the tasks assigned to them, the Special Committee called their attention to the above-mentioned provision of General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX). Further, in arriving at its conclusions and recommendations concerning the small Territories, details of which are contained in the relevant chapters of the present report, the Special Committee took the same provision into consideration.

287. Subject to any directives that the General Assembly at its twenty-first session may wish to give for the speedy implementation of the Declaration in respect of these Territories, the Special Committee will continue to be guided by this and other provisions of General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX).

Deadline for the accession of Territories to independence

288. In operative paragraph 9 of its resolution 2105 (XX), the General Assembly requested "the Special Committee, whenever it considers it appropriate, to recommend a deadline for the accession to independence of each Territory in accordance with the wishes of the people".

289. In requesting its Sub-Committees I, II and III to carry out the tasks assigned to them, the Special Committee called their attention to the above-mentioned provision of General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX). Further in its consideration of specific territories, the Special Committee took the same provision into consideration.

290. Subject to any directives that the General Assembly at its twenty-first session may wish to give in this regard, the Special Committee intends to pursue its consideration of all Territories which have not yet attained independence, and in this connexion will continue to be guided by this and other provisions of General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX).

Patterns of meetings and methods of work

291. In its resolution 2116 (XX) of 21 December 1965 concerning the pattern of conferences, the General Assembly decided, inter alia, "that a fixed pattern of conferences to govern the places and dates of the meetings of the United Nations bodies, shall come into force on 1 January 1966 for a further period of three years". It requested the Secretary-General "to submit to the General Assembly each year a basic programme of conferences for the following year, established in conformity with the present pattern and after consultation, as appropriate, with the organs concerned". It also urged "all organs of the United Nations ... to review their working methods and frequency and length of session in the light of the present resolution, the growing volume of meetings, the resulting strain on available resources and the difficulty of ensuring the effective participation of members".

292. By adopting the twenty-fifth report of the working group (A/AC.109/L.338), the Special Committee at its 471st meeting on 10 October 1966 decided to hold two sessions in 1967, the first from 20 February to 31 May, and the second from 17 July to 25 August. This will provide for fourteen working weeks during the first session, a recess of six weeks during June and July, and six working weeks during the second session.

293. It was the understanding of the Special Committee in taking this decision that the above meetings programme would not preclude the holding of extra-session meetings on an emergency basis if developments so warranted. Further, the decision was based on the expectation that the Special Committee would be able to complete the major part of its work by the end of its first session. Included in the first session would also be any meetings which the Special Committee may decide to hold outside Headquarters. In fixing the closing date indicated above, the Special Committee also took account of the annual Trusteeship Council session which normally begins at the end of May and lasts for about one month. The Special Committee envisaged that the second session which should conclude before the opening of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly would be devoted to the consideration of unfinished business as well as any developments after the close of the first session which the Special Committee may wish to bring to the attention of the Assembly.

294. The Special Committee further decided that any visiting groups it might be able to dispatch to Territories should time their visits so that their reports may be taken up by the Special Committee at the beginning of its second session.

295. Finally, the Special Committee decided that in order to ensure adherence to the programme outlined above, it would, firstly, decide its programme of work in some detail at the beginning of the first session, and secondly, decide upon the Territories to which it would send visiting groups, in order to allow sufficient time for the necessary negotiations, planning and administrative arrangements.

X. RELATIONS WITH OTHER UNITED NATIONS BODIES

Security Council

296. The General Assembly, in its resolution 1956 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963, invited the Special Committee to apprise the Security Council of any developments in any Territory examined by it which may threaten international peace and security.

(a) Southern Rhodesia

297. In operative paragraph 6 of its resolution of 21 April 1966 (A/AC.109/158), the Special Committee recommended to the Security Council "to consider urgently the further measures envisaged under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations to put into effect its decisions concerning Southern Rhodesia". The text of the resolution, together with the records of the debate on the question in the Special Committee, was transmitted to the President of the Security Council on 21 April 1966 (S/7263).

298. By operative paragraph 6 of its resolution of 31 May 1966 (A/AC.109/167), the Special Committee drew once again "the attention of the Security Council to the grave situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia with a view to recommending mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter and to taking appropriate measures to secure the effective application of sanctions in case of default by any State". In operative paragraph 7 of the same resolution, the Special Committee recommended to the Security Council "that it request the Government of the United Kingdom to take measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter in order, by the use of air, sea or land forces, to prevent any supplies, including oil and petroleum products, from reaching Southern Rhodesia". The text of this resolution was transmitted to the President of the Security Council on 14 June 1966 (S/6412)..

