



**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**

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**VOLUME I**

**GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

OFFICIAL RECORDS: TWENTY-SEVENTH SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1)

**UNITED NATIONS**



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**UNITED NATIONS**

New York, 1975

## NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

The report of the Special Committee is divided into five volumes. The present volume contains chapters I to IV;\* volume II, chapters V to VII; volume III, chapters VIII to X; volume IV, chapters XI to XXI; and volume V, chapters XXII to XXVII; each volume contains a full table of contents.

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\* The present version of chapters I to IV is a consolidation of the following documents as they appeared in provisional form: A/8723 (Parts I and II) of 30 September 1972.

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ESTABLISHMENT, ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

28 September 1972

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith the report to the General Assembly 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 in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2878 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971. This report covers the work of the Special Committee during 1972.

(Signed) Salim Ahmed SALIM  
Chairman  
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

His Excellency  
Mr. Kurt Waldheim  
Secretary-General  
United Nations  
New York

## CHAPTER I

### ESTABLISHMENT, ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

#### A. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

1. The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was established by the General Assembly pursuant to its resolution 1654 (XVI) of 27 November 1961. The Committee was requested to examine the application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of the implementation of the Declaration.
2. 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".
3. 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) of 19 December 1961. By resolution 1806 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, the General Assembly decided to dissolve the Special Committee for South West Africa.
4. The General Assembly, at its eighteenth 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.

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1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 25, document A/5238.

5. At the same session, and at each subsequent session, the General Assembly, after considering the report of the Special Committee, has adopted a resolution reviewing the mandate of the Special Committee. 2/

6. Following its consideration of the report of the Special Committee on the item entitled "Special programme of activities in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" 3/ at its twenty-fifth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, which contained a programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration.

7. At its twenty-sixth session, the General Assembly, following its consideration of the report of the Special Committee, 4/ adopted resolution 2878 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971, which, inter alia, contained the following paragraphs:

"The General Assembly,

"...

"2. Approves 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 covering its work during 1971, 5/ including the programme of work envisaged for 1972;

"...

"10. Requests the Special Committee to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) in all Territories which have not yet attained independence and, in particular, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism and report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session;

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2/ See the reports of the Special Committee submitted to the General Assembly at its eighteenth to twenty-sixth sessions: Official Records of the General Assembly, Eighteenth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/5446/Rev.1); ibid., Nineteenth Session, annex No. 8 (part I) (A/5800/Rev.1); ibid., Twentieth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6000/Rev.1); ibid., Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6300/Rev.1); ibid., Twenty-second Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (parts I to III) (A/6700/Rev.1); ibid., Twenty-third Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/7200/Rev.1); ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1); ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1); ibid., Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1).

3/ Ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23B (A/8023/Rev.1/Add.2).

4/ Ibid., Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1).

5/ Ibid. and ibid., Supplement No. 23A (A/8423/Rev.1/Add.1).

"11. Requests the Special Committee to make concrete suggestions which could assist the Security Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter with regard to developments in colonial Territories which are likely to threaten international peace and security, and recommends that the Council take such suggestions fully into consideration;

"12. Requests the Special Committee to undertake a special study on the compliance of Member States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on decolonization, particularly those relating to the Territories under Portuguese domination, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session;

"13. Requests the Special Committee to intensify its consideration of the small Territories and to recommend to the General Assembly the most appropriate methods and also the steps to be taken to enable the populations of those Territories to exercise fully and without further delay their right to self-determination and independence;

"14. Endorses the proposal of the Special Committee to take steps, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, to enable representatives of national liberation movements in the colonial Territories in southern Africa to participate, whenever necessary and in an appropriate capacity, in its deliberations relating to those Territories;

"15. Requests the administering Powers to co-operate with the Special Committee in the discharge of its mandate and, in particular, to participate in the work of the Committee relating to the Territories under their administration;

"16. Calls upon the administering Powers to co-operate fully with the Special Committee by permitting the access of visiting groups to the colonial Territories in order to secure first-hand information concerning the Territories and to ascertain the wishes and aspirations of the inhabitants of those Territories under their administration;

"17. Requests the Special Committee to assist the Economic and Social Council in the study envisaged in Council resolution 1651 (LI) of 29 October 1971, bearing in mind the need to enlist the support of non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Council in the achievement of the objectives of the Declaration and in the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations;"

8. At the same session, the General Assembly also adopted 18 resolutions and one consensus which assigned specific tasks to the Special Committee, as well as a number of other resolutions which are relevant to the work of the Special Committee. These decisions are listed below:

(a) Resolutions and decisions concerning specific Territories

<u>Territory</u>	<u>Resolution No.</u>	<u>Date of adoption</u>
Southern Rhodesia	2765 (XXVI)	16 November 1971
	2769 (XXVI)	22 November 1971
	2796 (XXVI)	10 December 1971
	2877 (XXVI)	20 December 1971
Territories under Portuguese administration	2795 (XXVI)	10 December 1971
Papua New Guinea	2865 (XXVI)	20 December 1971
Seychelles	2866 (XXVI)	20 December 1971
Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts- Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent	2867 (XXVI)	20 December 1971
Niue and the Tokelau Islands	2868 (XXVI)	20 December 1971
American Samoa, Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Brunei, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Guam, Montserrat, New Hebrides, Pitcairn, St. Helena, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands and the United States Virgin Islands	2869 (XXVI)	20 December 1971
Namibia	2871 (XXVI)	20 December 1971
United Nations Fund for Namibia	2872 (XXVI)	20 December 1971
Falkland Islands (Malvinas)	Consensus	20 December 1971

(b) Resolutions concerning other items

<u>Item</u>	<u>Resolution No.</u>	<u>Date of adoption</u>
Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations	2870 (XXVI)	20 December 1971

<u>Item</u>	<u>Resolution No.</u>	<u>Date of adoption</u>
Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, <u>apartheid</u> and racial discrimination in southern Africa	2873 (XXVI)	20 December 1971
Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations	2874 (XXVI)	20 December 1971
United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa	2875 (XXVI)	20 December 1971
Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories	2876 (XXVI)	20 December 1971
Dissemination of information on decolonization	2879 (XXVI)	20 December 1971

(c) Other resolutions relevant to the work of the Special Committee

<u>Item</u>	<u>Resolution No.</u>	<u>Date of adoption</u>
World social situation	2771 (XXVI)	22 November 1971
United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa	2774 (XXVI)	29 November 1971
The policies of <u>apartheid</u> of the Government of South Africa	2775 E (XXVI) 2775 F (XXVI) 2775 G (XXVI)	29 November 1971 29 November 1971 29 November 1971
Report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination	2783 (XXVI)	6 December 1971
Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination	2784 (XXVI)	6 December 1971

<u>Item</u>	<u>Resolution No.</u>	<u>Date of adoption</u>
International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination	2785 (XXVI)	6 December 1971
Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights	2787 (XXVI)	6 December 1971
Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace	2832 (XXVI)	16 December 1971
Pattern of conferences	2834 (XXVI)	17 December 1971
Publications and documentation of the United Nations	2836 (XXVI)	17 December 1971
Rationalization of the procedures and organization of the General Assembly	2837 (XXVI)	17 December 1971
Respect for human rights in armed conflicts	2852 (XXVI)	20 December 1971
Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity	2863 (XXVI)	20 December 1971
Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security	2880 (XXVI)	21 December 1971
Review and reappraisal of United Nations information policies and activities	2897 (XXVI)	22 December 1971

9. At its twenty-fifth session, the General Assembly, by confirming the nomination of its President (A/PV.1933), filled with immediate effect three of the four vacancies of the Special Committee.

10. During its twenty-sixth session, the General Assembly had before it letters dated 11 January 1971, from the Permanent Representatives of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (A/8276) and of the United States of America (A/8277) to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, stating that their respective Governments had decided to withdraw from membership of the Special Committee. The General Assembly also had before it a letter dated 13 December 1971 from the Permanent Representative of Poland to the United Nations (A/8611) addressed to the President of the General Assembly, informing the latter that the Government of Poland had decided to withdraw from membership of the Special Committee in order to cede its place to Czechoslovakia.

11. At its 2028th meeting, on 20 December 1971, the General Assembly, on the nomination of the President, agreed to the appointment of China, Czechoslovakia and Indonesia to fill, with immediate effect, three of the four vacancies of the Special Committee.

12. Subsequently, in a letter dated 1 January 1972 addressed to the Secretary-General, the Permanent Representative of Madagascar to the United Nations stated that his Government had decided to withdraw from membership of the Special Committee (A/8655).

13. As at 1 January 1972, the Special Committee was therefore composed of the following 22 members:

Afghanistan	Ivory Coast
Bulgaria	Mali
China	Sierra Leone
Czechoslovakia	Sweden
Ecuador	Syrian Arab Republic
Ethiopia	Trinidad and Tobago
Fiji	Tunisia
India	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Indonesia	United Republic of Tanzania
Iran	Venezuela
Iraq	Yugoslavia

A list of the representatives who attended the meeting of the Special Committee in 1972 appears in annex VII to the present chapter.

14. The present report covers the work of the Special Committee for the period from 21 January to 15 September 1972, during which it held 61 plenary meetings. During the same period the Working Group and sub-committees held 55 meetings.

#### B. OPENING OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE'S MEETINGS IN 1972

15. The first meeting of the Special Committee in 1972 (833rd meeting), held on 21 January, was opened by the Secretary-General.

### Opening statement by the Secretary-General

16. The Secretary-General welcomed all the members present, and in particular the new members who were participating in the Committee's work for the first time.

17. The problems before the Special Committee were not new. He had followed them with the keenest interest during his long association with the United Nations. In a world which valued independence so highly, the discordant notes of colonial exploitation and racial discrimination, or indeed any manifestation of subjugation of one people by another, could not fail to evoke the concern of those who laboured constantly to give life to the principles of the Charter. All Members of the United Nations were committed to "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small".

18. While the Special Committee faced the same challenge that had confronted it for a decade, much had been done which stood to the Committee's credit, and that would provide the impetus for the efforts necessary to eliminate totally the phenomenon of colonialism.

19. To expedite the process of decolonization, the General Assembly in 1970 adopted the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The pace of decolonization had not lived up to the expectations which had existed 10 years earlier when the Declaration was proclaimed, for millions of persons in different parts of the world still suffered the denial of equality, liberty and human dignity.

20. Much had been said concerning the tragic problems connected with the extremely disquieting situation in southern Africa, and over the years they had received most serious consideration by both the General Assembly and the Security Council. His predecessor had repeatedly voiced the sentiments of the world community over the continuation in that part of the world of racist policies which were not only in conflict with the letter and spirit of the Charter but also an affront to human dignity. It was his confident hope that the Special Committee, by following up the implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions, by reviewing the situation with regard to the various colonial problems and by recommending further action as necessary for the attention of States and United Nations bodies, could make a positive contribution to the search for just and effective solutions.

21. Dependent Territories elsewhere were no less deserving of the Special Committee's careful attention for, although those Territories were in many cases small and remote, their inhabitants possessed the same inalienable rights as peoples elsewhere, and it was the duty of the United Nations to assist them towards the exercise of those rights. As the General Assembly had clearly set out in the programme of action, considerations relating to the extent of a Territory, its geographical location, the size of the population, the availability of natural resources and its prospects for economic viability should in no way delay the full implementation of the Declaration, nor derogate from the right of the people to self-determination and freedom from colonial rule.

22. The attainment of the objective of complete decolonization in many cases raised complex problems which could best be studied on the spot. In that regard he welcomed the recent positive response of the New Zealand Government to repeated requests addressed by the General Assembly to the administering Powers that they should permit the access of United Nations visiting missions to the Territories under their respective administrations. He was confident that the dispatch of a visiting mission to Niue and the Tokelau Islands would lead to the development of practical approaches which would hasten the process of decolonization with respect to those Territories. Likewise, the dispatch to Papua New Guinea of a United Nations visiting mission, which would include two members of the Special Committee, would undoubtedly assist in bringing about an early attainment by the peoples of Papua New Guinea of the goals set forth in the Charter and the Declaration. It was his earnest hope that similar steps would be taken by other administering Powers in order that agreed solutions could be arrived at in the interest of the dependent peoples concerned. He was confident that, in view of the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, the Committee would devote particular attention to the problems of the small Territories aimed at developing practical approaches and viable solutions which would help to reconcile the divergent views that had been expressed in recent years concerning the future status of some of them.

23. Those were but a few of the considerations which members might wish to take into account in approaching the specific tasks assigned by the General Assembly to the Special Committee for the current year. In view of the gravity of the situation obtaining in certain Territories, and in the light of the added tasks entrusted to it by the General Assembly, the work of the Special Committee during 1972 would be extremely onerous and the programme of meetings correspondingly heavy. He hoped, therefore, that in organizing its work the Committee would give due consideration to the need for rational planning of its programme of meetings and of its examination of the various items on the agenda. He also hoped that, in the light of resolution 2836 (XXVI), the Committee would pay due regard to the need to control and limit its documentation requirements. He was confident that the results of the Committee's work during the year would represent a further positive contribution towards the achievement by dependent peoples of the goals set out in the Declaration. The wide consensus that had developed concerning the problems of decolonization and the growing awareness of the need to give full expression to that consensus by close and extensive consultations followed by concerted action would, he felt sure, give the added impetus needed to bring about the full and complete eradication of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. He assured the Committee of his full co-operation in its endeavours and wished it every success in the task before it.

#### Election of officers

24. At its 833rd meeting, on 21 January, the Special Committee unanimously elected the following officers:

Chairman:	Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim (United Republic of Tanzania)
Vice-Chairmen:	Mr. Frank Owen Abdulah (Trinidad and Tobago)
	Mr. Ilja Hulinský (Czechoslovakia)
Rapporteur:	Mr. Mohammad Hakim Aryubi (Afghanistan)

### Statement by the Chairman

25. The Chairman expressed his deep appreciation to all the members of the Special Committee for his election to the chairmanship of the Committee, which, he considered, was an expression of confidence in the anti-colonial policies of his country as well as a personal honour for him. He would do his utmost to justify the confidence thus placed in him. He paid a particular tribute to Mr. Germán Nava Carrillo of Venezuela and Mr. Rafic Jouejati of the Syrian Arab Republic for guiding the Committee with dedication and distinction at its previous session.

26. The tasks facing the Special Committee were many and difficult, but his role as Chairman would be greatly facilitated by the fact that his country was totally committed to supporting the liberation struggle of colonial countries and peoples for freedom and independence. He could be helped further by the fact that Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the new Secretary-General, was singularly committed to the principles embodied in the Declaration. He expressed confidence that the presence of the Secretary-General at the opening session of the Committee and his words of wisdom were but the beginning of his unqualified involvement in the work of the Special Committee. That the Special Committee had survived 11 difficult years, in spite of the deliberate campaigns aimed at undermining it, was a matter for satisfaction. The Committee had not just survived, however; it had to its credit a number of accomplishments. There was no doubt that behind many of its achievements lay the inspiring and dedicated services of former Secretary-General U Thant, who took a keen interest in the work of the Committee.

27. The Special Committee was fortunate to have three new members, all with long and outstanding histories of anti-colonial struggles, and he welcomed them most sincerely. The membership of China had a special significance. Not only did it add one more permanent member of the Security Council to the Committee, immediately after the restoration of its rightful place within the United Nations, it also demonstrated China's genuine interest in the struggle for freedom and independence of all colonial peoples. In welcoming the delegation of Czechoslovakia, he wished also to acknowledge with deep appreciation the positive role played by Poland, a member of the Committee from its inception, in its consistent support of the struggle against colonialism. Indonesia's entry into the Committee was a logical step, since few countries could equal the history of the Indonesian people's struggle for freedom and independence. While regretting the withdrawal of Madagascar from the Committee, he none the less welcomed its positive assurances of continued commitment to the cause of decolonization.

28. The current year could well be the year of decision for the Special Committee, which was faced with many problems requiring solution. Few, if any, could be happy at the pace of decolonization, particularly in southern Africa. In that area, repression and oppression of the African peoples by the white racist and fascist régimes had intensified, in spite of the adoption in 1970 by the General Assembly of the programme of action, which clearly outlined the steps Member States must take to bring freedom to colonial countries and peoples.

29. The Special Committee had witnessed the wholesale violation of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia by recalcitrant States, and late in 1971 there had been a most ominous development: a permanent member of the Security Council, the United States of America, had taken decisions in blatant disregard of the Council's resolution on sanctions. The final act of betrayal by the United Kingdom Government of the African people in Zimbabwe was the so-called "proposals for a settlement". Braving the intimidation of the fascist authorities, the African people of Zimbabwe had categorically rejected the so-called proposals for settlement agreed upon by the United Kingdom Government and the racist régime of Ian Smith. The demonstrations of protest and resistance reflected the indignation of the African people at the obvious betrayal by the administering Power of their legitimate interests and aspirations. They also served as a clear warning of an inevitable conflagration if the latter persisted in the misguided and immoral path of complicity with racism and oppression. The desperate efforts by the racist police and military authorities to meet that upsurge of the oppressed majority, as well as the detentions of opponents, were not unexpected. It was the duty of the Committee to do everything within its competence to assist the people of Zimbabwe in its struggle. The Zimbabweans needed and must get every support that the United Nations could give. It was his sincere hope that, during the discussion on the question of Southern Rhodesia, more attention would be given to the practical means of helping the liberation movements there to achieve their objectives.

30. The situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination was no less disquieting. Yet it was in those Territories that national liberation movements had made outstanding gains in their struggle. The question was no longer whether victory was possible, but when and how the people would achieve it. The liberation struggle in the Territories under Portuguese domination, as in the other colonial areas in southern Africa, was being waged against a multitude of formidable odds, owing to the generous support that Portugal received from its powerful allies. Coupled with that massive open support was the fact that many Western monopolies were engaged in activities which, apart from exploiting the natural and the human resources of the people, unquestionably enabled Portugal to continue fighting its colonial wars on three fronts. The Special Committee should give special attention to that aspect of the question.

31. The question of Namibia would continue to engage the attention of the Special Committee. The International Court of Justice had simply reconfirmed the frame of reference within which the Committee had operated in the past. He was convinced that much could be achieved through joint action by all the bodies dealing with that question in order to find ways and means of bringing to an end South Africa's illegal rule over that Territory. The seriousness of the situation in the Territory could not be overemphasized.

32. If the Special Committee had not paid adequate attention to the small Territories in the past, it was not because the Committee attached less importance to the problems confronting those Territories. The Committee was convinced that only by giving those Territories close attention could it understand their peculiar problems and effectively assist their peoples to realize their legitimate aspirations to freedom and self-determination. As any detailed study of the small

Territories was possible only if the administering Powers co-operated with the Committee, he appealed to them to follow the good example set by Australia and New Zealand.

33. He wished to outline what he believed the Special Committee could set as a minimum standard of achievement for 1972. The need to establish definite and regular contacts with the leaders of the liberation movements had long been recognized, and he hoped that in the current year the whole Committee would find it possible to meet and hold discussions with those leaders in a session held away from Headquarters, preferably near the theatres of colonial wars. There was need also for intensified contacts with the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Some progress had been made in co-operation with non-governmental organizations, an area of great potential for the Committee in its task of assisting in the struggle for freedom and independence of colonial countries and peoples. He would strongly recommend that that co-operation be expanded to include non-governmental organizations in those countries directly or indirectly helping the colonial authorities, for example, trade unions and student organizations in such countries as the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States.

34. The role of the specialized agencies in the field of decolonization had repeatedly been emphasized by members. While some had not complied with the General Assembly resolutions, others had been co-operative in the extension of material aid to the peoples struggling against colonialism. The Special Committee should seek further co-operation from the organizations concerned.

35. While he had no illusions about the difficult tasks facing the Special Committee, he believed very strongly that it had a positive role to play, that of supplementing the activities of the liberation movements, of arousing the consciousness of the international community against the colonial authorities and possibly of helping to direct them into a path of sanity. He hoped that, with the co-operation of the Secretariat, the work of the Committee would be given the widest possible publicity.

36. Finally, he was gratified to note the presence of the Under-Secretary-General for Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories, and he looked forward to the co-operation of the Secretariat, without which the Committee could not achieve its objectives.

#### C. ORGANIZATION OF WORK

37. The Special Committee discussed the organization of its work for the year at its 833rd to 837th meetings, between 21 January and 3 March. Statements in that connexion were made as follows: at the 833rd meeting, by the Chairman and by the representatives of the Syrian Arab Republic and Iran (A/AC.109/PV.833 and Corr.1); at the 834th meeting, by the Chairman and by the representatives of Indonesia, Czechoslovakia and Sierra Leone (A/AC.109/PV.834 and Corr.1); at the 835th meeting, by the representatives of Iraq, Ethiopia, Trinidad and Tobago, Mali, Sierra Leone,

the Syrian Arab Republic, the Ivory Coast, China, Iran and Yugoslavia and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.835); at the 836th meeting, by the representatives of India, Fiji, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Tunisia, Ecuador, Bulgaria, Venezuela, China, Indonesia and Mali and by the Chairman (A/C.109/PV.836 and Corr.1); and at the 837th meeting, by the representatives of Indonesia and India and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.837).

38. At its 834th meeting, on 10 February, the Special Committee requested the Working Group to consider and submit recommendations regarding the Committee's programme of work, including the order of priorities for the consideration of items. In taking that decision, the Committee also requested the Working Group to take into account the various tasks assigned to the Committee in the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session, as well as the tasks envisaged by the Committee itself for 1972, an outline of which was contained in the note by the Secretary-General (A/AC.109/391). Further, the Committee requested the Working Group to take into consideration the views expressed during the general debate on the organization of work. At its 837th meeting, on 3 March, the Committee decided to maintain the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Sub-Committees I, II and III.

39. On the basis of the recommendations contained in the sixty-fifth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.763 and Corr.1), the Special Committee, at its 841st meeting, on 16 March, requested its subsidiary bodies, in addition to considering the items indicated in paragraph 40 below, to carry out the specific tasks assigned by the General Assembly concerning the items referred to them.

40. The Special Committee further decided to adopt the following allocation of items and procedure for their consideration:

<u>Question</u>	<u>Allocation</u>	<u>Procedure for consideration</u>
Southern Rhodesia	Plenary	As separate item
Namibia	"	"
Territories under Portuguese administration	"	"
Spanish Sahara	"	"
French Somaliland <sup>6/</sup>	"	"

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6/ Note by the Chairman: Terminology Bulletin No. 240 issued by the Secretariat on 15 April 1968 (ST/SC/SER.F/240) reads as follows:

"The new name of the Territory formerly known as French Somaliland is: French Territory of the Afars and the Issas...."

"This designation, which is being introduced at the request of the administering Power, should be used in all documents with the exception of those records of texts in which the speaker or author has used a different terminology."