(b) South West Africa

299. By operative paragraph 5 of its resolution of 9 June 1966 (A/AC.109/177), the Special Committee drew "the attention of the Security Council to the serious situation prevailing in South West Africa and its aggravation caused by the racist rebellion in Southern Rhodesia and its consequences for international peace

and security". The Special Committee, in operative paragraph 6 of this resolution recommended to the Security Council "to make it obligatory for all States to implement the measures contained in General Assembly resolution 1899 (XVIII) of 13 November 1963 and in particular those mentioned in paragraph 7 thereof". It further recommended to the Security Council "to take the necessary measures to ensure the withdrawal of all military bases and installations from the Territory". The text of this resolution was transmitted to the President of the Security Council on 14 June 1966 (S/7370).

(c) Aden

300. By operative paragraph 10 of its resolution of 16 June 1966 (A/AC.109/179/Rev.1), the Special Committee drew "the attention of the Security Council to the dangerous situation prevailing in the area as a result of British military action against the people of the Territory". The text of this resolution was transmitted to the President of the Security Council on 15 June 1966 (S/7372).

(d) Territories under Portuguese administration

301. In operative paragraph 6 of its resolution of 22 June 1966 (A/AC.109/187), the Special Committee recommended to the Security Council "to make obligatory for all States to implement the measures contained in General Assembly resolution 2107 (XX), in particular those mentioned in paragraph 7 thereof". The text of this resolution was transmitted to the President of the Security Council on 1 July 1966 (S/7394).

(e) Colonial Territories considered by the Special Committee during its meetings in Africa (1966)

302. In operative paragraph 3 of its resolution of 22 June 1966 (A/AC.109/188), the Special Committee recommended to the Security Council "to make obligatory the measures provided for under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter against Portugal, South Africa and the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia". The text of this resolution was transmitted to the President of the Security Council on 1 July 1966 (S/7395).

Trusteeship Council

303. In accordance with paragraph 8 of General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) which requested the Trusteeship Council to assist the Special Committee in its work, the President of the Trusteeship Council, by letter dated 25 July 1966 (A/AC.109/191) addressed to the Chairman, informed the Special Committee that the Council at its thirty-third session examined conditions in the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands, Nauru and New Guinea. The letter stated that the conclusions and recommendations of the Trusteeship Council, as well as the observations of the members of the Trusteeship Council, representing their individual opinions only, were contained in its report to the Security Council on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (S/7425) and in its report to the General Assembly on Nauru and New Guinea.^{21/}

Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa

304. The Chairman of the Special Committee has maintained close contact with the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa as regards matters of common interest relating to the work of the two Committees.

305. By letter dated 14 September 1966 addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee, the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa drew attention to a memorandum received from Mr. Matthew Nkoana of the Fan-Africanist Congress of South Africa, concerning the arrest in Basutoland of Mr. John Myati Pokela, a member of that party (A/AC.109/204). The memorandum, reproduced in document A/AC.115/L.182, was made available to the members of the Special Committee.

Specialized agencies

306. Collaboration of the specialized agencies with the Special Committee has been maintained by the presence of representatives of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the World Health Organization (WHO) at meetings of the Special Committee.

^{21/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Supplement No. 4 (A/6304).

307. During the period covered by the report, the Special Committee adopted the following resolutions which contained appeals or requests addressed to international institutions, including the specialized agencies:

<u>Resolution adopted on</u>	<u>Territories concerned</u>	<u>Relevant operative paragraphs</u>
31 May 1966 (A/AC.109/167)	Southern Rhodesia	operative paragraph 11
9 June 1966 (A/AC.109/177)	South West Africa	operative paragraph 9
9 June 1966 (A/AC.109/178)	Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland	operative paragraph 6
15 June 1966 (A/AC.109/179/Rev.1)	Aden	operative paragraph 11
22 June 1966 (A/AC.109/187)	Territories under Portuguese administration	operative paragraphs 8 and 9
22 June 1966 (A/AC.109/188)	Colonial Territories considered during the meetings in Africa (1966)	operative paragraphs 6 and 8
15 September 1966 (A/AC.109/206)	Territories under Portuguese administration and South West Africa	operative paragraph 3

308. The texts of these resolutions were transmitted by the Secretary-General to the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) as well as to the international institutions concerned for their attention. The substantive parts of the replies received from these organizations concerning the implementation of the above-mentioned resolutions, were reproduced and made available to the Special Committee in the following documents during the Committee's consideration of the relevant Territories:

<u>Territories</u>	<u>Organization concerned</u>	<u>Document symbols</u>
Southern Rhodesia	- International Committee of the Red Cross) A/AC.109/192
	- United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)	

/...