<u>Question</u>	<u>Allocation</u>	<u>Procedure for consideration</u>
British Honduras	Plenary	As separate item
Falkland Islands	"	"
Gibraltar	"	"
Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent	"	"
Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations (General Assembly resolution 2874 (XXVI))	"	"
Information from Non-Self- Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 <u>e</u> of the Charter and related questions (General Assembly resolution 2870 (XXVI))	"	"
Compliance of Member States with the Declaration and other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization (para. 12 of General Assembly resolution 2878 (XXVI))	"	"
Dissemination of information on decolonization (General Assembly resolution 2879 (XXVI))	"	"
Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, <u>apartheid</u> and racial discrimination in southern Africa (General Assembly resolution 2873 (XXVI))	Sub-Committee I	To be decided by sub-committees

<u>Question</u>	<u>Allocation</u>	<u>Procedure for consideration</u>
Military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples	Sub-Committee I	To be decided by sub-committees
Seychelles	"	"
St. Helena	"	"
Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands	Sub-Committee II	"
New Hebrides	"	"
American Samoa and Guam	"	"
Niue and the Tokelau Islands	"	"
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands	"	"
Papua New Guinea and the Cocos (Keeling) Islands	"	"
Brunei	"	"
United States Virgin Islands	Sub-Committee III	"
British Virgin Islands	"	"
Bermuda	"	"
Bahamas	"	"
Turks and Caicos Islands	"	"
Cayman Islands	"	"
Montserrat	"	"
Pattern of conferences (General Assembly resolution 2834 (XXVI))	Working Group	As separate item
Publications and documentation of the United Nations (General Assembly resolution 2836 (XXVI))	"	"
Question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable	"	"
Question of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters	"	"
Question of participation of national liberation movements in the work of the Special Committee	"	"

<u>Question</u>	<u>Allocation</u>	<u>Procedure for consideration</u>
Matters relating to the small Territories (para. 13 of General Assembly resolution 2878 (XXVI))	Plenary/sub-committees as appropriate	As separate item
Question of sending visiting missions to Territories (para. 16 of General Assembly resolution 2878 (XXVI))	"	"
International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (article 15 of the Convention and para. 7 of General Assembly resolution 2783 (XXVI))	Working Group/ Sub-Committee on Petitions/ plenary as appropriate	"
Deadline for the accession of Territories to independence		To be taken into consideration by bodies concerned in their examination of specific Territories
Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories (para. 7 of General Assembly resolution 2876 (XXVI))		"
United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (General Assembly resolution 2875 (XXVI))		"
World social situation (paras. 4 and 8 (a) of General Assembly resolution 2771 (XXVI))		"
The policies of <u>apartheid</u> of the Government of South Africa (para. 12 of General Assembly resolution 2775 F (XXVI) and para. 2 of resolution 2775 G (XXVI))		"
International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (para. 5 of General Assembly resolution 2785 (XXVI))		"
Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights (General Assembly resolution 2787 (XXVI))		"

<u>Question</u>	<u>Procedure for consideration</u>
Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace (para. 1 of General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI))	To be taken into consideration by bodies concerned in their examination of specific Territories
Rationalization of the procedures and organization of the General Assembly (paras. 2 and 3 of General Assembly resolution 2837 (XXVI))	"
*Respect for human rights in armed conflicts (paras. 2 and 3 (c) of General Assembly resolution 2852 (XXVI))	"
Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) (para. 3 of General Assembly resolution 2863 (XXVI))	"
Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security (para. 4 of General Assembly resolution 2880 (XXVI))	"
Review and reappraisal of United Nations information policies and activities (para. 7 of General Assembly resolution 2897 (XXVI))	"

41. At the same meeting, on the basis of the recommendations contained in the report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.763 and Corr.1), the Special Committee took decisions relating to the question of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters within the context of paragraph 6 of resolution 1654 (XVI) and paragraph 3 (9) of resolution 2621 (XXV), and pursuant to the report it had submitted in that connexion to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session. 7/

42. At the same meeting, the Special Committee took a decision concerning an invitation to the Chairman to participate in a special session of the Special Committee on Apartheid, as reflected in paragraph 147 below.

43. At its 869th meeting, on 27 April, the Special Committee took a decision concerning invitations to the Chairman to hold consultations with representatives of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) at Cairo and the

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7/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. I, para. 202.

Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom and other non-governmental organizations at London. That decision is reflected in paragraphs 156 to 166 below.

44. At its 871st meeting, on 16 May, the Special Committee took a decision concerning an invitation to attend a session of the Commission on Racism of the World Peace Council at Cologne, Federal Republic of Germany, as reflected in paragraph 158 below. At the same meeting, the Committee took a decision concerning an invitation to participate in the Namibia International Conference at Brussels, as reflected in chapter IX of the present report (A/8723/Add.2).

45. At its 873rd meeting, on 6 June, the Special Committee took a decision concerning an invitation in connexion with meetings of the OAU Council of Ministers at Rabat, as reflected in paragraph 155 below.

46. At its 873rd and 887th meetings, on 6 June and 25 August, the Special Committee, on the basis of the recommendations contained in the sixty-sixth and sixty-seventh reports of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.795 and Corr.1 and L.833), took decisions concerning the question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable. Those decisions, together with the action subsequently taken by the Special Committee, are reflected in paragraphs 70 to 86 below.

47. At its 887th meeting, on 25 August, the Special Committee, on the basis of the recommendations contained in the sixty-seventh report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.833), took decisions concerning the question of participation of national liberation movements in the work of the Committee. An account of the Committee's consideration of the question is set out in paragraphs 99 to 103 below.

48. At its 841st and 887th meetings, on 16 March and 25 August, the Special Committee took further decisions concerning its programme of work for 1972, including the order of priorities for the consideration of the items before it, on the basis of the recommendations contained in the sixty-fifth and sixty-seventh reports of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.763 and Corr.1 and L.833). Those decisions are reflected in paragraph 68 below.

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

##### Special Committee

49. The Special Committee held 61 meetings during 1972, as follows:

##### First session:

833rd to 846th meetings, 21 January to 30 March, Headquarters  
847th to 854th meetings, 10 to 13 April, Conakry  
855th to 863rd meetings, 17 to 21 April, Lusaka  
864th to 870th meetings, 25 to 28 April, Addis Ababa  
871st to 874th meetings, 16 May to 12 June, Headquarters

Second session:

875th to 893rd meetings, 31 July to 15 September, Headquarters

Working Group

50. At its 834th meeting, on 10 February, the Special Committee decided, without objection, to maintain its Working Group. At its 836th meeting, on 2 March, the Special Committee further decided that the composition of the Working Group should be as follows: Ecuador, Ethiopia, India, Sweden and Tunisia, together with its four officers, namely, the Chairman (United Republic of Tanzania), the two Vice-Chairmen (Trinidad and Tobago and Czechoslovakia) and the Rapporteur (Afghanistan).

51. During the period covered by the present report, the Working Group held three meetings, on 10 March, 17 May and 23 August, and submitted three reports. 8/

Sub-Committee on Petitions

52. At its 837th meeting, on 3 March, the Special Committee decided to maintain the Sub-Committee on Petitions, with the following membership:

Bulgaria  
Ecuador  
India  
Indonesia

Mali  
Sierra Leone  
Syrian Arab Republic

53. At its 170th meeting, on 10 March, the Sub-Committee on Petitions elected Mr. Horacio Sevilla-Borja (Ecuador) as Chairman and Mr. Zana Dao (Mali) as Vice-Chairman.

54. The Sub-Committee on Petitions held 15 meetings, between 10 March and 17 August, and submitted 15 reports to the Special Committee. 9/

55. During the period under review, the Sub-Committee considered a total of 55 communications, 52 of which it decided to circulate as petitions. The petitions circulated by the Sub-Committee are listed in the chapters of the present report dealing with the items to which they refer. These petitions included 25 requests for hearing which the Sub-Committee recommended to the Special Committee for approval.

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8/ A/AC.109/L.763 and Corr.1, L.795 and Corr.1 and L.833.

9/ A/AC.109/L.762, L.769, L.770, L.771, L.772, L.773, L.784, L.785, L.786, L.792, L.793, L.806, L.811, L.816 and L.825.

### Sub-Committee I

56. At its 837th meeting, on 3 March, the Special Committee decided to maintain Sub-Committee I, with the following membership:

China	Tunisia
Mali	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Sierra Leone	United Republic of Tanzania
Syrian Arab Republic	Yugoslavia
Trinidad and Tobago	

57. At its 103rd meeting, on 28 March, Sub-Committee I elected Mr. Kamel E. Belkhiria (Tunisia) as Chairman and Mrs. Famah Josephine Joka-Bangura (Sierra Leone) as Rapporteur.

58. Sub-Committee I held 13 meetings, between 28 March and 29 August, and submitted reports on the following items which had been referred to it for consideration:

(a) Seychelles and St. Helena.

(b) Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa.

(c) Military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

59. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the report of the Sub-Committee relating to item (a) above is contained in chapter XI of the present report (A/8723/Add.4 (Part I)). An account of the Committee's consideration of the Sub-Committee's report relating to item (b) above is contained in chapter V of the present report (A/8723 (Part III)). An account of the Committee's consideration of the report of the Sub-Committee relating to item (c) above is contained in chapter VI of the present report (A/8723 (Part IV)).

### Sub-Committee II

60. At its 837th meeting, on 3 March, the Special Committee decided to maintain Sub-Committee II, with the following membership:

Afghanistan	India
Czechoslovakia	Indonesia
Ethiopia	Iraq
Fiji	

61. At its 149th meeting, on 17 May, Sub-Committee II elected Mr. Barakat Ahmad (India) as Chairman and Mr. Satya N. Nandan (Fiji) as Rapporteur.

62. Sub-Committee II held 13 meetings, between 17 May and 31 July, and submitted reports on the following items which had been referred to it for consideration:

- (a) New Hebrides;
- (b) Niue and the Tokelau Islands;
- (c) Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands;
- (d) American Samoa and Guam;
- (e) Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands;
- (f) Cocos (Keeling) Islands and Papua New Guinea.

63. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the Sub-Committee's reports relating to the above-mentioned Territories is contained in chapters XV to XX of the present report (A/8723/Add.5). The decision of the Committee relating to Brunei is set out in chapter XXI of the present report (A/8723/Add.5).

#### Sub-Committee III

64. At its 837th meeting, on 3 March, the Special Committee decided to maintain Sub-Committee III, with the following membership:

Bulgaria	Sweden
Iran	Trinidad and Tobago
Ivory Coast	Venezuela

65. At its 174th meeting, on 28 March, Sub-Committee III elected Mr. Jamal Shemirani (Iran) as Chairman.

66. Sub-Committee III held 11 meetings, between 28 March and 23 August, and submitted reports on the following items which had been referred to it for consideration:

- (a) Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Montserrat and the Turks and Caicos Islands;
- (b) United States Virgin Islands.

67. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the Sub-Committee's reports on items (a) and (b) above is contained in chapters XXII and XXIII of the present report (A/8723/Add.6 (Part I)).

## E. CONSIDERATION OF TERRITORIES

68. During the period covered by the present report, the Special Committee considered the following Territories:

<u>Territories</u>	<u>Meetings</u>
Southern Rhodesia	835, 838-845, 859, 860, 862, 868, 869, 884, 886
Territories under Portuguese administration	840, 843-845, 848-854, 856-859, 861-863, 866, 871, 873, 875, 876
Namibia	843-846, 861, 862, 866-869, 871, 885
French Somaliland (see foot-note 6 above)	869, 887
Antigua, Dominica, Grenada St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent; British Honduras; Gibraltar; Spanish Sahara; Falkland Islands (Malvinas)	887
 <u>Territories referred to Sub-Committee I</u>	
Seychelles and St. Helena	845, 875, 876, 878, 879, 885, 886
 <u>Territories referred to Sub-Committee II</u>	
New Hebrides	875, 876
Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands	875, 876
Niue and the Tokelau Islands	877, 879, 881, 885, 886
American Samoa and Guam	878, 880
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands	878, 880
Cocos (Keeling) Islands and Papua New Guinea	878, 879, 880
Brunei	887

Territories referred to Sub-Committee III

Meetings

Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin  
Islands, Cayman Islands,  
Montserrat and Turks and  
Caicos Islands

875, 876

United States Virgin Islands

887, 889

60. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the Territories listed above, together with the resolutions and/or conclusions and recommendations adopted thereon, is contained in chapters VIII to XXVI of the present report. 10/

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

70. At its 841st meeting, on 16 March, the Special Committee, by approving the sixty-fifth report of its Working Group (A/AC.109/L.763 and Corr.1), decided, inter alia, to take up separately the question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable and to refer it to the Working Group for consideration and recommendations. In taking that decision, the Special Committee recalled that, in its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session, 11/ it had stated that, subject to any directives which the General Assembly might wish to give in that connexion, it would continue, as part of its programme of work for 1972, the review of the list of Territories to which the Declaration applies. The Committee recalled further that, in paragraph 2 of its resolution 2878 (XXVI), the General Assembly had approved the report of the Special Committee, including the programme of work envisaged by the Committee during 1972.

Hong Kong and Macau and dependencies

71. At its 873rd meeting, on 6 June, the Special Committee considered the recommendations of its Working Group (A/AC.109/L.795 and Corr.1) relating to a letter dated 8 March 1972 addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee by the Permanent Representative of China to the United Nations concerning Hong Kong and Macau and dependencies (see annex I to the present chapter). The relevant paragraph of that report read as follows:

"4. With reference to the letter... from the Permanent Representative of China... the Working Group, after an exchange of views, agreed to recommend the following to the Special Committee:

"(a) The Special Committee should recommend to the General Assembly that Hong Kong and Macau and dependencies be excluded from the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable.

10/ A/8723/Add.1-3, Add.4 (Parts I and II), Add.5 and Add.6 (Parts I and II).

11/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. I, para. 198.

"(b) The Special Committee should defer consideration of these questions pending a decision by the General Assembly on (a) above.

"(c) The Special Committee should instruct the Secretariat to defer the preparation of any working papers relating to these questions pending further directives from the Committee itself."

72. At the same meeting, following statements by the representatives of Venezuela, Fiji, Sweden, Mali, Afghanistan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.109/PV.873), the Special Committee adopted without objection the above-mentioned recommendations of the Working Group, it being understood that the reservations expressed by members would be reflected in the record of the meeting.

73. Accordingly, the Special Committee recommends to the General Assembly that Hong Kong and Macau and dependencies be excluded from the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable.

#### Comoro Archipelago

74. During the year, the Special Committee also considered the question of the inclusion of the Comoro Archipelago in the list of Territories in the light of the consensus adopted at its 828th meeting, on 6 October 1971, 12/ which read as follows:

"The Special Committee, having considered the recommendation of the Working Group concerning the inclusion of the Comoro Archipelago in the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable and taking into account the results of the consultations conducted with a view to reaching a consensus on the matter, decides to entrust its Rapporteur, assisted by the Secretariat, to undertake a study on this question, which will include, inter alia, the views of the peoples directly concerned, the Organization of African Unity and any other parties concerned on the matter, for submission at an early date in 1972 for the Committee's consideration."

75. In that connexion, the Special Committee, at its 887th meeting, on 25 August, had before it the sixty-seventh report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.833), the relevant paragraphs of which read as follows:

"15. In connexion with its consideration of the question, the Working Group had before it the report submitted by the Rapporteur [see annex II to the present chapter] in pursuance of the consensus concerning the item, adopted by the Special Committee at its 828th meeting, on 6 October 1971....

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12/ Ibid., para. 80.

"16. Following an exchange of views, the Working Group decided to recommend that the Special Committee adopt the report of the Rapporteur, endorse the observations contained therein and recommend to the General Assembly the inclusion of the Comoro Archipelago in the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable. The representative of Sweden reserved the position of his Government in this regard."

76. At the same meeting, following a statement by the representative of Sweden (A/AC.109/PV.887), the Special Committee adopted by a roll-call vote of 17 to none, with 2 abstentions, the above-mentioned recommendations of the Working Group. The result of the voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Iran, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Ivory Coast, Sweden.

The representative of the Ivory Coast made a statement (A/AC.109/PV.887). The representatives of Yugoslavia and Ethiopia stated that, had their delegations been present during the voting, they would have voted in favour of the above-mentioned recommendations.

77. Accordingly, the Special Committee recommends to the General Assembly that the Comoro Archipelago be included in the list of Territories to which the Declaration applies.

#### Puerto Rico

78. The Special Committee also considered the question of the inclusion of Puerto Rico in the list of Territories, on the basis of the following communications addressed to its Chairman:

(a) Letters dated 9 February 1972 and 25 March 1972 from the Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations and a letter dated 7 June 1972 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Cuba to the United Nations (see annex III to the present chapter).

(b) Letters dated 28 February 1972 and 18 August 1972 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations (see annex IV to the present chapter).

(c) Letter dated 23 August 1972 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of Chile to the United Nations (see annex V to the present chapter).

79. In that connexion, the Special Committee, at its 873rd meeting, on 6 June, had before it the sixty-sixth report of its Working Group (A/AC.109/L.795 and Corr.1), the relevant paragraph of which read as follows:

"5. As regards the letters /referred to above/ ... the Working Group agreed by consensus that, in view of the involved nature of the matters raised in these communications, the question might most appropriately be discussed at plenary meetings of the Special Committee where all the members of the Committee and such other non-members of the Committee as might wish to do so would have the opportunity to participate in the consideration of these matters."

At the same meeting, the Special Committee adopted without objection the above-mentioned recommendation.

80. The Special Committee considered the question at its 883rd, 884th, 888th and 890th meetings, between 18 and 25 August.

81. At the 883rd meeting, on 18 August, the Chairman informed the Committee that the Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations had indicated his wish to participate in the Committee's consideration of the question. At the same meeting, the Committee decided to accede to that request.

82. In connexion with the Committee's consideration of the question, statements were made, at the 883rd meeting, by the representatives of Ecuador, China and Cuba and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.883), and, at the 884th meeting, by the representatives of Cuba, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Syrian Arab Republic, Bulgaria, Tunisia, Iraq, Czechoslovakia and Iran, as well as by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.884 and Corr.1).

83. At the 888th meeting, on 25 August, the representative of Iraq, in a statement to the Committee (A/AC.109/PV.888), introduced a draft resolution on the question (A/AC.109/L.837). At the same meeting, statements in that connexion were made by the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Syrian Arab Republic (A/AC.109/PV.888).

84. At the 890th meeting, on 28 August, following statements in explanation of vote by the representatives of Sweden, the Ivory Coast, Fiji, Ethiopia, Mali, Bulgaria and China (A/AC.109/PV.890), the Special Committee adopted the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.837) by a roll-call vote of 12 to none, with 10 abstentions. The result of the voting was as follows:

In favour: Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, India, Iraq, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syrian Arab Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Fiji, Indonesia, Iran, Ivory Coast, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Venezuela.

At the same meeting, further statements in explanation of vote were made by the representatives of Iran, Venezuela, Trinidad and Tobago, India and Yugoslavia (A/AC.109/PV.890). Statements were also made by the representatives of Cuba and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.890).

85. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/419), as adopted by the Special Committee at its 890th meeting, on 28 August, is reproduced below:

"The Special Committee,

"Having considered the question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable,

"Recognizing the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,

"Instructs its Working Group to submit to it at an early date in 1973 a report relating specifically to the procedure to be followed by the Special Committee for the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) with respect to Puerto Rico."

86. Finally, at its 887th meeting, on 25 August, the Special Committee decided that, subject to any directives which the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session might give in that connexion, it would continue at its next session consideration of the question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable.

#### G. DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION ON DECOLONIZATION

87. At its 841st meeting, on 16 March, the Special Committee, by approving the sixth-fifth report of its Working Group (A/AC.109/L.763 and Corr.1), decided, inter alia, to take up separately an item entitled "dissemination of information on decolonization" and to consider it at its plenary meetings.

88. In taking that decision, the Special Committee took into account the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, in particular resolution 2879 (XXVI) relating to the question of dissemination of information on decolonization. By paragraph 3 of the resolution, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General, having regard to the suggestions of the Committee, "to continue to take concrete measures through all the media at his disposal, including publications, radio and television, to give widespread and continuous publicity to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, to the situation in the colonial Territories and to the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by the colonial peoples...". By paragraph 8 of the same resolution, the General Assembly requested the Special Committee to continue to examine the question and report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session.

89. In connexion with its consideration of the item, the Special Committee had before it the report of the Office of Public Information (OPI) on its activities in the field of decolonization (see annex VI to the present chapter), submitted in pursuance of paragraph 7 of resolution 2879 (XXVI). The Committee also took into account a report by the Chairman of the Committee on the consultations he had held with certain non-governmental organizations (see annex VI to the present chapter).

90. In its consideration of the item, the Special Committee was also guided by the relevant conclusions and recommendations of its Special Mission to Guinea (Bissau) (see A/8723/Add.3, para. 36) which it had endorsed at its 876th meeting, on 1 August, and which read as follows:

"(9) ... The Special Mission believes that a co-operative effort should be made by all Governments and competent national and international organizations to arouse world public opinion with a view to assisting the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde to achieve self-determination and independence. The information and evidence which the Mission was able to obtain should be brought to the attention of the whole international community as a means of bringing about an intensification of diplomatic and political pressures on the Government of Portugal in order to obtain its compliance with the decisions of the United Nations.

"(10) Particular efforts should be made, in the view of the Mission, to publicize regularly the terrorist activities of the Portuguese military command against the civilian populations. The importance of the role to be played in that connexion by the United Nations Office of Public Information has to be underlined. The Mission expresses its hope that, in the discharge of the tasks entrusted to him by the General Assembly in its resolution 2879 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971 concerning the dissemination of information on decolonization, the Secretary-General will take into account the views expressed by the Mission in this report and will take concrete measures, utilizing all the media at his disposal, including special publications, radio and television, to disseminate the relevant information. The Mission also hopes that Member States will co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in carrying out the above-mentioned tasks."

91. The Special Committee considered the item at its 873rd, 874th and 876th to 882nd meetings, between 6 June and 17 August.

92. Statements on the item were made, at the 873rd meeting, by the Assistant Secretary-General for OPI and by the Chairman, as well as by the representatives of Indonesia and Yugoslavia (A/AC.109/PV.873); at the 874th meeting, by the representatives of Sierra Leone, Venezuela, Iraq, Czechoslovakia and India and by the representative of OPI and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.874); at the 876th meeting, by the representatives of OPI and by the representatives of Ecuador, Ethiopia, India and the Ivory Coast (A/AC.109/PV.876); at the 877th meeting, by the representatives of OPI and by the representatives of Bulgaria, Ecuador, Yugoslavia, Mali, Sierra Leone, the Ivory Coast, Venezuela and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as by the representative of the United Nations Educational,

Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.877); at the 878th meeting, by the Assistant Secretary-General for OPI (A/AC.109/PV.878); and at the 879th meeting, by the representatives of India, Indonesia, Mali and OPI, as well as by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.879).

93. On 4 August, the Special Committee held a viewing of films relating to the subject of decolonization produced by OPI.

94. At the 880th meeting, on 11 August, the representative of Indonesia, in a statement to the Committee (A/AC.109/PV.880), introduced a draft resolution on the item (A/AC.109/L.817), sponsored by Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Sierra Leone, the Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia.

95. Statements in connexion with the draft resolution were made, at the 881st meeting, on 14 August, by the representatives of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and India and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.881); and, at the 882nd meeting, on 17 August, by the representatives of India, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, the Ivory Coast, Iran, Mali, Sweden, the Syrian Arab Republic, China, Venezuela, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, as well as by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.882).

96. At the same meeting, the Special Committee decided without objection to adopt the above-mentioned draft resolution. The representative of India made a further statement on the item (A/AC.109/PV.882).

97. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/416), as adopted by the Committee at its 882nd meeting, is reproduced below:

"The Special Committee,

"Having considered the question of dissemination of information on decolonization,

"Having examined the report of the Office of Public Information on the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2879 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971, 13/

"Having examined also the report of the Chairman on his consultations with non-governmental organizations, 14/

"Recalling resolution 2879 (XXVI) concerning dissemination of information on decolonization,

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13/ See annex VI to the present chapter.

14/ Ibid.

"Stressing the need to arouse world public opinion with a view to assisting effectively the people of the colonial Territories to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence and, in particular, to intensify widespread and continuous dissemination of information on the struggle for liberation being waged by the peoples in the colonial Territories in Africa and by their national liberation movements,

"Bearing in mind the relevant conclusions and recommendations of its Special Mission which visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) in April 1972, 15/

"Aware of the important role being played in the widespread dissemination of relevant information by a number of non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization,

"1. Takes note of the report of the Office of Public Information on the implementation of resolution 2879 (XXVI) and expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General for the action taken so far in implementation of the relevant provisions of resolution 2879 (XXVI) and the consensus adopted by the Special Committee at its 819th meeting on 23 August 1971; 16/

"2. Takes note with appreciation of the report of the Chairman on his consultations with non-governmental organizations and endorses the observations contained therein;

"3. Reaffirms the vital importance of urgently effecting the widest possible dissemination of information on the evils and dangers of colonialism, in particular the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by the peoples in the colonial Territories in Africa, as well as the efforts being made by the international community to assist in the elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonialism in all its forms;

"4. Requests the Secretary-General to continue to take concrete measures through all the media at his disposal to give widespread and continuous publicity to the information referred to in paragraph 3 above and, in that connexion, to take fully into account the various views and suggestions put forward by members 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 and to bear in mind in particular the relevant conclusions and recommendations of the Special Mission which visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau), as well as the observations of the Chairman on his consultations with the non-governmental organizations concerned;

"5. Requests all States and the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, as well as non-governmental

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15/ See A/8723/Add.3, para. 36.

16/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. I, para. 100.

organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization, to undertake or intensify, in close co-operation with the Secretary-General, the large-scale dissemination of information referred to in paragraph 3 above;

"6. Requests its Bureau to maintain close contact on a continuous basis with the Office of Public Information with a view to the effective implementation of paragraph 6 of resolution 2879 (XXVI) and to report to the Committee as appropriate;

"7. Decides to keep the item under continuous review."