<u>Territories</u>	<u>Organization concerned</u>	<u>Document symbols</u>
Southern Rhodesia (cont'd)	- Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)	A/AC.109/192/Add.1
	- International Labour Organisation (ILO)	
	- World Health Organization (WHO)	
	- United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)	
South West Africa	- International Labour Organisation (ILO)	A/AC.109/193/Add.1
	- World Health Organization (WHO)	
	- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)	
Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland	- International Telecommunication Union (ITU)	A/AC.109/200
	- World Health Organization (WHO)	
	- International Labour Organisation (ILO)	
	- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)	
Aden	- International Labour Organisation (ILO)	A/AC.109/161
	- International Committee of the Red Cross	
	- League of Red Cross Societies	

<u>Territories</u>	<u>Organization concerned</u>	<u>Document symbols</u>
Territories under Portuguese administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) - International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (Bank), International Development Association (IDA), International Finance Corporation (IFC) - International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) - International Labour Organisation (ILO) - International Monetary Fund (FUND) - International Telecommunication Union (ITU) - United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) - Universal Postal Union (UPU) - World Health Organization (WHO) - United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) - International Committee of the Red Cross 	A/AC.109/194

XI. REVIEW OF WORK^{22/}

309. In resolution 2105 (XX), the General Assembly renewed the mandate of the Special Committee requesting it to continue to perform its task and to continue to seek the best means for the immediate and full application of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) to all Territories which have not yet attained independence. The Assembly also requested the Committee to pay particular attention to the small Territories; to recommend a deadline for the accession of each Territory to independence whenever it considered it appropriate; and to apprise the Security Council of developments in any Territory which may threaten international peace and security and to make suggestions which might assist the Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations.

310. At the beginning of its work in 1966, many members of the Special Committee expressed the feeling that progress in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has fallen far short of the expectations aroused by its adoption nearly six years ago. It was noted that generally there had been no abatement in the persistent violation of the right of colonial countries and peoples to self-determination, and in repressive activities by the Powers concerned, in collusion with vested economic and other interests, against the struggle of national liberation movements. The belief was expressed that this anachronistic state of affairs represented one of the basic causes of the prevailing unfavourable international situation. In particular, many members were gravely concerned that, owing to the deliberate opposition or the continuing non-co-operation of the administering Powers concerned, a number of serious and difficult colonial problems had shown no perceptible movement towards peaceful solution within the context of the Declaration, and had attained alarmingly grave proportions, fraught with dangerous possibilities. It was in this context that the Committee approached its tasks at the beginning of 1966.

311. In the course of its work during 1966, the Special Committee continued to examine the implementation of the Declaration with respect to individual Territories. In the case of some Territories, because of new developments concerning them, it

^{22/} The views or reservations of individual members on matters reviewed in this section are set out in the relevant chapters of the present report (see chapters II to XXII). /...

was necessary to consider them more than once. The Committee also completed studies on the activities of foreign economic and other interests in the Territories under Portuguese administration and in Southern Rhodesia, on the basis of which it made recommendations to the General Assembly (see chapters III and V of the present report). The Committee also continued to discharge the additional functions entrusted to it by the General Assembly concerning the question of South West Africa and of information on Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter.

312. This programme of work placed a great strain on the resources of the Special Committee which it attempted to meet by means of a heavy schedule of meetings both in plenary session and in its sub-committees. However despite the fact that the Committee met from March until November, except for one short break, it was not able to give adequate consideration to a few of the questions on its agenda.

313. During the period under review, the Special Committee noted the attainment of independence of three of the Territories which had been the subject of consideration by the General Assembly and by the Special Committee, namely, British Guiana (Guyana), Bechuanaland (Botswana), and Basutoland (Lesotho). It also noted the setting of 30 November 1966 as the date on which Barbados would become independent.

314. As foreshadowed in its last report to the General Assembly, the Special Committee held a further series of meetings in Africa in 1966. The Committee accepted invitations extended to it by the Governments of Algeria, Ethiopia, Somalia, the United Arab Republic and the United Republic of Tanzania and held a series of meetings in their respective capitals in May and June. The Committee wishes to lay particular stress on the important results achieved by these meetings, which not only underlined the increasing concern of the United Nations for the position of colonial peoples, but strengthened the Committee's own capacity to assist these peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence. Further, the Committee's visit facilitated the appearance before it of representatives of national liberation movements wishing to express their views regarding the future of their countries, who would otherwise have found it impossible to travel to New York.

315. The Special Committee devoted prolonged attention to the question of Southern Rhodesia, the situation regarding which was further aggravated by the illegal declaration of independence by the racist minority régime. The Committee was aware of statements by the United Kingdom Government that it would seek to end the rebellion without delay and to assist the people of the Territory towards majority rule and a society free of oppression and discrimination. The Committee nevertheless noted that the diplomatic and economic sanctions applied against Southern Rhodesia by that Government had not resulted in progress towards these aims. Further, the measures taken by the majority of Member States in response to the relevant United Nations resolutions had no more than limited impact on the régime, owing mainly to the failure of the Governments of South Africa and Portugal to take corresponding action. In addition, the United Kingdom to the disapproval of the Committee, undertook pour-parlers with the régime without regard to the harmful consequences which these pour-parlers might entail for the legitimate rights of the African people. It was therefore the considered view of the Committee that energetic action by the United Kingdom Government, including the use of force, was necessary, in order to pave the way for positive progress in the implementation of the Declaration to this Territory.

316. On the question of South West Africa, the continuing disregard of the pertinent United Nations resolutions by the Government of South Africa was further demonstrated by its introduction of further repressive legislation in application of its apartheid policies. It also proceeded with the establishment of the infra-structure considered necessary for the establishment of "homelands", in line with the recommendations of the (Odendaal) Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa affairs 1962-63. Moreover, the Special Committee noted with disappointment that the long-awaited judgement of the International Court of Justice, delivered on 18 July 1966, refrained from pronouncing on the substantive legal issues placed before it for adjudication. While recognizing that the earlier advisory opinions as well as the 1962 judgement of the Court remained unimpaired, the Committee considered that it was the responsibility of the United Nations to achieve a political solution to the problem. In this regard, the Committee reaffirmed that the provisions of the Declaration continued to be applicable to South West Africa

and reiterated the right of the people of the Territory to self-determination and independence. It also recommended that the mandate should be terminated and that the United Nations should concurrently assume responsibility for the direct administration of the Territory, with the view of making arrangements for the holding of elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage and the granting of full independence.

317. As regards the Territories under Portuguese administration, the administering Power, maintaining its insistence that they were overseas provinces, took additional measures for their political, economic and administrative integration with Portugal. Continuing to avail itself of assistance from some States, it further intensified its military operations against the African population of the Territories. It also extended its violation of the economic and political rights of the indigenous population by the large-scale settlement of foreign immigrants and by the export of African workers to South Africa. In view of these developments, the Special Committee recommended to the Security Council to make it obligatory for all States to implement the measures provided for in General Assembly resolution 2107 (XX). The Committee also remained of the opinion that the Security Council should take the steps necessary to implement its own resolutions concerning these Territories.

318. As a result of the special studies it undertook concerning Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, and the Territories under Portuguese administration, the Special Committee noted the prominent role played in the economic life of these Territories by international economic and financial interests. The Committee was concerned that these interests, in collaboration with one another, had been instrumental in denying the African people the means of effective participation in the economic life of their countries. The Committee therefore considered that the activities of these interests, which were impeding the implementation of the Declaration in these and other colonial Territories, should be urgently inscribed as an item on the agenda of the General Assembly.

319. Concerning Aden, the Special Committee regretted that the United Kingdom Government had not taken the necessary steps to establish normal conditions, including the abolition of the state of emergency, the repeal of laws restrictive of public freedom, the cessation of repressive activities, the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles. A new element in the already

grave situation relating to mass arrests and the torturing of political prisoners was also brought to the attention of the Special Committee. The Committee was further concerned at the prospect of the United Kingdom transferring all powers to the unrepresentative régime in the Territory and in conditions which would not correspond to the provisions of the Declaration. It accordingly requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee and the administering Power, to appoint immediately a special mission to Aden for the purpose of recommending practical steps necessary for the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and, in particular, for determining the extent of United Nations participation in the preparation and supervision of elections. The Committee was disappointed that the United Kingdom Government, while expressing willingness to co-operate with a United Nations mission for the purpose indicated above, had recorded certain reservations in this connexion which created difficulties in the way of the appointment of the special mission. The Committee remained convinced that any hope of arresting the deteriorating situation in the Territory lay in the unqualified acceptance and implementation by the United Kingdom Government, in full co-operation with the United Nations, of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

320. Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, which had been of special concern to the Special Committee in previous years, were also the subject of extensive consideration. Disturbed, as previously, at their unsatisfactory economic and social situation, the Committee accordingly appealed to all States to contribute to the Fund established by the General Assembly for their economic development. In view of the imminent independence of Bechuanaland on 30 September and of Basutoland on 4 October, the Committee gave urgent attention to the measures necessary to enable them to enjoy complete independence and to secure their territorial integrity and sovereignty. In addition to requesting the United Kingdom Government to take all appropriate action, the Committee recommended that the General Assembly address a strong warning to the South African Government against any encroachment upon the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Territories and any hindrance to the movement of persons and goods. As regards Swaziland, the Committee maintained its view that steps should be taken by the administering Power to ensure its accession to independence in full compliance with the Declaration.