98. On 26 September copies of the resolution were transmitted for appropriate action to States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and to the non-governmental organizations concerned.

#### H. QUESTION OF THE PARTICIPATION OF NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN THE WORK OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

99. In its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session, the Special Committee, in connexion with its work programme for 1972, stated, inter alia, as follows:

"200. ... Further, in view of the need to maintain close contact with the liberation movements of the Territories concerned on a continuous basis, and in the light of the relevant provisions of the programme of action contained in resolution 2621 (XXV), the Committee intends to study the possibility of associating representatives of the liberation movements more closely with its work." 17/

100. At its twenty-sixth session, the General Assembly, in paragraph 2 of its resolution 2878 (XXVI), approved the programme of work envisaged by the Special Committee for 1972, including the decision quoted above.

101. At its 841st meeting, on 16 March, the Special Committee, by approving the sixty-fifth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.763 and Corr.1), decided, inter alia, to take up separately the question of the participation of national liberation movements in its work and to refer it to the Working Group for consideration and recommendations.

102. At its 887th meeting, on 25 August, the Special Committee considered the question on the basis of the recommendations contained in the sixty-seventh report of its Working Group (A/AC.109/L.833). In that connexion, the Committee noted that the General Assembly, in paragraph 14 of its resolution 2878 (XXVI), had endorsed the Committee's proposal "to take steps, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, to enable representatives of national liberation movements in the colonial Territories in southern Africa to participate, whenever

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17/ Ibid., para. 200.

necessary and in an appropriate capacity, in its deliberations relating to those Territories". The Committee also noted that the General Assembly, in paragraph 12 of resolution 2795 (XXVI) on the question of Territories under Portuguese administration, had approved the arrangements relating to the representation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) as associate members of the Economic Commission for Africa, on the basis of a list proposed by OAU (E/5051) containing the names of the following representatives of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique:

Angola: Mr. Agostinho NETO, President, Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA)  
Mr. Roberto HOLDEN, President, Front National pour la Libération de l'Angola (FNLA)

Guinea (Bissau): Mr. Amilcar CABRAL, Secretary-General, Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC)

Mozambique: Mr. Marcelino DOS SANTOS, Vice-President in charge of External Relations, Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO).

In the same context, the Special Committee was particularly guided by the relevant conclusions and recommendations of its Special Mission to Guinea (Bissau), which it had endorsed at its 876th meeting, on 1 August, and which read as follows:

"(11) Throughout its visit to the Territory, the Special Mission was profoundly impressed by the earnestness and dedication of the national liberation movement, PAIGC, and by its realistic and open-minded approach to the problems which it confronts in the ultimate liberation of the whole of the Territory. The Mission is strongly of the opinion that there is a need for the Special Committee to maintain direct and continuous contact not only with PAIGC but also with other national liberation movements of the colonial Territories in order to enhance the Committee's capacity for assisting the peoples of those Territories in their struggle for liberation. The results of the recent meetings of the Special Committee away from Headquarters, which enabled it to contact a number of national liberation movements in Africa, were both fruitful and encouraging. The Mission believes that such contacts should be maintained in a more systematic and co-ordinated manner. Mindful of the decision adopted by the Special Committee at its 825th meeting on 9 September 1971, in which the Committee requested its Working Group to study the possibility of associating representatives of the national liberation movements of colonial Territories more closely with the work of the Special Committee, the Mission expresses the hope that the Committee will be able to submit appropriate recommendations to that effect when it reports to the General Assembly at its forthcoming session."

103. At the same meeting, bearing in mind the progress towards independence and freedom made by the national liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Mozambique, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, both through their struggle and their reconstruction programmes, and mindful particularly of the need to

maintain close contact with these movements in the effective discharge of the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly, the Special Committee, by approving the report of the Working Group referred to above, decided without objection, to consider inviting, in connexion with its consideration of the relevant items, in consultation with OAU and through it, the representatives of the liberation movements concerned, to participate, whenever necessary and in an observer capacity, in its proceedings relating to their respective countries. Further, having regard to the probable financial implications in that regard, the Special Committee decided to include in the appropriate section of its report to the General Assembly a recommendation that, in making the necessary financial provisions to cover the activities of the Committee during 1973, the General Assembly should also take this proposal into account (see para. 196 below).

#### I. MATTERS RELATING TO SMALL TERRITORIES

104. At its 841st meeting, on 16 March, the Special Committee, by approving the sixty-fifth report of its Working Group (A/AC.109/L.763 and Corr.1), decided, inter alia, to take up separately an item entitled "Matters relating to the small Territories", and to consider it at its plenary and Sub-Committee meetings, as appropriate.

105. In taking that decision, the Special Committee took into account the relevant provisions of resolution 2878 (XXVI), by paragraph 13 of which the Assembly requested the Committee "to intensify its consideration of the small Territories and to recommend to the General Assembly the most appropriate methods and also the steps to be taken to enable the populations of those Territories to exercise fully and without delay their right to self-determination and independence". The Committee also took into account the relevant provisions of resolutions 2866 (XXVI) concerning the Seychelles, 2868 (XXVI) concerning Niue and the Tokelau Islands and 2869 (XXVI) concerning 17 Territories.

106. During the year, the Special Committee, in approving the various relevant reports of Sub-Committees I, II and III noted that these bodies had taken into account the relevant provisions of the General Assembly resolutions referred to above in examining the specific Territories referred to them for consideration, and decided to continue its consideration of the item at its next session, subject to any directives which the General Assembly might wish to give in that connexion at its twenty-seventh session.

#### J. INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

107. At its 841st meeting, on 16 March, the Special Committee, by approving the sixty-fifth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.763 and Corr.1), decided, inter alia, to take up separately an item entitled "International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination" and to consider it at its plenary and sub-committee meetings, as appropriate.

108. At the same meeting, the Special Committee, having regard to the tasks entrusted to it under article 15 of the Convention and in the light of the relevant provisions of resolution 2783 (XXVI), decided to draw the attention of the administering Powers concerned and UNESCO to the relevant sections of the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination 18/ for appropriate action.

109. The Special Committee considered the item at its 887th meeting, on 25 August. At the same meeting, on the proposal of the Chairman and following a statement by the representative of Ecuador (A/AC.109/PV.887), the Committee, having regard to the information requested of it under the relevant decisions of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination contained in the latter's statement of 29 January 1970, 19/ decided, without objection, to authorize its Chairman to transmit the following to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination:

(a) Copies of petitions relevant to the Convention.

(b) Such other Special Committee documents as might contain information about the petitioners concerned.

(c) An indication to the effect that the information contained in those petitions was fully taken into account by the Special Committee in its consideration of the relevant items.

(d) Records of the meetings at which the relevant items were considered and the petitioners were heard.

110. As regards the petitions referred to in paragraph 109 (a) above, the Special Committee, at the same meeting, decided to authorize its Chairman to transmit to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination the following petitions which had been circulated as documents of the Special Committee in 1972:

<u>Petitions concerning</u>	<u>Document symbol</u>
Southern Rhodesia	A/AC.109/PET.1200 A/AC.109/PET.1201
Territories under Portuguese administration	A/AC.109/PET.1214/Add.1
Namibia	A/AC.109/PET.1228 A/AC.109/PET.1229

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18/ Ibid., Supplement No. 18 (A/8418).

19/ Ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1).

K. CONSIDERATION OF OTHER MATTERS

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations and related questions

111. In accordance with the relevant provisions of resolution 2870 (XXVI) the Special Committee considered the above item at its 885th and 886th meetings, on 21 and 23 August. An account of the Committee's consideration of the item is set out in chapter XXVII of the present report (A/8723/Add.7).

Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa

112. In accordance with paragraph 12 of resolution 2873 (XXVI), the Special Committee continued its study of the above item. An account of the Committee's consideration of the item is set out in chapter V of the present report (A/8723 (Part III)).

Compliance of Member States with the Declaration and other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization, particularly those relating to the Territories under Portuguese administration, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia

113. As requested by the General Assembly in paragraph 12 of resolution 2878 (XXVI), the Special Committee considered the above item at its 887th and 889th meetings, on 25 and 28 August. An account of the Committee's consideration of the item is set out in chapter III of the present report (A/8723 (Part II)).

Military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

114. As envisaged in its programme of work for 1972, 20/ which was approved by the General Assembly in paragraph 2 of resolution 2878 (XXVI), the Special

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20/ Ibid., Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. I, para. 198.

Committee continued its study of the above item. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the item is set out in chapter VI of the present report (A/8723 (Part IV)).

#### Deadline for the accession of Territories to independence

115. In its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session, the Special Committee, with reference to its programme of work for 1972, stated, inter alia, as follows:

"197. ... Further, bearing in mind the express wish of the Assembly in that regard, the Committee will recommend, whenever it considers it proper and appropriate, a deadline for the accession to independence of each Territory in accordance with the wishes of the people and the provisions of the Declaration." 21/

116. At its twenty-sixth session, the General Assembly, in paragraph 2 of resolution 2878 (XXVI), approved the programme of work envisaged by the Special Committee for 1972, including the decision quoted above.

117. At its 841st meeting, on 16 March, the Special Committee, by approving the sixty-fifth report of its Working Group (A/AC.109/L.763 and Corr.1), and in requesting its Sub-Committees I, II and III to carry out the tasks assigned to them, called their attention to the above decision. The sub-committees accordingly took that decision into account in examining the specific Territories referred to them for consideration. The Committee also took the above-mentioned decision into account in its consideration of specific Territories in plenary meetings.

#### Question of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters

118. In its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session, the Special Committee, in connexion with its work programme for 1972, stated, inter alia, as follows:

"202. ... In the same connexion, the Committee took into consideration the provisions of paragraph 6 of resolution 1654 (XVI) and paragraph 3 (9) of resolution 2621 (XXV) by which the Assembly authorized the Committee to meet elsewhere than at United Nations Headquarters whenever and wherever such meetings might be required for the effective discharge of its functions. Following its consideration of the matter, the Committee, bearing in mind the constructive results flowing from the holding of meetings away from Headquarters in previous years, decided ... to inform the General Assembly that it might consider holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters during 1972 and to recommend that, in making the necessary financial provision to cover the activities of the Committee during that year, the General Assembly should take that possibility into account." 22/

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21/ Ibid., para. 197.

22/ Ibid., para. 202.

119. At its twenty-sixth session, the General Assembly, in paragraph 2 of resolution 2878 (XXVI), approved the programme of work envisaged by the Special Committee for 1972, including the decision quoted above.

120. At its 841st meeting, on 16 March, the Special Committee, by approving the sixty-fifth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.763 and Corr.1), decided, inter alia, to take up the question of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters as a separate item and to refer it to its Working Group for consideration and recommendations.

121. At the same meeting, the Special Committee, availing itself of the invitations extended to it by the Governments of Ethiopia, Zambia and Guinea (A/AC.109/389, 393 and 394) to which reference was made in paragraph 10 of the above-mentioned report of the Working Group, decided to accept those invitations and to hold a series of meetings in their respective capitals during the year. An account of these meetings is set out in chapter II of the present report (A/8723 (Part II)).

122. Having regard to its programme of work for 1973, the Special Committee, at its 887th meeting on 25 August, gave further consideration to the question of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters on the basis of the recommendations contained in the sixty-seventh report of its Working Group (A/AC.109/L.833).

123. At the same meeting, the Special Committee, by approving the recommendations of the Working Group referred to above, decided to include in the appropriate section of its report to the General Assembly, first, a statement to the effect that the Committee might consider holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters during 1973, and secondly, a recommendation that, in making the necessary financial provisions to cover the activities of the Committee during that year, the General Assembly should take that possibility into account (see para. 196 below).

#### Publications and documentation of the United Nations

124. At its 841st meeting, on 16 March, the Special Committee, by approving the sixty-fifth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.763 and Corr.1), decided, inter alia, to take up separately the question of publications and documentation of the United Nations and to refer it to the Working Group for consideration and recommendations.

125. In its consideration of the item, the Special Committee was guided by the relevant provisions of resolution 2836 (XXVI).

126. At its 887th meeting, on 25 August, the Special Committee considered the item on the basis of the recommendations contained in the sixty-seventh report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.833). The relevant paragraphs of that report read as follows:

"2. At its 108th meeting, the Working Group, in accordance with the decision taken by the Special Committee at its 841st meeting on 16 March, considered the possibility of initiating further measures to control and limit the Committee's documentation in the light of resolution 2836 (XXVI) of 17 December 1971 and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. In doing so, it took into account the recommendations of the Joint Inspection Unit pertaining to the documentation of the Special Committee (A/8319 and Corr.1).

"3. Having noted a number of concrete measures initiated previously by the Special Committee in that regard, as well as the further measures taken during the current year, the Working Group decided to recommend that the Committee continue to take measures as appropriate in compliance with the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, and that for the current year it maintain the existing form and organization of its reports to the General Assembly."

127. At the same meeting, the Special Committee, by approving the report of the Working Group, endorsed the recommendations contained in paragraph 3 thereof.

#### Pattern of conferences

128. At its 841st meeting, on 16 March, the Special Committee, by approving the sixty-fifth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.763 and Corr.1), decided, inter alia, to take up separately an item entitled "pattern of conferences" and to refer it to the Working Group for consideration and recommendations.

129. In its consideration of the item, the Special Committee was guided by the relevant provisions of resolution 2834 (XXVI).

130. At its 887th meeting, on 25 August, the Special Committee, by approving the sixty-seventh report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.833), decided that, in the light of its experience in previous years, and taking into account the probable workload for 1973, the Committee should hold two sessions during 1973, the first of which should extend from the last week of January to the end of June, and the second from the last week of July to the first week of September. It was the understanding of the Committee, in taking the foregoing decision, that the programme recommended would not preclude the holding of extra-session meetings on an emergency basis if developments so warranted. Further, the first session would include such meetings away from Headquarters as the Committee might decide to hold during 1973 (see paragraphs 118-123 above). It was also understood that the Committee might review its meetings programme for 1973 early in that year on the basis of any developments which might effect its programme of work.

131. With regard to the programme of meetings of the Special Committee for 1974, it was agreed that, subject to any directives that the General Assembly might give in that connexion, the Committee should adopt a programme similar to that suggested for 1973.

Participation of the administering Powers in the work of  
the Special Committee

132. In paragraph 15 of its resolution 2878 (XXVI), the General Assembly requested "the administering Powers to co-operate with the Special Committee in the discharge of its mandate and, in particular, to participate in the work of the Committee relating to the Territories under their administration".

133. On 6 March, in notes addressed to the Permanent Representatives of Australia, France, New Zealand, Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States, the Chairman of the Committee drew this resolution to the attention of their Governments and expressed the hope that they would take part or continue to take part in the relevant proceedings of the Committee and of its sub-committees.

134. In response to the foregoing, the following administering Powers participated in the work of the Special Committee in connexion with its consideration of the Territories indicated:

Administering Powers

Territories concerned

Australia

Cocos (Keeling) Islands and Papua New Guinea

New Zealand

Niue and Tokelau Islands

United States

American Samoa, Guam and the United States  
Virgin Islands

Account of the Committee's consideration of these Territories is included in chapters XVI, XVIII, XX and XXIII of the present report (A/8723/Add.5 and Add.6 (Part I)).

Other questions

135. At its 841st meeting, on 16 March, the Special Committee, by approving the sixty-fifth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.763 and Corr.1), decided, inter alia, to request the bodies concerned, in their examination of specific Territories, to take into consideration the relevant provisions of the following General Assembly resolutions:

(a) Resolution 2876 (XXVI), concerning offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

(b) Resolution 2875 (XXVI) concerning the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa.

(c) Resolution 2771 (XXVI) concerning the world social situation.

(d) Resolution 2775 G (XXVI) concerning the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa.

(e) Resolution 2785 (XXVI) concerning the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

(f) Resolution 2787 (XXVI) concerning the importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights.

(g) Resolution 2832 (XXVI) concerning the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

(h) Resolution 2837 (XXVI) concerning rationalization of the procedures and organization of the General Assembly.

(i) Resolution 2852 (XXVI) concerning respect for human rights in armed conflicts.

(j) Resolution 2863 (XXVI) concerning co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

(k) Resolution 2880 (XXVI) concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

(l) Resolution 2897 (XXVI) concerning the review and reappraisal of United Nations information policies and activities.

136. This decision was taken into account during the consideration of specific Territories at both sub-committee and plenary meetings.

#### L. RELATIONS WITH OTHER UNITED NATIONS BODIES AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS

##### Security Council

137. In paragraph 11 of its resolution 2878 (XXVI) the General Assembly requested the Special Committee "to make concrete suggestions which could assist the Security Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter with regard to developments in colonial Territories which are likely to threaten international peace and security", and recommended that the Security Council "take such suggestions fully into consideration".

138. In accordance with this request, the Special Committee drew the attention of the Security Council to a number of its decisions relating to colonial Territories in southern Africa, as follows:

<u>Decision</u>	<u>Relating to</u>	<u>Document</u>
Resolution of 13 April 1972	Territories under Portuguese administration	S/10624
Resolution of 20 April 1972	Territories under Portuguese administration	S/10633
Resolution of 27 April 1972	Southern Rhodesia	S/10634
Consensus of 27 April 1972	Namibia	S/10635

In addition, having regard to paragraph 8 of its resolution of 13 April 1972 referred to above, the Chairman of the Special Committee, in a letter dated 1 August 1972 (S/10754), transmitted for the attention of the Security Council the report of its Special Mission to Guinea (Bissau) (A/8723/Add.3, annex I), as well as the records of the relevant proceedings of the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.875 and 876 and Corr.1).

139. Details of the Special Committee's consideration of the items leading to the above-mentioned decisions are set out in chapters II and VIII to X of the present report (A/8723 (Part II) and A/8723/Add.1-3).

140. During the year, the Special Committee followed closely the Security Council's consideration of questions relating to Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and Territories under Portuguese administration. In particular, in accordance with a decision taken by the Special Committee at its 833rd meeting, on 21 January, the Chairman of the Committee attended the meetings of the Security Council held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, between 28 January and 4 February, and, on behalf of the Committee, addressed the Council at its 1629th meeting, on 29 January (S/PV.1629).

#### Trusteeship Council

141. As envisaged in the Special Committee's previous report to the General Assembly 23/ and having regard to the relevant provisions of resolution 2865 (XXVI), two members of the Committee participated in the United Nations Visiting Mission to observe the elections to the Third House of Assembly of Papua New Guinea. An account of the Committee's consideration of the matter is set out in chapter XX of the present report (A/8723/Add.5).

142. Further, in accordance with paragraph 8 of resolution 1654 (XVI) by which the Trusteeship Council was requested to assist the Special Committee in its work, the President of the Trusteeship Council, in a letter dated 28 June 1972 (A/AC.109/410) addressed to the Chairman, informed the Committee that the Council, at its thirty-ninth session, had examined conditions in the Trust Territories.

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23/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. I, para. 200.

The President of the Trusteeship Council stated that the conclusions and recommendations of the Council, as well as the observations of its members, representing their individual opinions only, were contained in the Council's report to the Security Council on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands 24/ and in its report to the General Assembly on Papua New Guinea. 25/

#### Economic and Social Council

143. In connexion with the Special Committee's consideration of the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations, and in accordance with paragraph 12 of resolution 2874 (XXVI) relating to that item, further consultations were held during May and June 1972 between the President of the Economic and Social Council and the Chairman of the Special Committee concerning "appropriate measures for the co-ordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies ... in implementing the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly". The report on these consultations, submitted by the Chairman of the Special Committee on 18 August, is reproduced in chapter VII of the present report (A/8723 (Part V)).

144. Further, at its 886th meeting, on 23 August, the Special Committee adopted a resolution concerning the same item, by paragraph 12 of which it requested its Chairman "to continue his consultations with the President of the Economic and Social Council" (A/8723 (Part V), chap. VII).

#### Commission on Human Rights

145. During the year, the Special Committee followed closely the work of the Commission on Human Rights, particularly in regard to the question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of apartheid in all countries, with special reference to colonial and other dependent countries and Territories, and to the implementation of United Nations resolutions relating to the right of peoples under colonial and alien domination to self-determination.

146. In its consideration of the Territories in southern Africa, the Special Committee took into account the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts, submitted under resolution 8 (XXVI) of the Commission on Human Rights (E/CN.4/1075), containing a study of the question of apartheid from the point of view of international penal law. The Special Committee also took into account the report submitted by the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts under resolution 7 (XXVII) (E/CN.4/1076), containing a survey of new developments in matters relating to human rights that had taken place in southern Africa during the year ending 4 February 1972.

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24/ Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Special Supplement No. 1 (S/10753).

25/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 4 (A/8704).

### Special Committee on Apartheid

147. The Special Committee also paid close attention to the work of the Special Committee on Apartheid during the year, bearing in mind the repercussions of the policies of apartheid on the situation in the dependent Territories in southern Africa. Further, the Bureau of the Special Committee maintained close contact with the Bureau of the Special Committee on Apartheid as regards matters of common interest. In addition, in accordance with a decision taken by the Committee at its 841st meeting, on 16 March, the Chairman participated in a special session of the Special Committee on Apartheid from 21 to 23 March.

### United Nations Council for Namibia

148. Having regard to its own mandate, the Special Committee followed closely the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia. Liaison between the two bodies was maintained through their respective officers; in particular, petitions which raised matters of concern to the Council were brought to the latter's attention. In addition, the President of the Council and his representatives participated in the work of the Committee relating to the question of Namibia, in accordance with established practice.

### Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

149. At its 841st and 887th meetings, on 16 March and 25 August, the Special Committee took decisions relating to the relevant provisions of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, in the light of the request addressed to it by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. An account of the Special Committee's action in this regard is set out in paragraphs 107 to 110 above.

### Specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations

150. At its 886th meeting, on 23 August, the Special Committee adopted a resolution concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations. On 27 September, the text of the resolution was transmitted to the executive heads of the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the question, together with the text of the resolution, is set out in chapter VII of the present report (A/8723 (Part V)).

151. During the year, the Special Committee adopted a number of other decisions which, inter alia, related to the extension of assistance to the peoples of colonial Territories in Africa. These decisions are set out in chapters VIII to X of the present report (A/8723/Add.1-3).

## M. RELATIONS WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

152. As in previous years, the Special Committee followed closely the work of OAU during the year and maintained close liaison with its General Secretariat on matters of common interest in the field of decolonization. In particular, the Special Committee once again received the full and continuous co-operation of the Executive Secretary of that Organization in New York, who, in accordance with the standing invitation extended by the Special Committee, attended the Committee's meetings and participated in its work.

153. During his visit to Addis Ababa in connexion with the meetings away from Headquarters of the Security Council in January/February (see para. 140 above), the Chairman of the Special Committee, in the light of the relevant decisions of the General Assembly and of the Committee itself, held consultations with senior OAU officials and with representatives of the national liberation movements concerned on matters of common interest, including arrangements for the visit by a special mission of the Committee to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau). The report of the Special Mission is reproduced in chapter X of the present report (A/8723/Add.3).

154. Subsequently, during the Committee's session away from Headquarters, representatives of the General Secretariat of OAU, including the Administrative Secretary-General, the Acting Administrative Secretary-General and the Director of Political Affairs of the Organization, attended the Committee's meetings and participated actively in its work. The Special Committee also was able to hold further consultations with representatives of the liberation movements concerned. An account of their consultations is set out in chapter II of the present report (A/8723 (Part II)).

155. In June, at the invitation of OAU, the Chairman of the Special Mission to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) addressed the OAU Council of Ministers at its Nineteenth Ordinary Session, held in Rabat, Morocco. In addition, the Special Committee maintained close liaison with OAU on the question of extending assistance to refugees from the colonial Territories in Africa and to the national liberation movements concerned.

## N. RELATIONS WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

156. As in previous years, the Special Committee followed closely the activities of non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization. In particular, in accordance with a decision taken by the Committee at its 869th meeting, on 27 April, the Chairman visited the headquarters of some of these organizations and held consultations with their officials on matters of common concern, including the dissemination of information on decolonization and the extension of assistance to the peoples of the colonial Territories concerned. An account of further contacts established with some of these organizations is given below. 26/

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26/ See also paras. 87-98 above and annex VI to the present chapter.

### World Peace Council

157. At the 844th meeting, on 24 March, Mr. Emilson Randriamihasinoro, Mr. Gordon Schaffer, Mr. Gleb Staroutchenko and Mr. Mishake Muyongo, representatives of the World Peace Council, made statements before the Committee (A/AC.109/PV.844) in connexion with the latter's consideration of colonial Territories in Africa. An account of these hearings is set out in chapters VIII to X of the present report (A/8723/Add.1-3).