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321. The Special Committee paid particular attention to the small Territories, regarding which there had also been regrettable delays in the implementation of the Declaration. On the question of Fiji, the Special Committee considered that general elections should be held on the basis of universal suffrage for the purpose of forming a constituent assembly which would be responsible for drawing up a democratic constitution. The Committee also urged the United Kingdom Government to ensure the formation of a representative Government, the transfer of full powers to that Government and the fixing of an early date for the independence of the Territory. In addition, it decided to appoint a sub-committee to visit Fiji for the purpose of studying at first hand the situation in the Territory. Regarding Equatorial Guinea, the Committee was appreciative of the co-operation extended by the Government of Spain in permitting a sub-committee to visit the Territory. On the basis of the findings of the sub-committee, the Committee decided to recommend that the Spanish Government should, inter alia, convene a conference, fully representative of the people of the Territory, to establish the modalities for the transfer of all powers to the people and to fix a date for independence, which, in response to their wishes, should be no later than July 1968.

322. With regard to the smaller Territories, the Special Committee recognized that their small size and population as well as their limited resources presented peculiar problems. At the same time, the Committee was firmly of the opinion that the provisions of the Declaration were fully applicable to them. Accordingly, it requested the administering Powers responsible for these Territories to ensure, without delay, that the people were enabled, in complete freedom and without any restrictions, to express their wishes concerning the future of their countries. In this connexion, the Committee expressed the belief in the desirability of a United Nations presence during the procedures for the exercise of the right of self-determination. The Committee also noted the urgent need for measures to strengthen the economic base of these Territories and to promote their social and economic development. In a few of these Territories, the Committee was deeply concerned by reports pointing to preparations for their use for military purposes and by the lack of respect shown for their territorial integrity by the administering Power.

323. Having regard to its mandate, the Special Committee once again laid special stress on the importance of sending visiting missions to the smaller Territories referred to above. In view of the inadequacy of the information available to it regarding conditions in these Territories and as to the views, wishes and aspirations of the people, the Committee reiterated its request to the administering Powers to extend their full co-operation by permitting access to the Territories under their administration. The Committee noted with regret that the responses of the administering Powers concerned to this request were either negative or qualified in character. The Committee, therefore, considered that the General Assembly should again urge them to reconsider their attitudes in view of the vital importance to its work of the sending of visiting missions.

324. The Committee also had before it for consideration a number of Territories which were the subject of either conflicting claims to sovereignty or of special interest to some Member States for geographical, historical, economic and other reasons. Included in this category were the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), French Somaliland, Gibraltar, and Ifni and Spanish Sahara. As noted in a previous report, the Committee was of the view that the provisions of the Declaration fully applied to such Territories and that such disputes or divergent interests as may exist with respect to them should be peacefully resolved through mutual accommodation and goodwill.

XII. FUTURE WORK

325. It will be noted from the various chapters of the present report that there still remain a large number of colonial Territories which have not yet attained independence. The Special Committee believes that until the peoples of all of the remaining Territories are enabled to exercise their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the General Assembly would wish the Special Committee to continue to examine the situation in each of these Territories with a view to assisting in the earliest possible application of the Declaration.

326. Subject to any further directives that the General Assembly might give at its twenty-first session, the Special Committee intends in 1967 to continue to

seek the best ways and means for the immediate and full application of the Declaration with regard to the Territories already examined. It also intends to take up for consideration those questions to which for lack of time it was not able to give adequate consideration. As indicated in paragraphs 263 to 269 above, the Special Committee also intends to give further consideration to the question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration applies.

327. As already indicated in paragraphs 285 to 290 above, the Special Committee, in its examination of Territories, will continue to be guided by the requests contained in operative paragraphs 8 and 9 of General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX). In these paragraphs, the General Assembly requested the Special Committee to pay particular attention to the small Territories and, when appropriate, to recommend a deadline for the accession to independence of each Territory in accordance with the wishes of the people.

328. In the section of this chapter concerning visiting missions (paragraphs 184 to 223 above) and in many of the chapters of the present report relating to specific Territories, the Special Committee has set out its recommendations with regard to visiting missions. It will be clear from these recommendations that the Special Committee continues to place great value on such visits as a means of collecting first-hand information on conditions in the Territories and the wishes of the people, thus assisting it in the implementation of the Declaration. It intends therefore to pursue its recommendations with the utmost vigour and to continue to seek the co-operation of the administering Powers to enable such visits to take place.

329. Further, considering the value and importance attaching to the series of meetings the Committee has held in past years in Africa, the Special Committee may hold another series of meetings in Africa.