158. At the 871st meeting, on 16 May, the Chairman drew attention to a communication from the World Peace Council inviting the Special Committee to send a delegation to attend the Conference of the Council's Commission on Racism to be held in Cologne, Federal Republic of Germany, on 30 and 31 May. At the same meeting, the Committee, on the proposal of the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.871), decided to convey to the World Peace Council an expression of its appreciation for the Council's continued interest in the activities of the United Nations in the field of decolonization and, with the consent of the Special Committee on Apartheid, to request the delegation being sent by that Committee to bring to the Special Committee's attention any information placed before the Council relating to the Committee's work.

159. At the 880th meeting, on 11 August, the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic, in his capacity as a member of the observer delegation to the Conference, which eventually took place at Brussels, Belgium, submitted an oral report to the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.880). At the same meeting, following statements by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.880), the Committee decided to take note of the report with appreciation. Subsequently, the Committee also received an invitation from the World Peace Council to be represented at the latter's Presidential Committee session, to be held at Santiago, Chile, from 4 to 9 October 1972. As the Committee was about to conclude its work for the year and bearing in mind the decision of the Special Committee on Apartheid to be represented on the same occasion, the members of the Committee agreed to request the representative from that Committee to follow the relevant proceedings. On 26 September, the Chairman, on behalf of the members of the Committee, sent to the Secretary-General of the World Peace Council a special message expressing their deep appreciation for the Council's kind invitation and for its continued interest in the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, as well as their solidarity with the aims and purposes of that organization.

### Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom

160. At the 845th meeting, on 28 March, Mr. Abdul S. Minty, Honorary Secretary, Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom, made a statement (A/AC.109/PV.845) before the Committee in connexion with the latter's consideration of the colonial Territories in Africa. An account of the hearing is set out in chapters VIII to X of the present report (A/8723/Add.1-3).

161. During the Chairman's visit to London (see para. 156 above), he held consultations with officials of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom and addressed meetings attended by representatives of a number of other non-governmental organizations.

#### Angola Comite

162. At the 845th meeting, on 28 March, Mr. Sietse Bosgra, a representative of the Angola Comite, made a statement before the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.845) in connexion with the latter's consideration of the question of Territories under Portuguese administration. An account of the hearing is set out in chapter X of the present report (A/8723/Add.3).

#### Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization

163. At the 845th meeting, on 28 March, Mr. Mursi Saad Eldin, Deputy Secretary-General of AAPSO, made a statement before the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.845) in connexion with the latter's consideration of the dependent Territories in Africa. An account of the hearing is set out in chapters VIII to X of the present report (A/8723/Add.1-3).

164. During the year, further contacts with AAPSO were established by the Chairman who visited Cairo, Egypt, to hold consultations with officials of that organization. 27/

#### Amnesty International (London)

165. At the 843rd meeting, on 21 March, Mr. Martin Ennals, a representative of Amnesty International (London), made a statement before the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.843) in connexion with the latter's consideration of the colonial Territories in Africa. An account of the hearing is set out in chapters VIII to X of the present report (A/8723/Add.1-3).

#### International Defence and Aid Fund

166. At the 843rd meeting, on 21 March, the Reverend L. John Collins, President, International Defence and Aid Fund, made a statement before the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.843) in connexion with the latter's consideration of the questions of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia. An account of the hearing is set out in chapters VIII and IX of the present report (A/8723/Add.1 and 2).

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27/ See also para. 156 above and annex VI to the present chapter.

167. In its resolution 2878 (XXVI), the General Assembly requested the Special Committee to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) in all Territories which had not yet attained independence and, in particular, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism. In addition, the General Assembly requested the Special Committee to undertake a special study on the compliance of Member States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on decolonization, particularly those relating to the Territories under Portuguese domination, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. In the same resolution, the Assembly also requested the Special Committee to make concrete suggestions which could assist the Security Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter with regard to developments in colonial Territories that were likely to threaten international peace and security, and recommended that the Council take such suggestions fully into consideration. The Assembly also requested the Special Committee to intensify its consideration of the small Territories and to recommend to the General Assembly the most appropriate methods as well as the steps to be taken to enable the populations of those Territories to exercise fully and without further delay their right to self-determination and independence. In its resolution 2879 (XXVI), the Assembly requested the Special Committee to continue to examine the question of dissemination of information on decolonization. In addition, the Assembly, in a number of other resolutions, assigned to the Special Committee various specific tasks relating to individual Territories and other items on its agenda.

168. During the general debate held at the outset of the year concerning the organization of the Special Committee's work, a number of members observed with deep regret that despite the adoption by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session of the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration, the complete achievement of the goals laid down for dependent peoples in the Charter and the Declaration had been delayed unduly and was still far from early or peaceful realization in several Territories. In particular, the majority of members deplored the fact that the problems afflicting the colonial territories in southern Africa, as also in Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, had become more acute and posed the most serious threat to international peace and security. These members pointed out that the racist and colonialist régimes in these Territories, acting in collaboration with one another and in collusion with foreign economic and other interests, had continued to enslave millions of dependent peoples under conditions of ruthless repression, including all-out military operations, in order to stifle their legitimate struggle for liberation. These members stressed that the colonial problems in those Territories had indeed represented the most serious challenge to the collective will and determination of the United Nations to assist effectively in the elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonialism.

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<sup>29/</sup> This section contains a brief review of the principal decisions taken by the Special Committee during its 1972 session. A full account of these and other decisions is given in the relevant chapters of the present report. The views and reservations expressed by individual members on matters reviewed in this section are contained in the records of the meetings at which they were discussed, references to which are also included in the relevant chapters referred to above.

169. Such was the background against which the Special Committee embarked upon the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it for 1972. In the course of its work, the Special Committee, bearing in mind in particular the requests addressed to it by the General Assembly in resolution 2878 (XXVI), reviewed the implementation of the Declaration and of the various United Nations resolutions relating to the colonial Territories and, in the light of developments, formulated recommendations for the application of further measures by States, by the competent United Nations organs and by the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, with a view to accelerating the pace of decolonization and the economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants. In particular, in close co-operation with OAU and the national liberation movement concerned, the Committee was able to dispatch in April this year a special mission to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) and to adopt a series of recommendations for the attention of the General Assembly. The Committee also continued, in accordance with resolution 2873 (XXVI), its study of the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa. In addition, the Committee, having regard to the relevant provisions of resolutions 2869 (XXVI) and 2878 (XXVI), continued its examination of the military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration. Further, the Committee, under the terms of the relevant provisions of resolution 2874 (XXVI), gave continued consideration to the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system. In the light of the relevant provisions of the General Assembly resolutions, the Committee also examined the question of sending visiting missions to Territories and the matter of publicity to be given to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. Finally, the Committee discharged a number of other specific responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly in various resolutions and undertook tasks arising from its own previous decisions, including that of examining the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable.

170. The programme of work of the Special Committee, as outlined above, kept the Committee fully occupied throughout its session, both at Headquarters and during its meetings held in Africa. Furthermore, many of the problems entrusted to the Committee, particularly those relating to the Territories in Africa, had acquired greater complexity, as could be seen from the intensified and parallel consideration given by the Security Council, at Headquarters and at its series of meetings held in Africa, to the situation obtaining in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the African Territories under Portuguese domination. Notwithstanding these developments, the Committee was able, by adhering to a heavy schedule of meetings between February and August, to give adequate consideration to, and submit recommendations on, most of the items on its agenda and, as regards the remainder, to transmit to the General Assembly information which would facilitate their examination at the twenty-seventh session.

171. As envisaged in its previous report to the General Assembly and within the context of resolutions 1654 (XVI) and 2621 (XXV) which, inter alia, authorized the Committee to meet elsewhere than at Headquarters whenever and wherever such meetings might be required for the effective discharge of its functions, the Special Committee held a further series of meetings in Africa during April this year. These meetings took place at Conakry, Guinea, Lusaka, Zambia and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, at the invitation of the Governments concerned. The session away from Headquarters facilitated the appearance before the Committee of a number of representatives of the national liberation movements from colonial Territories on that continent, who offered valuable information on conditions in their countries, on the progress of their struggle, their efforts to reconstruct and rehabilitate the liberated areas and their needs with respect to international assistance. The first-hand information acquired by the Special Committee, as well as its insight into the various problems confronting the Territories, is duly reflected in several resolutions and a consensus subsequently adopted on the Territories concerned.

172. The Special Committee, availing itself of the invitations extended to it in 1971 by the national liberation movements concerned, as indicated in its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session, dispatched in early April a special mission consisting of three of its members to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau). As reflected in the Mission's observations and conclusions, which were subsequently endorsed by the Special Committee, the findings of the Mission disclosed fully the reality of the brutal colonial wars being waged by Portugal and the resultant incalculable human suffering and hardships being experienced by the people of the Territory. In particular, the Special Mission had ample opportunity to see and report on the devastation and misery caused by Portugal's military actions, especially the widespread and indiscriminate bombing of villages and the use of napalm to destroy crops. Having thus ascertained from first-hand observation the conditions of terror and harassment under which the people of the liberated areas continue to live, the Special Committee expressed its conviction that concerted action by the international community was urgently needed to exert pressure on the Government of Portugal to desist forthwith from all acts of repression against the people and to withdraw at once all its forces from the Territory. It was also the Committee's considered opinion that by increasingly resorting to the use of brutal military force and by its acts of harassment and aggression against the people of Guinea (Bissau) and the neighbouring independent States of Guinea and Senegal, Portugal had created a critical and explosive situation which seriously disturbed peace and security in that region of Africa. At the same time, the Committee was impressed by the manifest will of the people of Guinea (Bissau) to carry on at all cost their struggle for freedom and independence. The Committee was able to assess the progress of the liberation struggle under the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) and to ascertain that the Government of Portugal no longer exercised any effective administrative control over large areas of the Territory. It was also evident that the population of the liberated areas unreservedly supported the policies and activities of PAIGC, which exercised de facto administrative control in those areas and effectively protected the legitimate interests of the inhabitants. In that regard, the Committee noted with satisfaction the marked progress achieved by the people of the Territory through their national liberation movement both in their struggle and in their work of reconstruction. In the liberated areas, the outmoded colonial machinery had been replaced by new administrative, political and judicial institutions truly representative of the people, and new educational and health

services had been created. Notwithstanding the progress made thus far, the Committee considered it imperative that all States and the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system should do their utmost to provide or to increase their supply of assistance to the people of the liberated areas. Equally important in the Committee's view was the need for a **co-operative** effort by all Governments, at the national and international levels, to bring about an intensification of diplomatic and political pressures on the Government of Portugal in order to obtain the latter's compliance with the decisions of the United Nations.

173. Taking the foregoing into account, the Special Committee affirmed its recognition of PAIGC, the Territory's liberation movement, as the only and authentic representative of the people of the Territory. Accordingly, the Committee requested all States and the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to take that into consideration when dealing with matters pertaining to Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and called upon them, directly or in consultation with OAU, to render to the people of the Territory, through their national liberation movement, all the moral and material assistance necessary to continue their struggle. The Committee strongly condemned the persistent refusal of Portugal to implement resolution 1514 (XV) and all other relevant United Nations resolutions, and called upon its Government to desist forthwith from all acts of repression against the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and to withdraw immediately all its forces from the Territory. In that connexion, the Committee also strongly condemned Portugal for resorting to the widespread and brutal use of force to prevent the Special Mission from completing its task and for the resultant loss of civilian life and destruction of villages and property. Finally, bearing in mind the foregoing, the Committee drew the attention of the Security Council, for appropriate action, to the serious situation in the Territory. Subsequently, upon learning from PAIGC that a school in the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) visited by the Special Mission had been completely destroyed in an attack by Portuguese troops, the Committee expressed its deep sense of indignation at that further act of aggression by the Portuguese authorities and its support for and solidarity with the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde in their struggle for liberation.

174. During the year, the Special Committee also paid close attention to the other Territories under Portuguese administration. The Committee was deeply disturbed by Portugal's continued and intensified repression of the peoples of those Territories in order to suppress their legitimate aspirations for self-determination and independence. The Committee also deplored the repeated acts of aggression by Portugal against independent African States bordering the Territories concerned -- violations of sovereignty and territorial integrity which seriously disturbed international peace and security in Africa. The Committee further deplored the policies of those States, particularly some of Portugal's military allies within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which continued to provide Portugal with military and other assistance, without which it could not pursue its colonialist and repressive policies. The Committee also expressed serious concern at the intensified activities of those foreign economic, financial and other interests which directly or indirectly assisted Portugal in its colonial wars and obstructed the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of the Territories concerned. In addition, the Committee noted with deep concern that the constitutional changes introduced by Portugal in 1971 were not intended to lead to the exercise of self-determination and the attainment of independence by those peoples, but were designed to perpetuate Portuguese colonial domination. Taking

these considerations into account, the Committee strongly condemned the persistent refusal of the Government of Portugal to implement the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, and the intensified colonial wars waged by that Government against the peoples of its colonial Territories in Africa, including, in particular, the indiscriminate bombing of civilians and the ruthless and total destruction of their villages and property and the use of chemical substances, such as herbicides and defoliants, in Angola. The Committee also condemned Portugal for repeatedly violating the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent African States bordering its colonial Territories. The Committee accordingly called upon the Government of Portugal to cease forthwith all military operations and other repressive measures against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, to withdraw all its forces from those Territories without any further delay, and to effect the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) with respect to those Territories. In that context, the Committee also requested all States, particularly Portugal's military allies in NATO to refrain from extending to that country any form of assistance which would enable it to pursue its policies of domination and oppression in its colonial Territories, and to discontinue and prevent the sale and supply to its Government of any military equipment and material. At the same time, the Committee expressed its satisfaction at the progress achieved by the national liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde in their struggle for national independence and freedom, and in the reconstruction programmes instituted by them in the liberated areas. The Committee, in the same connexion, requested all States and the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, either directly or in consultation with OAU, to render to the peoples of those Territories, through their national liberation movements, all the moral and material assistance needed to continue their struggle. Further, the Committee called upon all States to take all possible measures to put an end to all activities which exploit the African Territories under Portuguese domination and their inhabitants and to discourage nationals and companies under their jurisdiction from entering into any activities or arrangements which would strengthen Portugal's domination over those Territories. In that connexion, it was the Committee's considered view that any assistance to or participation in such endeavours as the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique or the Cunene River Basin project in Angola constituted direct collaboration with Portugal which would contribute to that country's efforts to maintain its colonial domination and that, consequently, all States had the moral obligation to take all possible measures to prevent such collaboration by their nationals and companies under their jurisdiction. Further, in view of the explosive and critical situation resulting from Portugal's policies in its colonial Territories in Africa and its constant provocations against the independent States bordering those Territories, and in the light of the Portuguese Government's complete disregard for the relevant United Nations resolutions, the Committee drew the attention of the Security Council to the need for taking, as a matter of priority, further effective measures to obtain compliance by Portugal with those decisions. Finally, the Committee expressed its appreciation for the renewed invitations extended to it by the liberation movements concerned to visit the liberated areas of Angola and Mozambique, and requested its Chairman to continue his consultations with OAU and those liberation movements to work out the modalities for the dispatch of a special mission to the Territories, as appropriate.

175. The question of Southern Rhodesia again was given high priority and received the close attention of the Special Committee. In expressing its deep concern at

the continued oppression of the people of Zimbabwe by the illegal racist minority régime, the Committee deplored the failure and refusal of the Government of the United Kingdom to take effective measures to terminate the régime and to discharge its primary responsibility as the administering Power by enabling the people of Zimbabwe to exercise freely their right to self-determination and independence. The Committee also deplored the fact that, due primarily to the continued and increasing collaboration which certain States, in particular South Africa and Portugal, continued to maintain with the illegal régime, in direct violation of Article 25 of the Charter, the measures taken so far, including the application of sanctions, had failed to bring the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia to an end. The Committee reaffirmed that any attempt to negotiate the future of Zimbabwe with the illegal régime on the basis of independence before majority rule would be a direct contravention of the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) and that any settlement relating to the future of the Territory must be worked out with the full participation of the national liberation movements representing the majority of the people of Zimbabwe and must be endorsed freely and fully by the people. Accordingly, the Committee, in strongly condemning the failure and refusal of the Government of the United Kingdom to terminate the régime, called upon that Government to take all effective measures to bring down the illegal régime, to effect immediately the unconditional release of all political prisoners, detainees and restrictees in Southern Rhodesia and to convene a constitutional conference of all leaders and national liberation movements representing the people of Zimbabwe in order to ensure the transfer of all powers to the people on the basis of universal suffrage and majority rule. The Committee strongly condemned the policies of those Governments, particularly South Africa and Portugal, which, in violation of the relevant United Nations resolutions and contrary to their specific obligations under Article 25 of the Charter, continued to collaborate with the illegal régime, and called upon those Governments to cease forthwith all such collaboration. Further, the Committee condemned the continued presence and intervention of South African forces in Southern Rhodesia in violation of the decisions of the Security Council and called upon the administering Power to expel immediately all such forces from the Territory. With respect to the mandatory sanctions imposed on the illegal régime by the Security Council, the Committee condemned any violation as well as any failure by Member States to enforce them strictly as being contrary to the obligations assumed by them under Article 25 of the Charter, and requested all Governments which had not yet done so to take more stringent enforcement measures so as to ensure strict compliance with the sanctions by all individuals and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction. The Committee requested all States, directly or through their action in the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system of which they were members, to extend to the people of Zimbabwe, through their national liberation movements and in consultation with OAU, all the moral and material assistance necessary in their struggle for the restoration of their inalienable rights. Finally, in view of the further deterioration of the situation in the Territory, the Committee once again drew the attention of the Security Council to the urgent need to widen the scope of sanctions against the illegal régime to include all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter, and the necessity, as a matter of priority, to consider imposing sanctions against South Africa and Portugal in view of their refusal to carry out the mandatory decisions of the Security Council. Having regard to the consensus adopted by the Committee in 1971 and the related decision of the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session concerning the participation in the XXth Olympic Games of the so-called National Committee of Rhodesia, the Special Committee expressed its satisfaction at the decision of the International Olympic

Committee to expel that group from the XXth Olympic Games. The Committee, in expressing appreciation of the initiative taken by several Member States in that connexion, considered that the incident once again proved that the decisions of the United Nations could bring about positive results in the field of decolonization and that no problems were incapable of solution in that regard, given political will and commitment on the part of the States Members of the United Nations.

176. As regards the question of Namibia, the Special Committee expressed once again its grave concern at the extremely dangerous situation created by South Africa's outright defiance of the relevant decisions of the United Nations and its increasing use of force as a means of perpetuating its illegal occupation of the Territory. The Government of South Africa, the Committee noted, by its persistent refusal to accept the decision of the General Assembly terminating the Mandate and to comply with the repeated demands of the General Assembly and the Security Council calling for its immediate and unconditional withdrawal from the Territory, had continued to violate its obligations under the Charter and to obstruct the United Nations in the discharge of its special responsibility towards the Territory and its people. That obstructionist attitude was further demonstrated by South Africa's total disregard of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971. The resulting situation, which in the Committee's view seriously undermined the authority of the United Nations, was further aggravated by South Africa's persistent extension to Namibia of its criminal policies of apartheid, and by the various illegal measures to which it had resorted, including the creation of new so-called self-governing "homelands", which were aimed at destroying the unity and territorial integrity of the Territory and consolidating the illegal presence of South Africa therein. On the basis of the testimony presented to the Special Committee by the liberation movement, it was evident to the Committee that the South African authorities had further intensified their oppression of the Namibian people. In doing so, that Government had increased its collaboration with Portugal and had continued to extend assistance to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia in open defiance of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council. These authorities had, in collusion, stepped up their joint military operations against the peoples under their domination, and created a situation which continued to threaten the peace and security of neighbouring African States. In the light of the foregoing, the Committee condemned the Government of South Africa both for its persistent non-compliance with the relevant United Nations decisions and for its ruthless use of armed force against the Namibian people. The Committee also condemned the support which South Africa received in the pursuit of its policies of economic exploitation of Namibia from some of its supporters in 1970, particularly from its major trading partners and those economic, financial and other interests operating in the Territory. The Committee therefore called upon the Governments concerned to withdraw all such support to South Africa and also called upon all States to comply with the relevant Security Council resolutions. At the same time, the Committee commended the people of Namibia for their stalwart resistance to South African oppression and in particular for the massive and unprecedented strike by Namibian workers which, in the Committee's view, constituted a manifestation of the people's mass opposition to the illegal occupation of their Territory by South Africa. Mindful of the obligations of Member States under Article 25 of the Charter and bearing in mind the direct responsibility of the United Nations towards the people of Namibia, the Committee expressed the hope that the Security Council would take effective measures to secure South Africa's compliance with its

resolution 310 (1972). Pending such action by the Council, the Committee once again called upon all States, particularly the permanent members of the Council, to extend their full co-operation to the United Nations to bring about an early solution to the situation in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration. Furthermore, the Committee reaffirmed its solidarity with the people of Namibia in their legitimate struggle and called upon all States and the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in consultation with OAU, to provide the people of the Territory, through their national liberation movement, with increased moral and material assistance. Finally, the Committee affirmed that any solution to the question of Namibia must enable the people of the Territory to achieve self-determination and independence as a united whole. In connexion with its consideration of the question of Namibia, the Committee sent a delegation of observers to the Namibia International Conference, held in Brussels, Belgium, in May 1972. On the basis of the observers' report, the Committee noted with satisfaction that its own views on the question, as reflected above, were fully shared and supported by the Conference. The Committee deemed that the participation of its observer delegation at the Conference constituted a further positive step in its efforts to intensify its co-operation with the national liberation movement and the non-governmental organizations concerned with Namibia.

177. The Special Committee also devoted considerable attention to the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa. In that connexion, the Committee once again noted with grave concern that the colonial Powers and the States whose nationals and companies under their jurisdiction were engaged in such activities had continued to disregard United Nations decisions on the question and that, especially in the colonial Territories in southern Africa, no measures had been taken to put an end to those activities which continued to deprive the colonial peoples of the resources they needed for a viable independence. The Committee's study of the question also showed that there had been no significant change in the situation and that the monopolies and other foreign concerns operating in most of the colonial Territories continued to be guided solely by their own interests, developing only those economic sectors which yielded the highest profits without regard to the rights of the inhabitants. It was further pointed out that the high profits which those interests derived from the privileges extended to them by the colonial administrations were not reinvested locally but remained in their hands or were shared with the racist régimes. In Namibia, the Territories under Portuguese domination and Southern Rhodesia, a major feature in the process of expansion of foreign interests had been the creation, under the aegis of South Africa and with the assistance of big monopolies controlled from the United Kingdom, the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan, of a new military and para-military industrial complex, such as the Cabora Bassa project in Angola and the Cunene River Basin scheme in Mozambique. These projects, the Committee noted, were aimed at perpetuating Portugal's domination over those Territories. If completed, they would strengthen the economic base of the minority racist régimes in southern Africa, would have grave negative political implications for the entire African continent and would lead to international tensions and discord. In that connexion, the Committee observed with satisfaction that protest campaigns against the involvement of foreign economic interests in the exploitation of the colonial Territories had been organized during

the year all over the world by various national and international non-governmental organizations, political parties, labour organizations and religious and consumer groups, and that participation in the two projects referred to above, in particular, was encountering increasing and widespread international opposition. With regard to the situation in other colonial Territories, the majority of the members expressed concern over the continued activities of those foreign economic and other interests which were depriving the indigenous people of their right to enjoy the wealth of their countries, especially in those cases where the foreign companies enjoyed a privileged tax-exempt status. On the basis of these considerations, the Committee once again reaffirmed the inalienable right of the indigenous population of the colonial Territories to political independence and sovereignty over their natural resources and their right to enjoy the benefits thereof, and strongly condemned the present activities and operating methods of those foreign economic and other interests in the Territories under colonial domination which were designed to keep the colonial peoples under subjugation. In that connexion, the Committee also condemned the colonial Powers and other States which supported those interests, and called upon those States to stop the supply of funds and other forms of assistance to the colonial régimes. The colonial Powers and States concerned were further requested to take the necessary measures to put an end to all activities by their nationals and companies under their jurisdiction engaged in exploiting the resources of the colonial Territories and, in particular, to prevent the systematic influx of foreign immigrants into those Territories. With regard to the Cabora Bassa project and Cunene River Basin scheme, the Committee deplored the attitude of those Governments which had failed to prevent their nationals and companies under their jurisdiction from participating in those projects and urged them to put an end to such participation. Finally, the Committee called upon the Governments of all Member States to discontinue all assistance to Portugal, South Africa, and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and reiterated its request that the colonial Powers and States concerned comply fully with the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions.

178. The Special Committee also continued its examination of the military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration. In that connexion, the Committee noted once again with concern that the colonial Powers had continued to engage in ever-increasing military activities aimed at subjugating the colonial peoples, providing protection for foreign monopolies and perpetuating the colonialist and racist régimes. In Africa, in particular, the authorities concerned, acting in concert, had continued to strengthen their military hold over Namibia, Territories under Portuguese domination and Southern Rhodesia, by intensifying their military activities against the liberation movements, thereby denying by force to the peoples of those Territories their inalienable right to freedom and independence. In that connexion, it was noted that the close co-operation between the Government of Portugal and some of its allies in NATO had also continued to increase, which had enabled that Government to intensify its efforts to suppress the liberation struggle of the peoples of its colonial Territories. With respect to South Africa, the Committee noted that with the arms and military equipment which that Government had continued to receive from certain Western Powers, the racist régime had likewise continued to increase its military potential and its armed forces in order to strengthen its colonial rule over Namibia. On the basis of its study, the Committee found that the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia had also increased its military budget and security forces considerably since 1971. The Committee considered that all such activities, particularly the repeated acts of harassment

and aggression by Portugal against independent African States, had created a critical and explosive situation which seriously disrupted peace and security in that part of Africa. In the case of smaller Territories, such as Guam, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Bermuda and the Bahamas, the Committee noted that the colonial Powers and their allies had continued to use military bases and other installations contrary to the interests of the peoples of those Territories. In the light of these developments, the Committee felt it necessary to reiterate its earlier conclusion that military activities by the colonial Powers inevitably delayed the process of decolonization, constituted one of the most serious obstacles to the implementation of the Declaration and posed a grave threat to international peace and security. Accordingly, the Committee strongly condemned once again the activities of the military and political alliance of South Africa, Portugal and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia aimed at suppressing militarily the inalienable right of the peoples in the Territories under their domination to self-determination and independence, and demanded the immediate cessation of all such activities. Further, the Committee once again called upon those States which continued to have close relations with those régimes, as well as Portugal's partners in NATO, to withhold all support and assistance thereto. Finally, the Committee called for the cessation forthwith of all colonial wars to suppress national liberation movements and requested all States responsible for the administration of colonial and Trust Territories to comply unconditionally with the provisions of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

179. In accordance with the request of the General Assembly resolutions, the Special Committee also continued to examine the question of the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations. In its consideration of the item, the Committee was especially guided by the findings of its Special Mission to Guinea (Bissau) and the exchange of views held during its meetings in Africa with the representatives of OAU and the leaders and the representatives of the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories in that continent. Thus, the Committee was fully apprised of the urgent and pressing need of the peoples of the colonial Territories, particularly in the liberated areas of some of those Territories and of their national liberation movements for international assistance, especially in the fields of education, training, health and nutrition. In that connexion, the Committee noted with growing concern that while several of those organizations had provided considerable assistance to refugees from colonial Territories in Africa, many of them still had not extended their full co-operation to the United Nations in the implementation of the relevant resolutions relating to the provision of assistance to the national liberation movements and to the discontinuance of all collaboration with the colonialist and racialist régimes in southern Africa. The Committee accordingly once again reaffirmed that the recognition by the United Nations of the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples for freedom and independence entailed, as a corollary, the extension by the organizations concerned of all the necessary moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements in those Territories, including especially the liberated areas. The Committee expressed its appreciation to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and to those specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system which had co-operated in varying degrees with the United Nations in the implementation of the relevant General Assembly resolutions on decolonization. At the same time, the Committee reiterated its appeal to the specialized agencies and other international organizations concerned and to all States to render, as a matter of urgency, all possible assistance to the peoples of the colonial Territories in Africa and, in

particular, to work out and implement with the participation of OAU and through it of the national liberation movements, concrete programmes of assistance to these peoples, including in particular the populations in the liberated areas. In addition, the Committee reiterated its request that the organizations concerned, in particular the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), should increase the scope of their assistance to refugees from colonial Territories, including assistance to the Governments concerned in the preparation and execution of projects beneficial to those refugees, and that, to that effect, they should introduce the greatest measure of flexibility in their procedures. Furthermore, the recommendation was made that the specialized agencies and other organizations concerned should be urged to discontinue all collaboration with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa as well as with the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, and to withhold all assistance from the Governments of Portugal and South Africa until they renounced their policies of racial discrimination and colonial domination. The Committee also recommended that the General Assembly once again invite the specialized agencies to examine, in consultation with OAU, procedures which would enable representatives of liberation movements to participate, in an appropriate capacity in conferences, seminars and other regional meetings convened by the agencies. It was also the Committee's view that the General Assembly should again request all Governments to intensify their efforts in the specialized agencies and other organizations of which they were members, to ensure the effective implementation of the Declaration and other relevant United Nations resolutions relating to the provision of assistance to the peoples of the colonial Territories and their national liberation movements. To that effect, the Committee considered that the executive heads of the specialized agencies and organizations concerned should be invited to submit to their respective governing bodies or legislative organs, with the co-operation of OAU, concrete proposals for specific programmes of assistance, together with a comprehensive analysis of the problems which might be confronted in that regard by these agencies and organizations. Finally, the Committee requested its Chairman to continue his consultations with the President of the Economic and Social Council and to maintain contact, as appropriate, with OAU.

180. As requested by the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session, the Special Committee undertook a special study on the question of the compliance of States Members of the United Nations with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on decolonization, particularly those relating to the Territories under Portuguese domination, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. On the basis of its study, the Committee expressed its deep concern that although some 30 former colonial Territories had since 1961 attained the goals set forth in the Declaration, these had yet to be realized with respect to many Territories whose people continued to live under régimes which offered them very little hope, if any, of early or peaceful emancipation. In the view of the Committee, the basic cause of the agonizingly slow progress of the process of decolonization in those Territories was obvious. The Committee's study revealed that the majority of Member States unreservedly and scrupulously adhered to the requests contained in the decisions of the United Nations and, furthermore, that many of them had taken positive steps to assist the people under colonial domination and their liberation movements. The present impasse was attributable to the open defiance by the colonialist and racist Powers concerned of the relevant United Nations resolutions, and to the refusal of certain States, particularly the major military allies and trading partners of those Powers, to co-operate with the United Nations. In view of the extremely serious situation prevailing in such Territories as Namibia, Southern Rhodesia

and Territories under Portuguese domination, as was revealed in connexion with the Committee's consideration of those Territories, and in view also of the slow progress of the decolonization process in the other dependent Territories, the Committee considered it imperative that, in addition to the various recommendations outlined in the preceding paragraphs, particularly those relating to colonial Territories in Africa, the General Assembly should, inter alia, request all States to comply strictly with the provisions of its relevant resolutions and with those of the Security Council. To that effect, the Committee considered that States should be requested, inter alia, to mount a sustained campaign against the activities and practices of foreign economic, financial and other interests operating in colonial Territories, as well as against all military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in those Territories; to take measures aimed at enhancing public awareness of the need for increased assistance to the peoples of these Territories and their national liberation movements, including in particular the populations in the liberated areas; and to intensify their efforts in the field of dissemination of information on decolonization and take specific measures to counter the conspiracy of silence engaged in by certain Powers. In addition, having regard to previous suggestions of the Committee and bearing in mind the relevant provisions of the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration, the Committee considered that the General Assembly should again recommend to the Security Council that it urgently consider taking effective action under Chapter VII of the Charter in order to give full effect to its own resolutions and those of the General Assembly concerning these Territories and, in particular: (a) to widen the scope of the sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia to include all the measures envisaged in Article 41 of the Charter; (b) to give consideration to the question of imposing sanctions against South Africa and Portugal; (c) to give consideration to the question of imposing fully and unconditionally, under international supervision, an embargo on arms of all kinds to the Government of South Africa and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia; and, (d) to consider the adoption of measures to prevent the supply of arms of all kinds to Portugal. As regards the remaining Territories, the Committee considered that the General Assembly should urge the administering Powers concerned to apply without delay the principle of self-determination in accordance with the Declaration, and that it should request those Powers, having regard to the specific problems of many of these Territories, to take effective measures to strengthen their economic infrastructure and to promote to the fullest possible extent their economic, social and educational advancement.

181. As envisaged in its previous report to the General Assembly and within the context of resolution 2868 (XXVI), the Committee, at the invitation of the Government of New Zealand, dispatched a visiting mission to Niue in order to obtain first-hand information on conditions in the Territory and on the wishes and aspirations of its people, and to recommend practical steps for their advancement as soon as possible towards self-government and self-determination. As reflected in the group's conclusions and recommendations, which were subsequently endorsed by the Special Committee, the visit enabled the Committee to become fully apprised of the conditions prevailing in the Territory, whose particular problems arising from its small size and population, geographic isolation and limited economic resources called for specific solution with respect to the goals set out in the Charter and the Declaration. On the basis of the information which the Visiting Mission derived from its discussions with a large segment of the population, the Committee was able to confirm that the overwhelming majority of the Niuean people were clearly in favour of full internal self-government, while, at the same time,

they were also in favour of maintaining the island's close relationship with New Zealand. Having ascertained the wishes of the people, the Committee was able to make a number of detailed recommendations concerning the problems currently confronting the island and its inhabitants in the political, economic and social fields, it being understood that the questions of territorial size, geographical isolation and limited resources should in no way delay the implementation of the Declaration with respect to the Territory. In this respect, the Committee considered it particularly important that an effort should be made to enhance the people's awareness of the various possibilities open to them as regards their future constitutional progress. It was also the Committee's considered view that the establishment of a target date for the act of self-determination should be seriously pursued; accordingly the Committee drew the attention of the administering Power to its special responsibility in that regard on the basis of the relevant provisions of the Charter and the Declaration. In addition to sending a visiting mission to Niue, the Special Committee was also represented in the United Nations Visiting Mission to observe the elections to the Third House of Assembly of Papua New Guinea in February/March 1972. Taking into account the observations of those of its members who participated in the Mission and on the basis of its own consideration of the question, the Committee noted that, following the elections and the establishment of a National Coalition Government, consideration had been given to arrangements for introducing self-government in the Territory as soon as possible after 1 December 1973, and that the administering Power had stated its determination to help and encourage Papua New Guinea in that regard. Accordingly, aware that the period immediately preceding independence is of crucial importance, the Special Committee urged the administering Power to redouble its efforts to create an atmosphere conducive to the achievement of that goal in peace and harmony and, in that connexion, noted the administering Power's declared intention that an intensified campaign would be undertaken to promote national unity through mass political education. In view of the constructive results achieved as a consequence of the above-mentioned visiting missions, and having considered the report of its Chairman on his consultations with the representatives of some of the administering Powers, the Committee once again expressed its deep regret at the negative and unco-operative attitude of certain administering Powers which, by their refusal to permit the access of visiting groups to the Territories under their administration, impeded the full, speedy and effective implementation of the Declaration. The Committee accordingly reiterated its appeal to those administering Powers to reconsider their attitudes, and requested its Chairman to continue his consultations with them with a view to the dispatch at an early date of such groups to the colonial Territories under their administration.

182. In the light of the request addressed to the Secretary-General by the General Assembly to continue to take concrete measures through all the media at his disposal to give effect to its previous decisions on the matter, the Special Committee re-examined the question of the publicity to be given to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. In that connexion, the Committee once again stressed the need to arouse world public opinion in order to assist effectively the peoples of the colonial Territories to achieve freedom and independence and, in particular, to intensify widespread and continuous dissemination of information on the struggle for liberation waged by these peoples and their national liberation movements. In that regard, the Committee was especially aware of the important role played by a number of non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization, including the World Peace Council, AAPSO, the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom and the Angola Comite of the Netherlands. The Committee agreed that it should institute

periodic consultations with these organizations by dispatching a small group of its members to meet with representatives of the organizations at their respective headquarters. Further, in view of the successful outcome of previous international conferences and seminars organized by United Nations in the related fields, the Committee agreed in principle that an international conference or seminar on decolonization might be convened under the United Nations auspices. In that connexion, several members expressed the hope that the United Nations might consider taking an active part in the OAU world conference on the victims of apartheid and colonialism, envisaged in 1973. In view of the foregoing, the Committee requested all States and the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, as well as the non-governmental organizations referred to above, to undertake or intensify, in co-operation with the Secretary-General, large-scale dissemination of information on colonialism, the struggle for liberation of the colonial peoples, and the efforts of the international community to help eliminate the remaining vestiges of colonialism. The Committee once again requested the Secretary-General to continue to take concrete measures, through all available media, to give further publicity to information relating to the various aspects of the problem of decolonization, taking particularly into account the views and suggestions expressed in the Committee as well as the relevant conclusions and recommendations of the Committee's Special Mission to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau). Finally, the Committee requested its Bureau to maintain close contact with the Office of Public Information to ensure the effective implementation of paragraph 6 of resolution 2879 (XXVI).

183. The Special Committee also continued its review of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable. In the light of the close examination of related matters, the Committee agreed that it should recommend to the General Assembly the exclusion of Hong Kong and Macau and dependencies from the list and the inclusion of the Comoro Archipelago in the list of the Territories to which the Declaration applies. As regards the question of the applicability of the Declaration to Puerto Rico, the Committee decided to instruct its Working Group to submit to it at an early date in 1973 a report relating specifically to the procedure to be followed by the Special Committee for the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) with respect thereto.

184. Finally, bearing in mind the progress towards independence and freedom made by the national liberation movements in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Mozambique, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, both through their struggle and their reconstruction programmes, and mindful particularly of the need to maintain close contact with these movements in the effective discharge of the mandate entrusted to the Special Committee by the General Assembly, the Committee decided to consider inviting, in consultation with OAU and through it, the representatives of the liberation movements concerned to participate, whenever necessary and in an observer capacity, in its proceedings relating to their respective countries.

## P. FUTURE WORK

185. As indicated in the preceding section and elsewhere in the present report, notwithstanding the adoption by the General Assembly of the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in resolution 2621 (XXV), the process of decolonization as regards several Territories has fallen far short of the purposes and objectives set out in the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Particularly disquieting has been the failure so far of collective efforts by the international community to put an end to the impasse in the colonial Territories in Africa where no less than 18 million dependent peoples live under conditions of ruthless discrimination and repression and are denied the most fundamental human rights.

186. Subject, therefore, to any further directives that it may receive from the General Assembly during the latter's twenty-seventh session and bearing in mind the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, especially resolutions 2621 (XXV) and 2878 (XXVI), the Special Committee intends during 1973 to continue to seek the best ways and means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration in all Territories which have not yet attained independence. In particular, the Committee will keep developments concerning each Territory under review and will examine the extent of compliance by Member States, especially by the administering Powers, with the Declaration, the programme of action for its full implementation and other United Nations resolutions on the question of decolonization. On the basis of this review and examination the Committee will submit conclusions and recommendations as to the specific measures necessary for the achievement of the objectives set out in the Declaration.

187. In undertaking the above-mentioned tasks, the Special Committee will continue to take due account of the provisions of paragraph 11 of resolution 2878 (XXVI) by which the General Assembly requested it to make concrete suggestions which could assist the Security Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter with regard to developments in colonial Territories which are likely to threaten international peace and security. In this connexion, the Committee intends to undertake a further comprehensive review of the situation concerning these Territories, including in particular, Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the Territories under Portuguese administration. As indicated in paragraph 172 above, in the light of the positive results achieved as a consequence of the visit by its Special Mission to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau), the Committee, availing itself of the invitations extended to it by the national liberation movements concerned, expects to dispatch similar missions to visit other colonial Territories in Africa, with a view to assisting the peoples of these Territories and their national liberation movements in their struggle for liberation. Further, in view of the need for close and continuing contact with the liberation movements of the Territories concerned, to enable the Committee to discharge effectively the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly, and in the light of the relevant

provisions of the programme of action contained in resolution 2621 (XXV) as well as of paragraph 14 of resolution 2878 (XXVI), the Committee will consider inviting, in consultation with OAU and through it, the representatives of the liberation movements concerned to participate, whenever necessary and in an observer capacity, in its proceedings relating to their respective countries. The Committee recommends that the General Assembly should take this possibility into account in making the necessary financial provisions to cover the Committee's activities during 1973.

188. Further, in line with the express wish of the Assembly, the Special Committee will recommend, whenever it considers proper and appropriate, a deadline for the accession to independence of each Territory in accordance with the wishes of the people and the provisions of the Declaration. In addition, the Committee, as requested in paragraph 13 of resolution 2878 (XXVI), will continue to pay particular attention to the small Territories and to recommend to the Assembly the most appropriate methods and steps to be taken to enable the populations of those Territories to exercise fully their right to self-determination and independence. In addition, as indicated in paragraph 86 above, the Committee will continue at its next session to review the list of Territories to which the Declaration applies, subject to any directives which the General Assembly might wish to give in that connexion.

189. Taking into account the provisions of resolution 2873 (XXVI) concerning the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the Territories under Portuguese administration and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa, and of other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, the Special Committee intends to continue its consideration of further ways and means of bringing to an end the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration in the remaining colonial Territories. Moreover, in the light of its conclusions and recommendations in that regard (see A/8723 (part IV)), and bearing in mind the relevant conclusions and recommendations of the Special Mission to Guinea (Bissau) (A/8723/Add.3), the Committee intends to continue as appropriate its study of military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration. In doing so, the Committee will be guided by the provisions of paragraph 5 of resolution 2869 (XXVI) and paragraph 9 of resolution 2878 (XXVI).

190. As regards the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations, the Special Committee intends, in the light of its resolution of 23 August 1972 (A/8723 (part V)) to continue its consideration of the question during 1973. In doing so, the Committee will take into account the action taken or envisaged by international organizations in the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and in particular the provisions of those resolutions relating to the Territories in Africa. The Committee will also be guided by the results of further consultations to be held in 1973 between its Chairman and the President of the Economic and Social Council within the context of relevant decisions of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and

the Special Committee itself. Moreover, bearing in mind the relevant provisions of resolution 2874 (XXVI), the Committee will maintain close contact on a regular basis with the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU as well as senior members of the organization with a view to facilitating the effective implementation of the decisions of the various United Nations bodies by the specialized agencies and other organizations concerned.

191. In paragraph 16 of resolution 2878 (XXVI), the General Assembly called upon the administering Powers to co-operate fully with the Special Committee by permitting the access of visiting groups to the colonial Territories in accordance with decisions previously taken by the General Assembly and by the Special Committee. A similar provision is contained in paragraph 6 of resolution 2869 (XXVI). As will be noted in the relevant chapters of the present report and as noted in paragraph 181 above, the Special Committee, having regard to the constructive role played by previous United Nations visiting groups, continues to attach vital importance to the dispatching of such groups as a means of collecting adequate and first-hand information on conditions in the Territories and on the wishes and aspirations of the people concerning their future status. Accordingly, and in the light of its resolution of 14 August 1972, the Committee intends to continue to seek the full co-operation of the administering Powers in order to enable it to obtain such information through the sending, as appropriate, of visiting groups to the Territories in the Caribbean, Indian and Pacific Ocean areas, and to the Territories in Africa. The Committee believes that the General Assembly will wish to address once again an appeal to the administering Powers to extend their co-operation by facilitating visits to Territories in accordance with the decisions previously taken by the Committee and with other decisions which the Committee may adopt in 1973.

192. In regard to the publicity to be given to the work of the Organization in the field of decolonization, the Special Committee, having regard to the provisions of resolution 2879 (XXVI), undertook a further examination of this question in close co-operation with the Secretariat. In view of the importance it attaches to the matter, the Special Committee expects to continue, as in 1972, its review of the programme of publications and other information activities envisaged by OPI in the field of decolonization. In particular, in the light of its resolution of 14 August 1972, the Bureau of the Committee will maintain close contact on a regular basis with OPI with a view to the effective implementation of paragraph 6 of resolution 2879 (XXVI). In this connexion, the General Assembly will no doubt wish once again to invite the Secretary-General to intensify his efforts and to urge the administering Powers to co-operate with the Secretary-General in promoting the large-scale dissemination of information in the field of decolonization.

193. The Special Committee will also seek the close collaboration of non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization with a view to enlisting their support in the dissemination of the relevant information and in the mobilization of world public opinion in the cause of decolonization. To that end, as indicated in paragraph 182 above, the Committee will consider dispatching during 1973 a small group of members to hold consultations with the organizations concerned at their respective headquarters. In the same context, the Committee would also be ready to co-operate with the Economic and Social Council in its

examination of "how non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Council assist in the achievement of the objectives of the Declaration and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly". In addition, the Committee suggests that the General Assembly examine the possibility of holding, under the United Nations auspices, an international conference or seminar on decolonization aimed at exploring further measures, inter alia, to co-ordinate the mobilization of world public opinion on colonial issues, to intensify programmes of assistance to the dependent peoples and their national liberation movements in their struggle for liberation and to discontinue all collaboration with the colonialist and racialist régimes. In doing so, the General Assembly will no doubt wish to bear in mind the outcome of the impending consultations relating to the preparation by OAU of a world conference for support of victims of apartheid and colonialism, to be held during 1973 in Oslo (Norway). The Committee believes in that regard that the General Assembly would wish it to be represented at the conference, in an appropriate capacity, should it take place, as projected in 1973.

194. In the light of the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions concerning the pattern of conferences, and taking into consideration its experience in previous years, as well as its probable workload for next year, the Special Committee has approved a tentative programme of meetings for 1973 (see paras. 128 to 131 above), which it commends for approval by the General Assembly. In the same connexion, the Committee took into consideration the provisions of paragraph 6 of resolution 1654 (XVI) and paragraph 3 (9) of resolution 2621 (XXV), by which the Assembly authorized the Committee to meet elsewhere than at United Nations Headquarters whenever and wherever such meetings might be required for the effective discharge of its functions. Following its consideration of the matter, the Committee, bearing in mind the constructive results flowing from the holding of meetings away from Headquarters in previous years, decided, as indicated in paragraphs 118 to 123 above, to inform the General Assembly that it might consider holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters during 1973 and to recommend that, in making the necessary financial provision to cover the activities of the Committee during that year, the General Assembly should take that possibility into account.

195. The Special Committee suggests that when the General Assembly examines the question of the implementation of the Declaration at the twenty-seventh session it may wish to take into account the various recommendations of the Special Committee which are reflected in the relevant chapters of the present report and, in particular, to endorse the proposals outlined in the present section, in order to enable the Committee to carry out the tasks envisaged by it. In addition, the Committee recommends that the General Assembly should renew its appeal to the administering Powers to take immediately all necessary steps for the implementation of the Declaration and the relevant United Nations resolutions. In that connexion, the Special Committee, bearing in mind the useful results achieved as a consequence of the active participation by some of the administering Powers in its work, recommends that the General Assembly should once again request the administering Powers concerned to co-operate with the Committee in the discharge of its mandate and, in particular, to participate actively in its work relating to the Territories under their respective administration. Further, the General Assembly might also wish to renew its appeal to all States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, to comply with the various requests addressed to them by the General Assembly and by the Security Council in the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on the question of decolonization.

196. Further, the Special Committee recommends that, in approving the programme of work outlined above, the General Assembly should also make adequate financial provision to cover the activities of the Committee envisaged for 1973. The Committee was informed that the financial implications of the sending of visiting groups, as envisaged in paragraph 191 above, would be of the order of \$86,000. A series of meetings away from Headquarters, should the Committee decide to hold one within the context of paragraph 6 of resolution 1654 (XVI), and paragraph 3 (9) of resolution 2621 (XXV), would result in the expenditure of about \$172,000. The financial implications of the proposed visit to the liberated areas of certain Territories in Africa (see para. 187 above) would amount to approximately \$6,000. Further, it is estimated that the additional programme of publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization envisaged by the Committee for 1973 (see para. 192 above) would give rise to an expenditure of approximately \$70,000. In addition, the further consultations scheduled to take place between the Chairman of the Special Committee and the President of the Economic and Social Council (see para. 190 above) would, if held during a session of the Economic and Social Council in Geneva, entail an expenditure of about \$2,300, mainly in connexion with travel arrangements. In the same context, the consultations with OAU on a regular basis would entail a further expenditure of \$6,800 (see para. 190 above). The Committee's participation in the OAU conference (see para. 193 above) would give rise to an expenditure of approximately \$8,100 and the consultations with non-governmental organizations will amount to some \$7,600 (see para. 193 above). Further, the participation of the representatives of the national liberation movements in the Committee work (see para. 187 above) would give rise to an expenditure in the order of \$12,000. Finally, the Special Committee expresses the hope that the Secretary-General will continue to provide it with all the facilities and personnel necessary for the discharge of its mandate, taking into account the various additional tasks assigned to it by the General Assembly as well as those arising from decisions taken by it during the current year.