330. In accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2116 (XX) concerning the pattern of conferences, the Special Committee has already approved a tentative time-table to enable it to carry out its programme of work in 1967. The tentative time-table and related decisions are set out in paragraphs 292-295 of this chapter.

331. In order to assist it in carrying out its tasks in 1967, the Special Committee wishes to offer the following recommendations which the General Assembly may wish

to include among the matters it takes into consideration when it examines the question of the implementation of the Declaration.

332. The Special Committee considers that the General Assembly should renew its appeal to administering Powers to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence in the colonial Territories they are administering without further delay.

333. The Assembly should again appeal to the administering Powers to co-operate with the Special Committee by facilitating visits to Territories in accordance with the requests contained in resolutions and decisions already adopted by the Special Committee and with any other decisions in this regard that the Committee may find it appropriate to adopt in the future.

334. The Assembly should again request the administering Powers to co-operate with the Secretary-General in promoting large-scale dissemination of the Declaration and of information on the work of the United Nations and, in particular, of the Special Committee in implementation of the Declaration.

335. The Special Committee recommends that the Assembly approve the programme of work as outlined in this section and make adequate financial provision to cover the expenses of the activities of the Committee, including the cost of visiting groups. Further, within the context of operative paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI), the Special Committee may decide to hold another series of meetings in Africa. The Special Committee considers that its activities in 1967 will give rise to expenditure of the order of \$250,000.

336. The Special Committee considers that the Assembly should request the Secretary-General to continue to provide the Special Committee with all the facilities and personnel necessary for the implementation of its mandate.

XIII. APPROVAL OF THE REPORT

337. The Special Committee approved the present report, as a whole, at its 483rd meeting on 30 November 1966.

ANNEX I

REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE III*

Rapporteur: Mr. Mohsen Sadigh ESFANLIARY (Iran)

INTRODUCTION

/paragraphs 1 to 5/

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IMPLEMENTATION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 2069 (XX),
INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF VISITING MISSIONS

Consideration by the Sub-Committee

6. The Sub-Committee considered this question at its 42nd to 44th meetings held on 5, 11 and 12 May.
7. At its 42nd meeting the Sub-Committee authorized the Chairman to get in touch with the representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States to ascertain the views of their Governments concerning the request of the General Assembly contained in operative paragraph 3 of resolution 2069 (XX).
8. At the 43rd meeting, the Chairman informed members of the Sub-Committee of the replies he had received from the representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States.
9. The representative of the United Kingdom had said that the question of visiting missions raised difficult problems of principle for his Government and that he could not say anything that might encourage the Sub-Committee to expect any changes in his Government's previously expressed attitude. His delegation would be prepared to transmit to the United Kingdom Government any specific request or suggestion from the Committee for a visit to a particular Territory, but that action could not be taken to imply any commitment that the United Kingdom Government would be able to respond to such a request.
10. The representative of the United States had said that he was not in a position to give a reply to the question of visiting missions in general. Any specific

* The complete report of Sub-Committee III appears in A/6300/Add.10.

proposal from the Sub-Committee for a visit to a Territory for which the United States was responsible would be transmitted to his Government but he could not offer any encouragement that his Government would change its position.

11. After considering these replies, the Sub-Committee, at its 44th meeting, adopted by consensus a recommendation to the Special Committee. The representative of Italy expressed reservations concerning the usefulness of the recommendation.

12. The recommendation adopted by the Sub-Committee read as follows:

"The Sub-Committee recommends to the Special Committee that, in agreement with the position adopted on the question of visiting missions by the General Assembly at its twentieth session, as set out in paragraph 3 of resolution 2069 (XX) of 16 December 1965 and in the pertinent part of paragraph 7 of resolution 2105 (XX) of 20 December 1965, it invites the administering Powers, in cases where the Special Committee may decide to send out visiting missions to any of the Territories being considered by Sub-Committee III, to make it possible for such visits to take place and to extend to them their co-operation. The relevant paragraphs of these resolutions read as follows:

"13. Requests the administering Powers to allow United Nations visiting missions to visit the Territories, and to extend to them full co-operation and assistance; (resolution 2069 (XX))

"17. Approves the programme of work envisaged by the Special Committee during 1966, including the possibility of holding a series of meetings in Africa and the sending of visiting groups to Territories, particularly in the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Ocean areas; (resolution 2105 (XX))."

13. This recommendation, which was presented to the Special Committee in an oral report by the Rapporteur, was adopted by the Special Committee at its 413th Meeting on 13 May 1966.

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ANNEX II

REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE II*

Rapporteur: Mr. C.R. GHAREKHAN (India)

INTRODUCTION

/paragraphs 1 to 37

.....