#### Q. APPROVAL OF THE REPORT

197. At its 893rd meeting, on 15 September, following statements by the representatives of Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Venezuela, Bulgaria, Indonesia, Mali and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and by the Rapporteur and the Chairman, as well as by the Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs and Decolonization (A/AC.109/PV.893), the Special Committee approved the present report without objection, it being understood that the reservations expressed by certain members on the individual chapters would be reflected in the records of the relevant meetings.

ANNEX I\*

LETTER DATED 8 MARCH 1972 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE  
OF CHINA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE CHAIRMAN OF  
THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

In connexion with the questions of Hong Kong and Macau, I have the honour to state the following:

As is known to all, the questions of Hong Kong and Macau belong to the category of questions resulting from the series of unequal treaties left over by history, treaties which the imperialists imposed on China. Hong Kong and Macau are part of Chinese territory occupied by the British and Portuguese authorities. The settlement of the questions of Hong Kong and Macau is entirely within China's sovereign right and does not at all fall under the ordinary category of "colonial Territories". Consequently, they should not be included in the list of colonial Territories covered by the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. With regard to the questions of Hong Kong and Macau, the Chinese Government has consistently held that they should be settled in an appropriate way when conditions are ripe. The United Nations has no right to discuss these questions. For the above reasons, the Chinese delegation is opposed to including Hong Kong and Macau in the list of colonial Territories covered by the Declaration and requests that the erroneous wording that Hong Kong and Macau fall under the category of so-called "colonial Territories" be immediately removed from the documents of the Special Committee and all other United Nations documents.

(Signed) HUANG Hua  
Permanent Representative  
of the People's Republic  
of China to the United  
Nations

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\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/396.

## ANNEX II\*

### QUESTION OF THE LIST OF TERRITORIES TO WHICH THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES IS APPLICABLE: REPORT OF THE RAPPORTEUR

#### INTRODUCTION

1. At its 828th meeting, on 6 October 1971, the Special Committee adopted the following consensus concerning the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable:

"The Special Committee, having considered the recommendation of the Working Group concerning the inclusion of the Comoro Archipelago in the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable and taking into account the results of the consultations conducted with a view to reaching a consensus on the matter, decides to entrust its Rapporteur, assisted by the Secretariat to undertake a study of this question, which will include, inter alia, the views of the peoples directly concerned, the Organization of African Unity and any other parties concerned for submission at an early date in 1972 for the Committee's consideration."

2. The present report is submitted under the terms of the above consensus.

#### 1. PREVIOUS ACTION TAKEN BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

3. Included in the list of 74 Non-Self-Governing Territories noted by the General Assembly in its resolution 66 (I) of 14 December 1946 were the then French Overseas Territories of Madagascar and Dependencies. The Government of France transmitted each year from 1947 to 1956 information on the "Territoire des Comores" (Territory of the Comoros) which, in the 1946 list, was included under Madagascar and Dependencies.

4. In a note dated 27 March 1959, the Government of France informed the Secretary-General, concerning information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations, that "except with regard to New Hebrides, where the existence of the condominium created a special situation, the French Government decided to stop transmitting this information as from 1957". In accordance with General Assembly resolution 222 (III) of 3 November 1948, documents were attached relating to the status of the various Territories, including the Comoro Archipelago, on which information was no longer being transmitted. a/

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\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.833, annex.

a/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 36, document A/4096 and Add.1.

5. The above mentioned communication was placed before the Fourth Committee during the fourteenth session of the General Assembly. Although reference to the communication was made by several representatives (A/C.4/SR.973, 975, 981 and 983), no action was taken on the communication by either the Fourth Committee or the General Assembly.

6. At its 645th and 647th meetings, on 29 October and 4 November 1968, the Special Committee considered, on the basis of recommendations contained in the thirty-ninth report of its Working Group (A/AC.109/L.525), the question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is applicable. The relevant paragraphs of that report read as follows:

"11. Finally, the Working Group, pursuant to the decision taken by the Special Committee at its 564th meeting, b/ and in the light of operative paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 2326 (XXII), considered the question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable.

"12. On the proposal of the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania and following an exchange of views, the Working Group agreed to recommend that the Comoro Archipelago be included in the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable."

In connexion with its consideration of the item, the Special Committee had before it a letter dated 15 October 1968 addressed to its Chairman by the Permanent Representative of Botswana to the United Nations c/, the then Chairman of the African Group at the United Nations, requesting the inclusion of the Comoro Archipelago in the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable.

7. At the 647th meeting, on 4 November 1968, the representative of Madagascar proposed that the Committee defer consideration of the question of the inclusion of the Comoro Archipelago in the above-mentioned list. At the same meeting, the Special Committee decided, by a vote of 10 to 7, with 6 abstentions, to adopt the proposal of the representative of Madagascar.

8. At its 828th meeting, on 6 October 1971, the Special Committee gave further consideration to the question on the basis of the recommendation contained in the sixty-fourth report of its Working Group (A/AC.109/L.744). The relevant paragraphs of that report read as follows:

"9. Following consultations, the Working Group considered and recommended a proposal by the representative of Madagascar that it should defer consideration of the question of the inclusion of the Comoro Archipelago in the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable, pending the submission by the Secretariat of an informal working paper on the subject.

"10. The Working Group then considered and adopted a proposal by the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania that it should recommend to the Special Committee the inclusion of the Comoro Archipelago in the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable."

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b/ Ibid., Twenty-second Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6700/Rev.1), chap. I, para. 327.

c/ Ibid., Twenty-third Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/7200/Rev.1), chap. I, annex V.

9. In connexion with its consideration of the item, the Special Committee also had before it a letter dated 30 November 1970 addressed to its Chairman by the Permanent Representative of the Congo to the United Nations d/, the then Chairman of the African Group at the United Nations, requesting the Committee to reconsider at its 1971 session the question of the inclusion of the Comoro Archipelago in the above-mentioned list.

10. At the same meeting, on the proposal of its Chairman, the Special Committee adopted without objection the consensus in connexion with the aforementioned recommendation of its Working Group, as set out in paragraph 1 above. Following the adoption of the consensus, statements were made by the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania and Madagascar setting out the position of their respective Governments on the question (A/AC.109/PV.828).

11. At the same meeting, the Special Committee decided that, subject to any directives which the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session might give in that connexion, it would continue consideration of the item at its next session. At its twenty-sixth session, the General Assembly, in paragraph 2 of its resolution 2878 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971, approved the report of the Special Committee, including the programme of work envisaged by the Committee during 1972.

12. At its 841st meeting, on 16 March 1972, the Special Committee by approving the sixty-fifth report of its Working Group (A/AC.109/L.763 and Corr.1), decided without objection to allocate to its Working Group for consideration and recommendation the question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable. At its 873rd meeting, on 6 June 1972, the Special Committee took note of the intention of its Working Group to take up the question of the inclusion of the Comoro Archipelago in the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable, when the report requested of the Rapporteur in the above-mentioned consensus became available.

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d/ Ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. I, annex IV.

## 2. VIEWS AND COMMENTS RECEIVED ON THE QUESTION

13. In the absence of specific instructions by the Special Committee and of the relevant information as a consequence of the cessation as from 1957 of the transmission of information on the Comoro Archipelago by the Government of France, the Rapporteur addressed, on 28 October 1971 and again on 30 March 1972, identical letters to the Permanent Representatives of France, Madagascar and the United Republic of Tanzania to the United Nations, requesting them to provide him with any information relating to the Comoro Archipelago which might facilitate the preparation of the study called for in the consensus referred to in paragraph 1 above, including in particular the views of their respective Governments in that connexion.

### A. Views of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania

14. In a letter dated 11 May 1972 addressed to the Rapporteur, the Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania stated as follows:

"The position of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania vis-à-vis the Comoro question is very clear. I can only refer you to the statement which I made during the 828th meeting of the Special Committee on the aforementioned date. That statement is a reiteration of Tanzania's position regarding the Comoro question. Please refer to document A/AC.109/PV.828 of 6 October 1971. I hope you will find that statement useful and relevant in the preparation of your report."

### B. Views of the Organization of African Unity

15. In response to the request addressed by the Rapporteur to the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU for the views of that organization as well as those of the national liberation movements concerned, the OAU General Secretariat, in a letter dated 30 November 1971, transmitted for the attention of the Rapporteur a copy of a resolution on the question adopted by the Council of Ministers of OAU at its Eleventh Ordinary Session and endorsed by the Fifth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, in September 1968. It also stated that the views of the Comoro National Liberation Movement (MOLINACO) would be communicated to the Rapporteur in due course. The text of the resolution is reproduced below.

#### Resolution CM/RES.152 (XI)

"The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Eleventh Ordinary Session in Algiers, Algeria, from 4 to 12 September, 1968,

"Reaffirming the inalienable right of all the peoples and Territories of Africa to freedom and independence,

"Considering that the Comoro Islands are not inscribed on the list of colonial Territories under the terms of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

"Having regard to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in resolution 1514 (XV) of the United Nations General Assembly,

"1. Calls upon the French Government to take immediate measures to enable the people of the Comoro Islands to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence;

"2. Invites the African Group at the United Nations to request the inclusion of the Comoro Islands on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories of the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations;

"3. Asks the Administrative Secretary-General to communicate to the Chairman of the United Nations Decolonization Committee the request of the OAU concerning the inclusion of the Comoro Islands on the list of the Decolonization Committee."

16. The Council of Ministers of OAU, at its Nineteenth Ordinary Session, adopted a further resolution on the question which was endorsed by the Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, in June 1972. The text of the resolution is reproduced below:

Resolution C/RES.272 III (XIX)

"The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting at its Nineteenth Ordinary Session in Rabat, Morocco, from 5 to 12 June 1972,

"Having studied the chapters of the Administrative Secretary-General's Report on the Development of the Situation in Territories under Colonial and Racist Domination,

"Recalling the determination and commitment of independent African States to free all Territories under colonial domination,

"Recognizing the importance of including the question of the Comoro Islands on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories,

"1. Reaffirms its resolution C/RES.152 (XI);

"2. Recommends to Member States of the OAU to give the necessary directives to their permanent representatives at the United Nations to make every effort at the next session of the United Nations General Assembly to ensure the inclusion of the Comoro Islands on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories;

"3. Denounces any measure to destroy the political unity and territorial integrity of the Comoro Islands."

C. Views of the Mouvement de liberation nationale des Comores

17. The views of MOLINACO are set out in three communications received from the Secretary-General of the organization, Mr. Abdou Bakari-Boina, addressed to the Rapporteur and the Chairman of the Special Committee. The substantive portions of these communications are reproduced below: c/

Letter dated 27 December 1971 addressed to the Rapporteur

"First, we should like to recall that France established itself in the Comoro Islands between 1841 and 1886 under a protectorate treaty with the Sultans of the Islands. Subsequently, after the last Sultan, Said Ali ben Omar, had been falsely accused and deported to France, Comoro was declared a French colony in 1908, and in 1912 was brought under the French colonial administration of Madagascar.

"After the Second World War our country, like all French colonies, was represented in the French National Assembly, and it is now a French Overseas Territory (article 76 of the French Constitution). Legally, the Territory is an integral part, one and indivisible, of the French Republic. Accordingly, any organization aimed at achieving independence for the country is regarded as null and void under article 3 of the Act of 1 July 1901.

"Thus, the Socialist Party for the Liberation of Comoro, formed on 2 August 1964, was prohibited two weeks after its establishment.

"In 1968, some MOLINACO militants were arrested and sentenced under the above Act to long prison terms and deportation for demanding independence (see annex I).

"On 2 August 1971, the statutes of a political party known as the Progressive Party of Comoro, which had as its goal the preparation of the Comorian people for accession to independence, were rejected (see annex II) on the ground that the phrase 'complete independence' was used.

"The Act of 22 December 1961, as amended in 1968, which granted Comoro autonomy, of a kind. changed nothing with regard to the colonial nature of the country's status. We need only quote articles 5, 7 and 31 of this notorious Act, to which the colonialists and their henchmen often refer:

"Article 5. Subject to the limits of his authority, the High Commissioner shall promulgate the laws and decrees applicable to Comoro within the scope of the powers reserved to the Republic and shall ensure their endorsement.

"Within the limits of the same authority and powers, he shall ensure that acts of the local authorities are lawful, and shall apply the procedures for annulment, arbitration or interpretation laid down in the regulatory legislation.

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c/ Annexes to which reference is made in these communications have been placed in the files of the Secretariat and are available to members of the Special Committee upon request.

"For this purpose, he shall be informed of the deliberations and administrative acts of the local authorities before they are given executive force by the President of the Government Council."

"Article 7. ... He shall ensure, through the competent minister, the management and supervision of technical assistance and co-operation. The discharge of these special powers in the Territory shall be ensured by a head of mission acting under his orders.

"The High Commissioner shall authorize government expenditure."

"Article 31. The powers of the State shall be exercised in the following matters:

The text of this article is reproduced on page 88 of this annex.

"With regard to the 1958 referendum, apart from the fact that it was rigged, we need mention only the fact that, then, as now, no person, as no political or other organization, had the right to speak of independence without being accused of offences against the integrity or external security of the Republic.

"To sum up, the Comoro Islands, are in law and in practice a French colony whose ownership by France was not established by any legislative act democratically accepted by the people of the Islands.

"Accordingly, any reference to resolution 742 (VIII), with the suggestion that the Comoro Islands are an almost independent country, is totally meaningless. Moreover, the indigenous population has neither the right nor the opportunity to express its views. While there are nevertheless several 'political' parties in the Comoro Islands, we must point out that they do not enjoy the right to call for independence in their programmes. In this connexion, please see annex II entitled 'Legal opinion on the status of the Comoro Islands and the possibilities for change.'

"The electoral system in force in the Comoro Islands is taken from an electoral law of 1817, passed after the fall of Napoleon and the restoration of the monarchy in France. There is a single list, for a collective candidacy to be elected by majority, with no opportunity for the voter to express his order of preference among the candidates. This system has been in force since 1945; in spite of the unpopularity which it has earned because of its anti-democratic nature, it is maintained against all opposition in order to keep in power those who favour the status quo.

"We urge you to consult the debate which took place in the Territorial Assembly of the Comoro Islands at its meeting on 6 May 1968, during the regular session of 2-22 May 1968 (annex III). This debate alone will suffice to give you a clear picture of the inadmissible and anti-democratic nature of the ballot.

"Consequently, we are earnestly and deeply convinced that your Committee, in its high and noble task of promoting freedom and justice for those who are under colonial domination, will not fail to meet its responsibilities towards the people of the Comoro Islands and will not let itself be diverted by misleading statements.

"We also hope that all the attached documents will give you sufficient knowledge of the real situation of Comoro Islands, in spite of the ill-intentioned propaganda of those who would like people of the Comoro Islands to labour forever under the colonial yoke...."

Letter dated 2 May 1972 addressed to the Chairman

"With reference to our report of 27 December 1971 transmitted to the Rapporteur... we have the honour to provide you with new information on the current situation in Comoro. This information illustrates more clearly than ever the firm determination of the Comorian people to attain their independence, despite the manoeuvres being made by the French colonialists in a vain attempt to stifle Comorian nationalism.

"In 1970, certain rumours circulated in the corridors of the United Nations seeking to prove that the Comorian people did not desire independence, and reference was made to the Rassemblement Democratique des Peuple Comorien (RDPC), a political party that is very well represented in local bodies.

"At the time, the colonial authorities frequently maintained that that party was opposed to independence. However, the RDPC has just categorically denied that false allegation. On 2 March 1972, at an extraordinary congress convened to study the question of the liberation of the Comoro Islands, it adopted a resolution calling for the immediate independence of the Comoro Archipelago. A copy of the resolution is attached (see annex IV).

"We should like to point out for purposes of information that the RDPC has 10 deputies in the Territorial Assembly, 11 in the District Assembly of Grande Comore and 6 in the municipality of Moroni, the capital of the Archipelago.

"On 19 March, the Parti Social Democrate des Comores (PSDC), a sister party of the RDPC which until then had not said 'yes' or 'no' to independence, also adopted a resolution favouring independence. That resolution is also attached (see annex IV).

"We are sending as well the most recent resolution of the Parti pour l'Evolution des Comores (PEC), an offshoot and legal representative of MOLINACO in the Comoro Islands.

"Mr. Pierre Messmer the French Colonial Minister, was surprised by the pro-independence stance taken by the President of the Territorial Assembly of the Comoro Islands in a speech welcoming him to Comoro in February this year. The French Minister warned Comoro against such a course and implied that France would be obliged to propose a referendum in each island. This is merely an attempt to Balkanize our country. It goes without saying that the Comorian people unanimously rejected this proposal by France.

"Moreover, this proposal has prompted political parties such as the RDPC and the PSDC to take a position regarding the country's accession to full sovereignty.

"It is our hope that this supplementary information will have the desired effect of enabling your noble Committee to take the necessary measures to ensure the inclusion of the Comoro Islands in the list of Territories to which the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is applicable, thereby enabling the United Nations to fulfil its obligations towards the Comoran people...."

Letter dated 11 May 1972 addressed to the Chairman

"With reference to our letter ... of 2 May 1972, we enclose a copy of the memorandum addressed to RDPC to the Executive Secretary of the Co-ordinating Committee for the liberation of Africa (see annex V).

"It shows that the Comorian people are, beyond question, united in their determination to accede to independence forthwith.

"Accordingly, by including the question of the Comoro Islands in its agenda, your Committee will provide the Comorian people with invaluable assistance in the present phase of their struggle."

3. GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE COMORO ARCHIPELAGO

18. The Comoro Archipelago lies in the Mozambique Channel north-west of Madagascar. The Territory has a total land area of 2,235 square kilometres and is made up of four main islands - Mayotte (or Mahore) (374 square kilometres), Anjouan (424 square kilometres), Mohéli (290 square kilometres) and Grande Comore (1,147 square kilometres) - and a number of smaller islands. All the islands are of volcanic origin.

19. In 1970, the estimated population of the Archipelago was 280,000, distributed as follows: Grande Comore, 135,000; Anjouan, 100,000; Mayotte, 34,000; and Mohéli, 11,000.

20. The population of the Comoro Archipelago consists of a variety of races which originated in Africa, Asia and Madagascar. It is assumed that the Bantus were the first inhabitants of the Comoros, and that they were followed by the Oimatsahas, a Melano-Indonesian people who probably arrived only shortly before the arrival of the Arabs. Today, the Arabs are the dominant ethnic group and are particularly numerous on Grande Comore and Anjouan. Malagasy arrived from Madagascar in a series of migrations and are now found mainly on Mayotte. On Anjouan and Grande Comore are also found the Antalotes, descended from an intermingling of Arab, African and Malagasy peoples. There are also a number of Europeans and a small community of Ismaelian Indians.

21. A Comorian language, derived from Swahili and Arabic, is spoken all over the islands, while French, the official language, is spoken mostly in urban areas.

22. In the referendum of 28 September 1958, the Comoro Archipelago decided to retain its status of overseas Territory within the French Republic. The present political structure of the Territory was established by an act of 22 December 1961, which was subsequently amended and supplemented by an act of 3 January 1968 (see below). Both acts were adopted by the French National Assembly and Senate and appeared in the Journal Officiel de la République Française on 23 December 1961 and 4 January 1968, respectively.

"Act No. 61-1412 of 22 December 1961  
concerning the organization of the  
Comoro Islands, as amended by Act  
No. 68-4 of 3 January 1968

"The National Assembly and the Senate having assented thereto,

"The President of the Republic promulgates the following Act:

"Preamble

"The purpose of this Act is to regulate specifically the organization of the Territory of the Comoro Islands; it is based on the principle of internal self-government.

"Title I

"Administration of the Archipelago

"Article 1. The Comoro Archipelago, consisting of the islands of Grande Comore, Anjouan, Mayotte and Mohéli, shall constitute within the French Republic an Overseas Territory having juridical personality and exercising internal self-government.

The institutions of the territory shall consist of:

"A Government Council;

"A Chamber of Deputies;

"District Councils.

"Chapter I

"Government Council

"Article 2. The President of the Government Council shall be elected by the Chamber of Deputies, in accordance with procedures which it shall establish.

"He shall appoint the Ministers who, together with him, shall constitute the Government Council of the Territory. The High Commissioner of the Republic shall be notified by the President of the Government Council of the appointment of the Ministers and he shall acknowledge receipt of the notification.

"Article 3. The President of the Government Council shall notify the High Commissioner of the Republic, who shall acknowledge the notification of the acts of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Government Council. These acts shall become enforceable, and shall be published and executed, unless the annulment procedure referred to in article 28 is invoked.

"The President of the Government Council may request the annulment of acts of the Chamber of Deputies in the same way as the High Commissioner of the Republic.

"Article 4. The President of the Government Council shall convene the Council and draw up the agenda of its meetings.

"Article 5. The Government Council shall be responsible to the Chamber of Deputies of the Comoro Islands in the manner which the latter shall prescribe in a special instrument.

"Article 6. The Government Council shall prepare the budget estimates of the Archipelago and implement the acts of the Chamber of Deputies of the Comoro Islands. It shall administer the affairs of the Archipelago and direct the operation of the administrative services for which it is responsible, within the limits of its powers and competence.

"Article 7. In the exercise of his functions, the President of the Government Council shall have the power to issue regulations in all matters which are not expressly delegated to another authority by law.

"Article 8. Individual Ministers shall be made responsible by decision of the President of the Government Council, for the direction of one or several administrative services.

"Each Minister shall be responsible to the Government Council for the operation of the services and of the administration of the department for which he is responsible; he shall keep the Council regularly informed thereof.

"Article 8 bis. The President of the Government Council shall be responsible for the internal security of the Archipelago.

"He shall have a Territorial Guard at his command.

"The manner in which members of the gendarmerie are to serve, as necessary, as technical advisers to the Territorial Guard shall be prescribed in technical assistance agreements.

## "Chapter II

### "Chamber of Deputies of the Comoro Islands

"Article 9. The Chamber of Deputies of the Comoro Islands shall consist of members elected by direct, universal suffrage for a five-year term. The Chamber shall be re-elected as a whole.

"The Chamber of Deputies shall so determine the number of its members and the manner of their election that the number of representatives from each electoral district is proportional to the size of its population. The least-populated island shall, however, be represented by at least two deputies.

"Each of the four islands of the Archipelago shall constitute at least one electoral district.

"The Chamber of Deputies shall specify the grounds, other than those prescribed by law, on which a person shall be debarred from serving as a deputy of the Comoro Islands.

"The Chamber of Deputies may be dissolved by decree of the Council of Ministers on the proposal of the President of the Government Council.

"Article 10. The Chamber of Deputies of the Comoro Islands shall establish its own rules of procedure and shall elect its President.

"The President of the Chamber of Deputies shall notify the High Commissioner of the Republic of the election of the President of the Government Council and the High Commissioner shall acknowledge such notification.

"Article 11. The Chamber of Deputies of the Comoro Islands shall consider such public affairs of the Archipelago as do not fall within the competence of the State according to the definition of such affairs in title III of this Act.

"Article 11 bis. The Chamber of Deputies of the Comoro Islands shall establish rules governing, inter alia, civil procedure, the status of law officers, the property régime, rights in rem, civil and commercial obligations, education, the right to work, trade union law, social welfare and customs tariffs and regulations, without prejudice to the provisions of article 3 of Decree No. 54-1020 of 14 August 1954.

"Article 11 ter. The Chamber of Deputies shall establish and designate the courts of Islamic law which shall be competent in civil matters in respect of persons who do not have the ordinary civil status referred to in article 75 of the Constitution.

"It shall establish and designate the courts of territorial law which shall be competent to deal with all matters or offences which are not within the competence of the courts of Islamic law or of the courts referred to in article 31. Decisions by courts of territorial law shall be subject to review by the Court of Cassation or the Council of State, depending on their nature.