VISITING MISSIONS

Consideration by the Sub-Committee

4. The Sub-Committee considered the question of sending visiting missions to the Territories referred to it at its 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th and 48th meetings held on 12 May, 19 July, 2, 8 and 9 August.
5. Regarding the views of administering Powers concerning the sending of visiting missions to their Territories, the Sub-Committee received the following information.
6. The representative of the United Kingdom said that the dispatch of visiting missions to the Territories administered by the United Kingdom raised difficult questions of principle and he could not encourage the Sub-Committee to expect that his Government's existing position would change. His delegation was, however, prepared to transmit to the United Kingdom Government any particular request concerning the sending of such a mission to a specific Territory, although this could not be regarded as implying any commitment that such a request would be accepted.
7. The representative of the United States of America said that, if the Sub-Committee proposed a visiting mission to Guam and American Samoa in 1966, the United States Government would probably not think that the situation warranted such a journey; the Territories administered by the United States were advancing rapidly towards self-government and should not present a pressing priority for the Special Committee in arranging its crowded work agenda for the year.

* The complete report of Sub-Committee II appears in A/6300/Add.9.

8. The representative of Australia stated that in certain circumstances visiting missions could be of value. He was doubtful, however, whether this applied to the Committee of Twenty-Four visiting missions to Australian Territories which had been the subject of intense scrutiny by the United Nations over a period of a good many years so that the United Nations had become very familiar with all aspects of development there. A part of this scrutiny had been by visiting missions from the Trusteeship Council.

9. Nevertheless, the attitude of his Government was conditioned in important part by the fact that, just as an Administering Authority had responsibilities in the territories for which it was responsible, so also it had rights - and among these was the right to accept or not to accept a visiting mission.

10. His Government could give no agreement in vacuo to accept a mission and would have to consider at any time in relation to any specific request such factors as the appropriateness of any particular time proposed, the convenience of the Australian Government, the convenience of the Territory Administration and the composition of any mission that might be proposed. These considerations, at any given time, would no doubt be conditioned also by particular views which his Government might have in relation, for example, to United Nations finances involved in any particular proposals and whether duplication and/or overlapping of United Nations effort was involved.

11. His Government could not therefore at this stage give any commitment that it would be able to respond to a request to receive a visiting mission, but his delegation would be prepared to transmit to its Government any specific request that might be put forward by the Committee or Sub-Committee at any particular time.

12. In a letter dated 1 August 1966 the representative of New Zealand stated that his Government had no objection to such a mission although it considered that any visit by a United Nations mission to Niue and Tokelau Islands should be undertaken only as part of a more comprehensive tour of the area.

13. The representative of France informed the Sub-Committee that his Government did not encourage the sending of a visiting mission to the New Hebrides.

14. The representatives of India, Chile, Iraq and Poland, stated that they were in favour of recommending to the Special Committee that visiting missions should be sent to the Territories referred to the Sub-Committee.

15. The Sub-Committee, bearing in mind the remarks of some members, agreed to make a recommendation to the Special Committee concerning the sending of visiting missions to the Territories referred to it.

Recommendation of the Sub-Committee

16. The Sub-Committee recommends that the Special Committee should invite the administering Powers to receive visiting missions to the Territories referred to Sub-Committee II. The Sub-Committee's recommendations regarding the details of the Territories to be visited and the dates of the visits will be decided upon at a later stage.

ANNEX III

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

AFGHANISTAN

Representative: H.E. Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK

Alternate Representatives: Mr. Ghulan Ghaus WAZIRI
Mr. Mohammad Mirza SALMAH

AUSTRALIA

Representatives: H.E. Mr. Patrick SHAW, C.B.E.
Mr. Dudley McCARTHY, M.B.E.

Alternate Representative: Mr. B.B. HICKEY

Adviser: Mr. A.C. WILSON (until April 1966)

BULGARIA

Representatives: H.E. Mr. Milko TARABANOV
Mr. Matey KARASIMEONOV
Mr. Dimiter SABEV

CHILE

Representative: H.E. Sr. José PIÑERA

Alternate Representative: Sr. Javier ILLANES

Adviser: Sr. Jorge HUNEEUS

DENMARK

Representative: H.E. Mr. Hans R. TABOR

Alternate Representative: Mr. Skjold G. MELLBIN

Adviser: Mr. Martin KOFOD

ETHIOPIA

Representatives: H.E. Mr. Tesfaye GEBRE-EGZY (until May 1966)
H.E. Lij Endalkachew MAKONNEN (From July 1966)

Alternate Representatives: Mr. Girma ABEBE (until May 1966)
Mr. Berhane DERESSA
Miss Kongit SINEGIORGIS

INDIA

Representative: H.E. Mr. G. PARTHASARATHI

Alternate Representatives: Mr. Brajesh C. MISHRA
Mr. K. NATWAR SINGH (until March 1966)
Mr. C.R. GHAREKHAN

Adviser: Miss M. SHIVARAMAN (from September 1966)

IRAN

Representative: H.E. Mr. Mehdi VAKIL

Alternate Representative: Mr. Mohsen S. ESFANDIARY

Adviser: Mr. Kambiz M. AHY

IRAQ

Representative: H.E. Mr. Kadhim KHALAF

Alternate Representatives: Mr. Ala'uddin H. ALJUBOURI
Mr. Salim A. SALEEM

ITALY

Representative: H.E. Mr. Piero VINCI

Alternate Representatives: Mr. Ludovico CARDUCCI-ARTENISIO
Mr. Vincenzo ZITO (until June 1966)

Adviser: Mr. Alessandro GRANDI

IVORY COAST

Representative: H.E. M. Siméon AKE

Alternate Representatives: M. Julien KACOU
M. Jean-Marie KAKOU GERVAIS
M. Joseph LAGA (until September 1966)

MADAGASCAR

Representatives: H.E. M. Louis RAKOTOMALALA

Alternate Representatives: M. Gabriel RAKOTONIAINA
M. Andviranampy RAMAHOLIMIHASO
Mme. Lucile RAMAHOLIMIHASO

MALI

Representatives: H.E. M. Sori COULIBALY (until April 1966)
H.E. M. Moussa KEITA (from May 1966)
Mme. Jeanne ROUSSEAU (until June 1966)
M. Mamadou Moctar THIAM

POLAND

Representatives: H.E. Mr. Bohdan LEWANDOWSKI (until July 1966)
H.E. Mr. Bohdan TOMOROWICZ (from September 1966)

Alternate Representatives: Mr. Eugeniusz WYZNER
Mr. Jan SLOWIKOWSKI
Mr. Wladyslaw NENEMAN

SIERRA LEONE

Representative: H.E. Mr. Gershon B.O. COLLIER

Alternate Representatives: Mr. G.E.O. WILLIAMS
Mr. Frank P. KAREFA-SMART

Adviser: Mr. Ambrose P. GENDA

SYRIA

Representative: H.E. M.. George J. TOMEH

Alternate Representatives: M. Rafic JOUEJATI
M. Adnan NACHABE

Adviser: M. Adnan OMRAN

TUNISIA

Representatives: H.E. M. Taieb SLIM
M. Mongi SAHLI
M. Amor FEZZANI
M. Hamdan BEN AISSA
M. Mohamed EL MEMMI

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Representative: H.E. Dr. Nikolai Trofimovich FEDORENKO

Alternate Representative: Mr. Pavel Fedorovich SHAKHOV

Advisers: Mr. Vladimir Ivanovich USTINOV
Mr. Vsevolod Ivanovich GAPON
Mr. Anatoli Vasilievich GRODSKY

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

Representative: H.E. The Rt. Hon. Lord CARADON,
G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O.

Alternate Representative: Mr. F.D.W. BROWN

Advisers: Mr. D.J. SWAN
Mr. B.L. BARDER

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

Representatives: H.E. Mr. J.W.S. MALECELA
Mr. Ali Mohammad FOUM
Mr. Idi MTWINCA

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Representative: H.E. Mrs. Eugenie M. ANDERSON

Alternate Representative: Mr. Richard E. JOHNSON

Adviser: Mr. Ernest C. GRIGG, III

URUGUAY

Representative: H.E. Sr. Pedro P. BERRO

Alternate Representatives: Sr. Mateo MARQUES-SERE
Sr. Felipe MONTERO

VENEZUELA

Representative: H.E. Sr. Pedro ZULOAGA

Alternate Representatives: Sr. Leonardo DIAZ GONZALEZ (until July 1966)
Sr. Tulio ALVARADO (until October 1966)
Sr. Gilberto I. CARRASQUERO
Srta. Clemencia LOPEZ

YUGOSLAVIA

Representative: H.E. Mr. Danilo LEKIC

Alternate Representative: Mr. Dimitar JANEVSKI

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

Representative: Mr. Philippe BLAMONT

Alternate Representative: Mr. F.M. ABDEL-RAHMAN

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Representative: Mr. Joseph L. ORR

Alternate Representative: Mr. Morris A. GREEN

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

Representatives: Mr. Arthur F. GAGLIOTTI
Miss Ruth BARRETT

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

Representative: Dr. Rodolphe L. COIGNEY

Alternate Representative: Mrs. Sylvia MEAGHER