"Article 12. The Chamber of Deputies of the Comoro Islands shall approve the budget of the Archipelago, which shall be a balanced budget, and shall rule off the general finance account submitted to it at the end of the financial year by the President of the Government Council.

"It shall vote the taxes to be levied for the territorial budget, establish the basis of assessment and ceiling rates and the rules for collecting the taxes and duties earmarked for the budgets of the councils of administrative subdivisions, and lay down the rules for equalizing the resources of the budget of the Archipelago and the budgets of the subdivisions.

## "Title II

### "District councils

"Article 13. Each of the four islands of the Comoro Archipelago shall constitute a district, with its own juridical personality, having the right of disposal over its own assets and resources.

"Article 14. In each district, a council, which shall reflect the character of the island, shall be elected by universal suffrage, by all citizens who have been domiciled therein for at least six months, in the manner prescribed by the Chamber of Deputies of the Comoro Islands. The same requirements with regard to domicile shall apply to qualify for election.

"Article 15. The membership, rules of procedure and powers of the district councils shall be established by the Chamber of Deputies of the Comoro Islands, having regard to the provisions which follow.

"Article 16. Each district council shall elect its own chairman.

"Article 17. Each council shall administer the affairs of its district.

"(Article 18 is abrogated)

"Article 19. Each district council shall adopt the budget of its district which shall be balanced, and shall determine, within the established ceiling, the level of taxes, duties and charges of whatever kind through which the budget is financed.

"Article 20. The resources of a district shall consist of:

"Refunds from taxes levied on the income of individuals and legal persons and from real estate taxes collected in the District, on a percentage basis which shall be established by the Chamber of Deputies of the Comoro Islands but which shall not be less than 25 per cent;

"The yield of loc. taxes which may be levied in respect of income and real estate, patents and licences, within the ceilings established by the Chamber of Deputies of the Comoro Islands;

"Revenue from the public property of the district;

"The costs of work performed and the value of services rendered by the district on its own account;

"Any other income whose collection is authorized by the Chamber of Deputies of the Comoro Islands for the benefit of the district.

"(Articles 21 to 26 are abrogated)

### "Title III

#### "Representation of the Republic in the Territory

##### "Chapter 1

##### "Representative of the Republic

"Article 27. The Republic shall be represented in the Territory by a High Commissioner, appointed by decree of the Council of Ministers.

"The High Commissioner of the Republic shall be assisted in the performance of his duties by a Secretary-General, appointed by decree, who shall automatically replace him in the event of his absence or incapacity.

"Article 28. The powers of the Republic shall be vested in the High Commissioner of the Republic.

"He shall promulgate and enforce all acts and decrees applicable to the Comoro Islands matters within the jurisdiction of the State.

"He shall be responsible for the defence and external security of the Archipelago in accordance with the laws and regulations in force.

"He shall supervise the legality of the acts of the local authorities and shall institute the annulment procedures established in legislative and regulatory instruments.

(Paragraph 5 is abrogated)

"He may request the Minister for Overseas Territories to have a decree issued, in the form of an executive order, for the total or partial annulment of any acts of the local authorities on the grounds of incompetence, an excess of authority or a violation of the law. The same course shall be open to the Minister for Overseas Territories. The Government Council shall be informed at least eight days before the matter comes before the Council of State. It may submit to the Council of State such comments as it deems pertinent.

"The acts mentioned in the preceding paragraph shall become enforceable, unless they are pronounced void within 90 clear days of their notification, to the High Commissioner of the Republic.

"If the High Commissioner of the Republic considers that an act of the Chamber of Deputies of the Comoro Islands, or an administrative act of the local authorities, is likely to jeopardize national defence, the maintenance of external security or civic freedoms, he may, within 10 clear days from the date on which he received notification of it, request the Chamber of Deputies of the Comoro Islands to reconsider its decision or the Government Council to review the act in question; such a request shall not be refused.

"Article 29. In the cases referred to in article 1 of Act. No. 55-385 of 3 April 1955, the state of emergency shall be proclaimed jointly by the High Commissioner of the Republic and the President of the Government Council after consultation with the said Council.

"The High Commissioner and the President of the Government Council shall, each according to his responsibilities and acting in close liaison, ensure the execution of the measures prescribed, within the limits of their respective powers.

"They shall, in the same way, determine the districts of the Territory in which the state of emergency is to exist, or the areas in which it is to be applied. The extension of a state of emergency beyond 15 days can be ordered only by a decree of the Council of Ministers on the basis of a report from the Prime Minister and the Minister for Overseas Territories. A state of emergency may be terminated before the expiry of the period established by an order of the High Commissioner of the Republic after consultation with the Government Council.

"Where a state of emergency has been declared, the High Commissioner of the Republic shall exercise the same powers as those vested in the Minister of the Interior and the Prefects by the Act of 3 April 1955. The Advisory Committee referred to in article 7 of that Act shall include representatives of the Chamber of Deputies of the Comoro Islands.

"In the event of disagreement between the High Commissioner and the President of the Government Council as to the necessity for a state of emergency, the High Commissioner may proclaim a state of emergency if he considers that national defence, the interests of the State or the general public order of the Archipelago are in jeopardy.

"Article 30. The High Commissioner of the Republic shall protect the civic freedoms and the individual and collective rights recognized by the Constitution.

"He may, under the authority of the Government of the Republic, conclude agreements governing the particular relations of the Archipelago with neighbouring States. Such agreements shall be submitted to the Government Council for its prior approval.

"He shall ensure that civil registers are kept of persons having ordinary civil status in accordance with the laws and regulations in force.

"He shall be certifying officer of the expenditures of the State.

## "Chapter 2

### "Powers of the State

"Article 31. The powers of the State shall be exercised in the following matters:

"Foreign affairs;

"Defence (external and, if a state of emergency is proclaimed, internal security);

"Currency, the treasury, credit, foreign exchange and foreign trade;

"Nationality, civil registration and the ordinary civil status referred to in article 75 of the Constitution;

"Radio and television broadcasting, without prejudice to the power of the President of the Government Council of the Comoro Islands to reorganize and regulate programmes in the Territory;

"External transport and communications (shipping, civil aviation, postal services and telecommunications);

"Penal procedure;

"Matters which, on the date of the promulgation of this Act, are governed by articles 1 to 74 and 463 of the Penal Code in force in the Archipelago, offences involving criminal penalties, offences against the internal and external security of the State, and offences relating to matters in which the State alone is competent under this title;

"The establishment and organization of courts competent to deal with cases and offences relating to matters for which the State alone is competent under this title.

"Title III bis

"Contractual, technical and financial assistance

"Article 32. The State may, in accordance with the financial legislation, provide financial and technical support for economic and social investment projects, and, in particular, for training and development programmes.

"The manner in which such assistance is to be provided shall be laid down, in respect of each project or group of related projects, in agreements which shall specify, inter alia, the details of their preparation, execution, financing and supervision.

"The State may, in addition, participate in the operation of the territorial services, either through the secondment of staff or in the form of financial assistance. The conditions governing such participation shall be established in agreements.

"Nevertheless, the judges serving in the courts referred to in article 31 shall officiate in the courts of territorial law, in the order established by the presiding judges of the former courts, the written opinion of the President of the Government Council having first been obtained. This opinion shall be deemed to have been given if it has not been transmitted within 10 days.

"Article 33. Where the assistance of public institutions or establishments in the metropolitan territory is required for the purposes of the public services of the Territory, the principles and conditions attaching to the provision of assistance by such bodies shall be established in agreements concluded between them and the Territory.

"(Articles 34 to 36 are abrogated)

"Title IV

"Miscellaneous provisions

"Article 37. The manner in which this Act is to be applied shall be determined, so far as necessary, by decrees of the Council of State, issued after consultation with the Chamber of Deputies of the Comoro Islands.

"Article 37 bis. In accordance with article 74 of the Constitution, the Chamber of Deputies shall be consulted on any modification made by law to the organization of the Territory.

"Article 38. All existing provisions at variance with this Act are hereby repealed.

"This Act shall be executed as an Act of the State.

"Done at Paris, on 22 December 1961.

"C. DE GAULLE  
President of the Republic

"Georges POMPIDOU  
Prime Minister

"Pierre BILLOTTEE  
Minister for Overseas Departments  
and Territories

"Louis JOXE  
Keeper of the Seals,  
Minister of Justice

"Pierre MESSMER  
Minister of the Armed Forces

"Michel DEBRE  
Minister of Economy  
and Finance"

#### 4. OBSERVATIONS

23. In submitting the following general observations, the Rapporteur wishes to underscore the primary purpose of the present study, namely, to provide the Special Committee with information, together with the views of the parties concerned, in order to assist the Committee in determining whether or not the Declaration is applicable to the Comoro Archipelago.

24. It is the view of the Rapporteur that the question of the applicability of the Declaration should be examined solely within the context of the Declaration itself, quite apart from other seemingly related subject-matters, such as the questions of the definition of a full measure of self-government or of the factors or procedures for the transmission of information by the administering Powers concerned under Article 73 e of the Charter.

25. It should be noted in this connexion that in paragraph 5 of the historic Declaration, the General Assembly states clearly that:

"5. Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other Territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom."

26. Taking into account the foregoing and bearing in mind the decision taken by the Committee during 1965 with respect to the inscription of the question of French Somaliland on its agenda, the Rapporteur wishes to observe that the Declaration seems fully applicable to the Territory of the Comoro Archipelago.

ANNEX III

COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF CUBA

/Original: Spanish/

A. Letter dated 9 February 1972 from the Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee\*

On the instructions of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, I have the honour to request the inclusion of the colonial question of Puerto Rico in this year's agenda 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.

Consideration of this Territory falls well within the competence of the Special Committee under the mandate expressly entrusted to it by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

As will be recalled, the inclusion of the question of Puerto Rico in the agenda of the Special Committee was requested by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cuba in a letter addressed to the Chairman of the Committee on 1 October 1965 (A/AC.109/144). My Government made that request in accordance with the decisions adopted in October 1964 by the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries (A/5763), which included the following in the Declaration it adopted:

"It draws the attention of the Ad hoc Decolonization Commission of the United Nations to the case of Puerto Rico and calls upon that commission to consider the situation of these Territories in the light of resolution 1514 (XV) of the United Nations."

The Special Committee was unable to discuss the question of Puerto Rico at its 1966 session for lack of time, and it decided to postpone discussion to the following year.

In April 1967, after the question had been examined by the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.392) the Special Committee discussed the situation in Puerto Rico at two meetings and decided to adjourn the discussion of the question of Puerto Rico sine die.

My Government is strongly of the opinion that far too much time has already elapsed without the Special Committee finding any solution to this problem.

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\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/392.

And yet, Puerto Rico is a Territory to which resolution 1514 (XV) fully applies; Puerto Rico is not an independent Territory and it does not form an integral part of any other Territory but has been under the colonial domination of the United States of America for 73 years. For that reason, immediate discussion of this matter and the fulfilment by the Special Committee of the mandate specifically laid upon it by the General Assembly involve an imperative question of principle and there must be no more delay.

In this connexion I should like to draw the Committee's attention to resolution 2878 (XXVI) adopted by the General Assembly on 21 December 1971, paragraph 10 of which reads as follows:

"10. Requests the Special Committee to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) in all Territories which have not yet attained independence and, in particular, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism and report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session."

In view of the fact that it is more than six years since Cuba originally made its request and that the General Assembly is to consider "the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) in all Territories which have not yet attained independence" at its next session, the Special Committee is under an obligation to include the question of Puerto Rico in its agenda, to discuss it at its present session and to make appropriate recommendations to the General Assembly for discussion at its next session, in the autumn of this year.

My Government therefore requests the Special Committee to decide immediately to include the question of Puerto Rico on its agenda and to give due priority to the discussion of this question at the session now beginning.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter circulated to all members as an official document of the Special Committee.

(Signed) Ricardo ALARCON  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of Cuba  
to the United Nations

B. Letter dated 25 March 1972 from the Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee\*

On 29 February 1972, a letter from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America was circulated as an official document, a/ it purported to be a response to the letter which I sent you on 9 February 1972 requesting that the Special Committee responsible for considering the implementation of the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) should discuss the question of Puerto Rico.

In his letter the representative of the United States Government expresses "in the most unequivocal terms" his opposition to the consideration of this question on the grounds that it would be an act of interference "in the affairs of the United States of America and of Puerto Rico" and a violation of Article 2 (7) of the Charter. While reserving my right to place before the Special Committee at a later date information which exhaustively documents the colonial situation in Puerto Rico, at this time I would like to make a few comments on the letter from the representative of the United States Government.

The argument that consideration of colonial situations constitutes interference in the domestic affairs of the colonial Power is as old as colonialism itself. The Members of the United Nations are quite familiar with this contention. This has always been the argument used by South Africa, Portugal and other colonial Powers attempting to justify their opposition to the liberation of the Territories they occupy. The reference to "the affairs of Puerto Rico" is nothing more than an inept and hypocritical trick designed to deceive those who have no direct knowledge of the situation in the Territory. The affairs of Puerto Rico are decided in Washington, D.C., by the North American authorities without the slightest regard for the wishes of the Puerto Rican people. From any perspective and in every respect, Puerto Rico is a Territory "administered" by the United States for the exclusive benefit of its monopolies. In point of fact there is only one Power which for three quarters of a century has been intervening and continues to intervene in the affairs of Puerto Rico: the United States. It is the height of hypocrisy that its representatives should act out the role of accusing others of interfering in the affairs of this island, which is oppressed and occupied by the North American imperialists, when what these others ask is that the people of Puerto Rico should be allowed to exercise their sovereign rights. To make such accusations in the United Nations, cynically invoking the San Francisco Charter, is, moreover, to show disrespect for the Charter, the Organization and its Members.

In document A/8441 which was circulated last year, I had occasion to indicate how Puerto Rico is completely subjected to the legislative, judicial, economic, commercial, military, police and administrative control of the United States.

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\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/399.

a/ See annex IV to the present chapter.

There is no aspect of Puerto Rican life over which North American imperialism does not have absolute control. This is a typical example of colonialism. There is no substantive criterion whatsoever which justifies a distinction between the situation in Puerto Rico and that prevailing in any of the other Territories with which the Special Committee is concerned. Nevertheless, the United States Government, in violation of the Charter and in defiance of the numerous resolutions against colonialism adopted by the General Assembly, has brought and is bringing to bear pressure of every kind in an effort to prevent the international community from discharging its responsibilities in regard to Puerto Rico.

The conduct of the North American delegation in the matter of Puerto Rico has placed the United Nations in a position where its prestige will be seriously damaged if the Special Committee does not decide immediately, as I had the honour to request in my letter of 9 February, to consider the question of Puerto Rico in the light of the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV).

The colonial status of Puerto Rico is so obvious that the North American delegation was unable to refute even a single piece of the evidence which my delegation put forward for the consideration of the Organization. The North American Government knows that it would never be able to deceive anyone about the true status of the Territory if the Organization were able to consider it in the same way as it does other Territories. The United States Government is well aware of the fact that the United Nations has undergone a substantial transformation with regard to the question of colonialism and that, in 1972, it would never be able to obtain a majority of Member States willing to condone or accept the colonial oppression imposed by it on the people of Puerto Rico and its savage repression.

Having no arguments whatsoever that hold water, the only hope for the United States lies in winning acceptance for the view that the question of Puerto Rico is still outside the purview of the Special Committee. This tactic, in the final analysis, demonstrates a complete lack of respect for the Members of the United Nations and, in particular, for the membership of the Special Committee. Having nothing but its power to fall back on, the United States presumes to dictate to the Organization and to prevent it from implementing, in a case which directly and exclusively affects the interests of North American exploiters, the decisions of the General Assembly and, in particular, the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV). The Government in Washington, D.C., is applying the same colonialist logic in its behaviour towards the United Nations as in its behaviour towards Puerto Rico; it is trying to treat the United Nations as if it were another North American possession.

If the North American Government feels sure that the international community is willing to accept its contention that Puerto Rico is not a territory under the colonial domination of Washington, D.C., why is it so adamantly opposed to consideration of this question by the Special Committee? Why does it contest the position taken by the anti-colonialist majority of Member States? Why does it refuse to accede to the request of some 47 heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries which, since 1964, have been urging the Special Committee to consider the question of Puerto Rico? Why is it so brazenly applying pressure on those who support the just struggle of the Puerto Rican people?

The explanation is clear. The only reason why the United Nations has so far been unable to fulfil its obligation as regards the Puerto Rican question is perfectly well known to all Members of the Organization. It is the pressure brought to bear by the North American Government and its persistent refusal to comply with United Nations resolutions on decolonization. In taking that attitude, the United States Government is assuming a most truculent, unyielding and defiant colonialist posture. Basically, it is not just the question of Puerto Rico which is before the Special Committee. What is at stake is something much more far-reaching which affects the very essence of the decolonization process. The question at issue is whether or not a great imperialist Power can flout the will of the majority of Member States. The question at issue is whether or not a great imperialist Power can impose its will on the United Nations. The question at issue is whether or not its interests can triumph over the anti-colonialist principles adopted by the General Assembly.

The hypocritical and calculatedly false arguments adduced by the representative of the United States cannot mislead anyone. Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States. That is how the North American Supreme Court, Congress and the executive branch define and consider it. The Puerto Rican people have never been able to determine their destiny freely by peaceful means. To assert that they have done so, as the North American representative has stated on several occasions, in "free elections" is an out-and-out lie. The aim of the colonial "elections" has never been to define the status of the islands. Their only purpose has been to elect minor functionaries to deal with the few local aspects of the island's life which the United States has deigned to relegate to its colonial lackeys. Even so, the local elections were held under the absolute control of the North American authorities and under North American laws in a country which has been under the military occupation of the United States Army for 73 years, while tens of thousands of North American settlers participate in the electoral process. What is more, the Puerto Rican "elections" have one of the highest rates of abstentions and non-participation. Despite the sums invested and the pressures brought to bear on potential voters by the colonial authorities, not even half of the Puerto Rican population has ever taken part in the elections.

In his letter the representative of the North American Government states inter alia that our request to the Special Committee "is an insult to the people of Puerto Rico who have chosen to live in a democracy, under a Constitution of their own choosing, in free association with the United States". No one could conceive of a grosser insult to the Puerto Rican people. The people of Puerto Rico have never "chosen" to live in the North American "democracy". It was the invading troops of the United States who thrust that fate upon them in July 1898. The people of Puerto Rico did not choose their present status. It was determined by legislation of the North American Congress which only the lawmakers in Washington, D.C., can amend, if and when they see fit to do so. There is no "free association" between Puerto Rico and the United States in the sense understood by the United Nations, for the present relationship between them violates the two principles laid down by the General Assembly: self-determination and equal rights.

With the typical arrogance of a declining imperial Power, the representative of the United States claims to speak on behalf of the people of Puerto Rico and makes a mockery of their national sentiments. The Puerto Rican people do not consist of the insignificant handful of wretched United States employees who make up the local colonial administration and are the only ones satisfied with the

situation now prevailing in the territory. The Puerto Rican people do not consist of masses of men and women obedient to the dictates of North American imperialism. Few peoples have struggled so long, heroically and tenaciously for their national independence as the people of Puerto Rico. The North American intervention of 1898 occurred at the end of a 30-year period in which the people of Puerto Rico had been fighting shoulder to shoulder with the people of Cuba for their emancipation from Spain. Since then and up to the present time, Puerto Ricans have never accepted the Yankee invaders' usurpation of their rights.

The history of Puerto Rico since 1898 may be described as a continuing battle against the Yankee usurpers. It was expressed heroically in the life of Don Pedro Albizu Campos and the unrelenting struggle of the Puerto Rican nationalists which was ruthlessly crushed by the colonial authorities. Don Albizu languished for many years in Yankee prisons where he was subjected to harassment and cruel treatment. It assumed such brutal forms of repression as the 1937 Ponce Massacre in which the colonial troops fired with impunity on the defenceless population. The struggle reached its heroic culmination with the glorious insurrection of 1950 and the nationalist attacks on Blair House in 1950 and the United States Congress in 1954. Dozens of patriots laid down their lives in those actions, thousands were imprisoned and relentlessly persecuted by the most powerful and tyrannical imperialism. The struggle continues and is growing more intense every day in the protests of the Puerto Rican masses against the imposition of compulsory military service in the imperialist army, against the aggression against the peoples of Indo-China, against the hunger, poverty and unemployment afflicting hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans, against the use of Culebra Island as a firing range by the North American Navy, against the ferocious colonialist repression of the patriotic movement, in short, against Yankee colonial domination. Only a few months ago, tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans held mass rallies on the island in memory of Don Albizu, to protest against the presence of the North American Governors in San Juan and to commemorate the anniversary of the proclamation of the independent Republic in 1868. Those rallies reflected the feelings of the great majority of the population of Puerto Rico. They served to testify to the fact that the unswerving decision of the population to be independent is stronger today than it ever was.

It is the patriots who have sacrificed their lives, fighting in the most difficult conditions for national independence, who are entitled to speak for the people of Puerto Rico. They are entitled to enjoin the United Nations to give effect to its anti-colonialist declarations and resolutions. Dozens of Puerto Ricans whose only crime is that they have fought for their country's freedom are in prison on the island or in the metropolitan territory. Among them are the valiant nationalist fighters Oscar Collazo, Lolito Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero and Irvin Flores. Oscar Collazo has been in prison since 1950 and is serving a life sentence; the others have been in prison since 1954 and are serving sentences of 80 years. Of the political prisoners in the Western hemisphere, it is they who have been behind bars longest. Cut off from the outside world, subjected to conditions of imprisonment which violate the most elementary human rights, victims of the oppression and discrimination reserved, under the Yankee prison system, for revolutionaries and members of national communities regarded as inferior by the North American racists, these five fighters have not wavered for a single instant in their staunch patriotism. They are the best example of the heroic struggle of their people. It is an elementary

duty of all independent and anti-colonialist States not only to demonstrate their solidarity with the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico for their national independence but also to demand from the Yankee colonial authorities the immediate release of these freedom fighters. It is the duty of the Special Committee to investigate the situation of the Puerto Rican political prisoners, to demand that their fundamental rights be respected and to call, in particular, for the immediate release of Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero and Irvin Flores. No honourable man can remain silent in face of the brutal punishment inflicted by Yankee imperialism on these patriots who are guilty only of devotion to their homeland. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba takes this opportunity to reaffirm its most complete solidarity with these patriots and to request all independent States, all forces which uphold independence and justice and international public opinion to rally behind these five heroes of Caribbean independence.

In his letter the Permanent Representative of the United States presumes to level accusations against my country. The vulgarity of the accusations - a reflection of the cheap and despicable propaganda North American imperialism employed against the Cuban revolution - renders them unworthy of comment.

It is sufficient to point out that however much he may speak of "political freedom", self-determination, etc., he will not succeed in making anyone forget that he is the spokesman of that Government which has brought death and destruction to Indo-China, which upholds colonialist and racist régimes in Africa, which oppresses millions of negroes, Puerto Ricans, chicanos and Indians within its own frontiers, which has murdered dozens of North American citizens fighting for racial equality, which has, in short, become the main bastion of racism, colonialism and oppression against all the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The Puerto Ricans are in fact directly engaging the main enemy and scourge of all our peoples. For this reason, solidarity with this brother people is a matter of principle for all anti-imperialist revolutionaries.

Cuba, Mr. Chairman, will never waver in fulfilling its fraternal duties to the people of Puerto Rico. We shall honour the historic pledge which has united our peoples ever since they embarked together, more than a century ago, on the march towards complete emancipation as expressed in 1867 by the father of the Puerto Rican Fatherland, Ramón Emeterio Betances in the following words: "Cubans and Puerto Ricans, unite your efforts, work together, we are brothers, we are one in adversity, let us also be one in the Revolution and in the independence of Cuba and Puerto Rico".

I should be grateful, Mr. Chairman, if you would arrange for this letter to be circulated as a document of the Special Committee responsible for ensuring implementation of the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV).

(Signed) Ricardo ALARCON  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of Cuba  
to the United Nations

- C. Letter dated 17 June 1972 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Cuba to the United Nations addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee\*

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the document which, on 6 June 1972, was made public by the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

I should be grateful if you would have it circulated to the members of the Committee of which you are Chairman as an official document.

(Signed) Orlando PEREIRA  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

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\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/409.

PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST PARTY

(Pro-Independence Movement)

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED NATIONS; TO ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD:

At this time when the plenary Decolonization Committee of the United Nations (Committee of Twenty-four) is about to begin discussing the inclusion of the question of Puerto Rico in its agenda, the United States and its colonial Government in Puerto Rico are unleashing violence and repression against the Puerto Rican independence forces on an increasing scale, a development which demonstrates the colonial nature of the system.

As we noted in the document which was circulated on 19 May 1971 to all States Members of the United Nations (NV/245), the reluctance of the Committee of Twenty-four to comply with its legal obligation to consider the colonial status of Puerto Rico (together with the fact that for several years the pressure exerted by the United States, a nation which is interested in keeping the colonial case of Puerto Rico isolated and forgotten by the world, has been yielded to) has encouraged the repressive United States agencies operating in Puerto Rico to step up their persecution of the forces which are fighting for national liberation.

Now we have discovered and denounced to the Puerto Rican people the existence of a plan approved by the colonial Governor, Luis A. Ferré, and the Secretary of Justice, Wallace González Oliver, to fabricate accusations of alleged conspiracy against the leadership of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (Pro-Independence Movement): PSP-MPI

In this connexion we wish to state that we have in our possession sworn testimony by persons who assert that high officers of the police of Puerto Rico have offered them large sums of money and other privileges in return for agreeing, in some cases, to act as undercover agents within the PSP-MPI and, in other cases, to make false statements implicating socialist leaders and advocates of independence in the commission of crimes. These documents constitute clear proof of the intention of the colonial Government to fabricate "evidence" against the principal leaders of the independence movement of our country.

On 20 May 1972 the Miss United States contest was held at the Hotel Cerromar at Dorado, Puerto Rico. On that same day, during the afternoon, PSP-MPI picketed the hotel in a mass demonstration protesting the holding of the contest on Puerto Rican soil. At night, when the closing ceremony of the contest was being held, a number of devices exploded in various parts of the hotel, causing material damage amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars. This act of sabotage was carried out by the Comandos Armados de Liberación (Armed Liberation Commandos) (CAL), according to the press release of that armed organization published by the country's newspapers. The CAL is, as we have on several occasions informed the members of the Special Committee, a clandestine body which has been carrying out armed actions against Yankee intervention in Puerto Rico for more than five years. The authorities have never been able to arrest any of

its fighters. The PSP-MPI has publicly recognized that this organization represents a legitimate form of struggle for national independence. On various occasions we have stated that we do not have and cannot have any organic link with the CAL since we operate within the narrow limits of the legal framework existing in the country, whereas they operate clandestinely. At the same time, however, we assert that the importance of the clandestine and armed actions of CAL within our independence struggle will increase in proportion to the narrowing of the legal framework within which the struggle of the masses represented in the PSP-MPI and the Partido Independentista Puertorriqueno (Puerto Rican Independence Party) (PIP) is taking place.

What the colonial Government is trying to do is to establish on the basis of false, fabricated evidence an organic connexion between PSP-MPI and CAL. For that reason it offered Alberto González-Fernández, a former militant of the PSP, a salary of \$1,500 per month, in addition to dropping various court cases (non-political) which were pending against him in return for his services as a false witness against various national leaders of our party. Similar offers have been made to a number of other compatriots.

We denounce before the entire world this conspiracy on the part of the Government of the United States and its colonial régime in Puerto Rico to suppress the independence fighters and to try to slow down the rapidly accelerating pace of the mass struggle among our people.

The anti-Puerto Rican and anti-popular repression in our country as it has developed so far during this year may be summarized as follows:

1. Repression against those who are reclaiming the land: use of the Police Shock Force to destroy the worker communities of Villa Hostos (in the city of Mayagüez) and El Yeso (in the city of Ponce) and other communities in the towns of Santa Isabel, Salinas and Naguabo. In addition to this destruction, charges have been brought against hundreds of persons for erecting crude dwellings for their families on land belonging to the great United States corporations, such as the Central Azucarera Aguirre, or on government lands. Hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans are entirely without housing and find themselves obliged to build houses for themselves on unoccupied land.

2. The renewal of accusations against young Puerto Ricans who refuse to serve in the armed forces of the United States. These cases are being prosecuted in a United States court operating in Puerto Rico whose proceedings are carried out in English, and under the laws of the United States. Among the accused are Angel Agosto, Secretary for Workers' Affairs of our party, and Manuel de J. González, Associate Editor of the bi-weekly Claridad, the newspaper of the independence movement. Both of these men are members of the Political Committee of PSP-MPI.

3. Gangs of hoodlums, paid by the party of the colonial Governor, on one occasion fired on the national offices of PIP: they have made an attempt on the life of Ruben Berríos-Martínez, the President of that party; they have attacked members of PIP and PSP-MPI who were making public collections or selling newspapers; they have used incendiary devices to attack the property of advocates of independence and socialists in San Juan, Bayamón, Jayuya, Utuado, Salinas and Naguabo; they have shot at militants of the two independence parties in Santa Isabel and they have attacked the offices of PIP and PSP-MPI in various towns on the island.

4. The Police Shock Force brutally attacked the striking workers of the Puerto Rico Telephone Company, a subsidiary of International Telephone and Telegraph Company (ITT). It brutally attacked striking workers of the newspaper El Mundo, a United States-owned enterprise. A journalist working for that newspaper, Bienvenido Ortiz-Otero, Vice President of the Unión de Periodistas, Artes Gráficas y Ramas Anexas (Union of Journalists, Graphic Arts and Related Branches) (UPAGRA), was clubbed on the head and had to be hospitalized. The police of Puerto Rico allied themselves with the enterprise to break the strike, using helicopters piloted by police officials themselves. When CAL destroyed the helicopters, the police falsely accused completely innocent employees of El Mundo of offences involving explosives. Not content with those outrages, the United States court in Puerto Rico imposed fines of more than \$10,000 on the Unión de Periodistas for exercising the right to strike and to picket. All this forms part of a general pattern of repression against the labour movement, which is coming into the forefront of the struggle for independence and the national liberation of Puerto Rico.

5. A similar pattern of repression has been developing against the student movement. Julio Muriente, the President of the Federación de Universitarios Pro Independencia (Federation of Pro-Independence University Students) (FUPI), was expelled from the University of Puerto Rico and barred for life from studying there. Rosa Mercedes Mari, a young woman militant of FUPI, was kicked by a policeman because she was going to present a national flag of Puerto Rico to the Catalan singer Joan Manuel Serrat after a concert given by him at the theatre of the University. Later, this same young woman was accused of felonious assault against four policemen. Luis Fernando Coss, president of the Federación Estudiantil Pro-Independencia (Federation of Pro-Independence Students) (FEPI), an organization of secondary-school students who are partisans of independence, was expelled from the country's public schools.

6. Two powerful bombs were placed in front of the building occupied by the newspaper Claridad and one of them exploded, causing damage to the office of the management of this bi-weekly. The Comandos Anticomunistos (Anti-Communist Commandos), a gang of terrorists organized by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), claimed responsibility for the felony. Several months earlier, a gang made up of members of the United States Secret Service broke into the Claridad building by force, breaking doors and upsetting the files and other equipment, without any legal cause or justification. José Banch, a young militant of PSP-MPI, was brutally attacked by an agent of the CIA while he was selling the newspaper Claridad, and hovered between life and death for a number of days at the Medical Center in the capital.

7. In the town of Manatí a gang of members of the party of the colonial Governor broke in on Eladio Rodríguez-Otero, President of the Ateneo Puertorriqueno, while he was delivering a commencement address to pupils of the high school, because he had made a reference to the fatherland and to the obligation of young Puerto Ricans to serve it. The gang prevented the continuation of the commencement exercises.

8. Twenty prominent members of the Partido Nuevo Progresista (New Progressive Party), the party of the colonial Governor, met to plan the hiring of United States gunmen to come to Puerto Rico and assassinate the leaders of the two independence parties: Ruben Berríos-Martínez, President of PIP, and

Juan Mari-Brás, Secretary-General of PSP-MPI. This was revealed to the country by Representative Bennie Frankie Cerezo, a dissident legislator belonging to the same government party.

9. Last week, two hooded men fired from a moving automobile on the militant socialist Robinson Torres in the town of Santa Isabel. In the town of Caguas a band of terrorists from CIA partially destroyed automobiles belonging to various members of the independence movement in front of a ball park while the owners were attending a match in which a visiting team from Cuba was participating. There was also an attempt to set fire to the office of the Movimiento Obrero Unido (United Workers' Movement) (MOU), a body which co-ordinates the trade union activities of the most progressive unions in the country.

Thus it may be seen that violence is on the increase in Puerto Rico. If the Special Committee continues to postpone consideration of the colonial case of Puerto Rico, it will be helping to provoke a civil war in our country. The repressive activity of the colonial régime against the growing movement of the masses in favour of national independence is contributing to the likelihood of such a war.

On behalf of the independence fighters of Puerto Rico we appeal to all members of the Special Committee to fulfil their duty with respect to Puerto Rico now. If they wait, it may be too late.

San Juan, Puerto Rico, 6 June 1972

THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST PARTY  
(PUERTO RICAN PRO-INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT)

## ANNEX IV

### COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

- A. Letter dated 28 February 1972 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee\*

On 9 February 1972, the Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations wrote to you "on the instructions of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba" to request that the Committee over which you preside "decide immediately to include the question of Puerto Rico in its agenda and to give due priority to the discussion of this question at the session now beginning". The Cuban Ambassador's letter was circulated in document A/AC.109/392.

I am instructed by my Government to write to you and to protest, in the most unequivocal terms, this Cuban act of interference in the affairs of the United States of America and of Puerto Rico. This not only constitutes an affront to the people of Puerto Rico and to the General Assembly of the United Nations, which adopted resolution 748 (VIII) of 27 November 1953 but is a violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Permanent Representative of Cuba, a country where political freedom and elections are unknown, and where opposition can only be voiced in exile, presumes to advise your Committee and, indeed, the United Nations as a whole, on questions of self-government and on the duties of the United Nations with respect to free peoples.

This is an insult to the people of Puerto Rico who have chosen to live in a democracy, under a Constitution of their own choosing, in free association with the United States. This choice of their form of government has been restated periodically, in free and open elections, and through referenda, between 1952 and the present time. In November 1972, the people of Puerto Rico will once again pronounce themselves through the means of a universal secret ballot, on the nature of their Government. These elections will be open to political parties of all hues, including those who oppose Puerto Rico's present Constitution and relationship with the United States.

The United Nations General Assembly, in resolution 748 (VIII), acknowledged that Puerto Rico had achieved self-government in compliance with Article 73 e of the Charter. Our Charter is the same Charter that guided the General Assembly then, and no unilateral attempt to rewrite or redefine it can be accepted by any component body of the General Assembly. Since 1953, when resolution 748 (VIII) was adopted,

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\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/395.

the practice of self-government has become a firmly rooted tradition among the people of Puerto Rico, clearly vindicating the judgement of the General Assembly. The compact under which the peoples of Puerto Rico and of the United States live harmoniously in association has been achieved in complete freedom and has repeatedly been put to the test of the electoral ballot. Accordingly, the terms of their relationship and its consequences are an internal affair. The Cuban proposal, therefore, does violence to the basic principles enshrined in Article 2 of the Charter, and notably in paragraph 7 thereof.

My Government therefore strongly urges the Special Committee, under your distinguished chairmanship, to reject the request of the Permanent Representative of Cuba.

I shall appreciate it if you would have this letter circulated to all members as an official document of the Special Committee.

(Signed) George BUSH

B. Letter dated 18 August 1972 from the Deputy Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee\*

On 28 February 1972, Ambassador Bush submitted a letter to you which reviewed the position of the United States with regard to efforts to include the question of Puerto Rico on the agenda of your Committee. The letter was circulated as official document A/AC.109/395 of 29 February 1972.

There has been no change in the United States position on this issue since that time. My Government has instructed me to reiterate our continued opposition to this Cuban act of interference in the affairs of the United States and of Puerto Rico.

I shall appreciate it if you would have this letter reconfirming our position circulated to all members as an official document of the Special Committee.

(Signed) Christopher H. PHILLIPS  
Ambassador

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\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/414.

ANNEX V\*

/Original: Spanish/

LETTER DATED 23 AUGUST 1972 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I.  
OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF CHILE TO THE UNITED NATIONS  
ADDRESSED TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

I have the honour to inform you of the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chile, Mr. Clodomiro Almeyda, on 18 August 1972, in connexion with the Special Committee's discussion of the question of Puerto Rico:

"On the occasion of the meetings being held in New York by the United Nations Committee on Decolonization, the Government of Chile wishes to express its hope that the Committee will take a decision to the effect that resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, adopted by the General Assembly in 1960 at its fifteenth session, is applicable to Puerto Rico.

"This position of the Government of Chile is consistent with the one taken on the same question by the recent Conference of Non-aligned Countries at Georgetown, Guyana."

I shall be most grateful if you will have this letter circulated as an official document of the Special Committee.

(Signed) Uldaricio FIGUEROA  
Chargé d'affaires a.i. of Chile

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\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/415.

ANNEX VI

DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION ON DECOLONIZATION

A. Report of the Office of Public Information on the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2879 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971\*

1. With a view to the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2879 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971, the Office of Public Information (OPI) has adopted a number of measures to intensify the dissemination of information on decolonization.
2. In regard to the written word, the resources of all sections of the Press and Publications Division have been consistently and fully mobilized during the past year for this purpose as well as for publicizing the activities 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.
3. The Press Service has continued to publish releases on all meetings relating to the subject both at Headquarters and in the field. Since last reporting to the Special Committee, more than 150 press releases have been issued, together with weekly round-ups and special textual material. Also, the two press officers assigned to the Special Committee for its recent trip to Africa were able to provide for the first time limited coverage in the French language, as well as full coverage in English.
4. The Publications Service, responsible for editing and printing Objective: Justice, continues to utilize this periodical as the principal vehicle for information on decolonization and, in 1972, the magazine is being issued in French on a permanent basis. Articles on decolonization which have appeared in past issues of the quarterly include the following:

Vol. 1, No. 1

The Security Council and southern Africa  
Towards larger freedom - Work on decolonization in 1969  
Race relations and Portuguese colonial policy, with special reference  
to Mozambique

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\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.791.

Vol. 2, No. 1

Trade boycott: can it work?  
The Lusaka Manifesto

Vol. 2, No. 2

A special issue devoted exclusively to the subject of decolonization marking the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Vol. 2, No. 3

Decolonization of southern Africa and OAU (Organization of African Unity)  
Fiji on the threshold of independence  
Southern Rhodesian ex-prisoner speaks  
Specialized agencies and decolonization

Vol. 2, No. 4

Progress in remaining United Nations Trust Territories  
Portuguese colonialism will disappear  
Impediments to decolonization

Vol. 3, No. 1

Powerless trade unions of Southern Rhodesia

Vol. 3, No. 2

Programme of action to end colonialism  
Role of the United Nations in the demise of the colonial system  
Why World Council of Churches supports African freedom movements  
A profile of FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique)  
Namibia: challenge and response

Vol. 3, No. 3

A profile of PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde)  
Cabora Bassa dam and future of Mozambique

Vol. 3, No. 4

Decolonization Committee urges action to avert explosion in southern Africa  
Interview with the Assistant Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity  
Advisory opinion of International Court of Justice on Namibia

A summary of the statement by the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity before the Security Council

A special question-and-answer article on Namibia based on debate in the Security Council

A series of articles based on statements of national liberation movements and other organizations before the Security Council and the General Assembly last autumn.

5. Reprints of material appropriate for wider distribution, such as the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice and the Cabora Bassa Dam project, have proven to be very effective and these will continue in future as appropriate.

6. A special issue of Objective: Justice, covering the extraordinary meeting of the Security Council in Africa, was published in April 1972. In so far as special issues in languages other than English and French are concerned, experience has shown that unless the other language versions can be sustained for all editions, it is not practical because of distribution problems to publish in other languages on a "one-time" basis. This will not deter the production of special issues from time to time, but material from such special issues might more usefully appear in other languages in pamphlet or leaflet form.

7. The subject of decolonization and the work of the Special Committee also figured prominently in other material published by OPI: the five-year Supplement to Everyman's United Nations, in English, French and Spanish, which contains a 32-page chapter; an article entitled "Discrimination and Decolonization" in the 1972 pamphlet, Suggestions for Speakers; and a chapter in the pamphlet United Nations: What It Is, What It Does, How It Works, published in many languages. The feature series, The United Nations and Southern Africa, initiated in late 1971 to provide information on continuing developments at Headquarters and in the field for easy redistribution by United Nations information centres, is being continued in 1972.

8. As regards other publications during the remainder of 1972, special emphasis will be given to the latest series of meetings in Africa of the Special Committee and especially to the visit of the three-member special mission to Guinea (Bissau). The May issue of UN Chronicle will summarize the highlights of these meetings of the Special Committee, with a more detailed report in the June issue. It is also planned to publish a special article with pictures on the special mission to Guinea (Bissau) for the May issue of the UN Chronicle and this would be reprinted for wide distribution in English, French and Spanish. The next issue of Objective: Justice (Vol. 4, No. 3, July-August-September) will carry a cover story with pictures on the Committee's trip. As much space as necessary will be devoted to the subject and all or part of the material (depending on its length) may be issued as a pre-print or reprint from the magazine. Other material relating to decolonization and the military build-up by authorities in southern Africa will be published as it becomes available.

9. In the process of striving for wider dissemination of OPI output, a key element is to ensure that the material produced reaches the correct audience. As was stated before the Special Committee last year, this audience is composed of those already committed to the aims of decolonization and those - particularly in the West - who must still be convinced. To this end, personal contacts have been made with representatives of national liberation movements both at Headquarters and abroad to ascertain their requirements and to open up new areas of direct co-operation; the representatives of non-governmental organizations likewise have been contacted for the same purpose; and United Nations information centres have been instructed to make special efforts at wider dissemination of appropriate material through expanded mailing lists and personal contacts.
10. In conformity with the wishes of the Special Committee and the General Assembly, emphasis has been given to a description of actual conditions in the colonial Territories. Again, as was mentioned to the Special Committee last year, the principal sources of this information are the national liberation movements and the statements made by their representatives before various United Nations bodies. These statements have thus been given wide prominence in OPI publications.
11. In this connexion, paragraph 6 of resolution 2879 (XXVI) requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee, "to collect and prepare on a continuous basis for redissemination by the Office of Public Information, basic material, studies and articles relating to various aspects of the problems of decolonization". Implementation of this provision, however, requires additional manpower and financial resources, as the Secretary-General informed the General Assembly during its twenty-sixth session.
12. In connexion with paragraph 5 of the above-mentioned resolution, the subject of better co-ordination and co-operation among members of the United Nations family of agencies was discussed at the last session of the Consultative Committee on Public Information (CCPI) in February, and follow-up meetings are being conducted at Headquarters.
13. In the audio-visual field, the fullest use continued to be made of the Secretariat's limited resources to generate and stimulate global publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, for the situation prevailing in the colonial Territories and for the liberation struggle being waged by colonial peoples.
14. Material collected during the first half of 1971 in a number of African countries by two United Nations radio officers was extensively used in the preparation of several special radio programmes on decolonization. The programmes included interviews with leaders of national independence movements and were widely distributed to broadcasting organisations in all parts of the world.

15. In the course of the coverage of the proceedings of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, particular emphasis was placed on colonial problems. The comprehensive reporting of all decolonization debates was supplemented by extensive interviews. In addition, special programmes were prepared on the Assembly's consideration of the situation in Southern Rhodesia and of the attitude of the Government of South Africa. Similarly, extensive coverage was accorded to the debates which the Security Council held during that period on Namibia, Southern Rhodesia, Zambia's complaint against Portugal, and Senegal's complaint against Portugal. The Council's consideration of the situation with regard to Namibia also was dealt with in two special programmes. A further programme, in French only, highlighted the Council's debate on Senegal's complaint against Portugal.

16. The widely distributed and broadcast 1971 Human Rights Day Programme, entitled "A People in Bondage", was devoted to Namibia.

17. In January and February 1972, two writer/producers of United Nations Radio accompanied the Security Council to Addis Ababa and provided a continuous flow of dispatches and interviews which were subsequently used in United Nations radio productions. The Council's deliberations also generated material for two special radio programmes, one on Southern Rhodesia, and the other on Namibia, apartheid and Portuguese colonialism. A further special programme, in French only, featured statements before the Council by three representatives of African liberation movements.

18. A special programme was also produced on the Security Council's debate in February 1972 concerning the state of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

19. In April 1972, a writer/producer of United Nations Radio accompanied the Special Committee to Conakry, Guinea, Lusaka, Zambia and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and gathered extensive material on the proceedings and interviewed leaders of liberation movements and African personalities involved. This material was used extensively in the current news output, and became the basis of two special features in the series Perspective, which was distributed on tape in 15 language versions.

20. During the period under review, special efforts were also made to stimulate independent production of radio programmes concerning United Nations decolonization efforts, particularly by African broadcasters. To this end, an Information Officer of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) spent four weeks at United Nations Headquarters late in 1971 and during this time was thoroughly briefed by United Nations radio staff on all aspects of the establishment of a radio production unit of OAU at Addis Ababa.

21. In May 1972, seven African broadcasters was spending four weeks at United Nations Headquarters within the framework of the 1972 Training Fellowship Programme conducted by United Nations Radio. The broadcasters are gaining additional knowledge of international radio techniques, and becoming fully acquainted with the various facets of the work of the United Nations, particularly as it concerns the needs and aspirations of the peoples of southern Africa and of Africa as a whole. It is hoped that such participation will put this unique

experience to good use in their respective broadcasting organizations, and that their stay at United Nations Headquarters will also result in an increased number of radio programmes directed by independent African States to the inhabitants of southern Africa. All the recordings made by the radio officer assigned to the Special Committee (see paragraph 19 above) were made available to Triangular Fellows for use by their national broadcasting services.

22. The Television and Film Section provided intensive coverage of United Nations developments concerning Namibia, Southern Rhodesia, and the Territories in Africa under Portuguese administration. Much of this coverage centred on the proceedings of United Nations organs, including the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Special Committee, where highlights from statements were filmed and televised and materials made available to networks, television stations and redisseminators. A half-hour film is being produced on the background to the Namibian question.

23. Film and electronic cameras were employed to report on the Security Council meetings in September and October 1971 on the subject of Namibia, and also for the four days in which the Council considered Zambia's complaint against Portugal. Similar coverage was given to the Council's meetings on Southern Rhodesia in late November and early December 1971. Materials were provided to television newsreel agencies and to the permanent missions of several interested African countries.

24. Statements made in the general debate and committees of the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session, touching on decolonization issues, and press briefings, such as the one conducted by Bishop Abel Muzorewa of Zimbabwe, were filmed and distributed. In January and February 1972, a film team was dispatched to Addis Ababa to provide full-scale coverage of the Security Council meetings. Special arrangements were instituted with news film syndicators to provide rapid distribution of filmed highlights from the meetings to users around the world, and particularly to television stations on the African continent. A special background feature film on the visit to Africa was produced and distributed by United Nations Television.

25. In April 1972, a film team accompanied the Special Committee on its journey to Conakry, Lusaka and Addis Ababa, providing meeting coverage and filming interviews with delegations, nationalist leaders and representatives of liberation movements. Immediate distribution of the material was made available to newsreel agencies and later returned to United Nations Headquarters where a background feature film on the trip was produced and distributed by United Nations Television.

26. The meetings in Africa of the Security Council and of the Special Committee were also covered by a staff photographer of the Photographs and Exhibits Section. The resulting photographs of the meetings and related activities were distributed to news media at United Nations Headquarters and were also distributed to major United Nations information centres as well as centres with a particular interest in the subject matter. A special photo feature consisting of a one-page story plus illustrative photos was produced and widely distributed.

27. United Nations information centres all over the world have given the highest possible priority to the dissemination of the work of the Organization in the field of decolonization and the struggle against apartheid, as well as other forms of racist repression and discrimination.

28. In addition to the distribution of the publications and audio-visual materials produced by the other divisions of OPI, the External Relations Division made ad hoc arrangements, within its budgetary limitations, for cabling to a number of information centres highlights of the proceedings of the meetings conducted by the Security Council and the Special Committee outside United Nations Headquarters. United Nations information centres, especially in Africa and Europe, were thus able to provide the information media as well as non-governmental organizations in their areas with up-to-date accounts of those meetings and of the decisions adopted by them.

29. Mindful of the need to co-operate in enlisting the support of non-governmental organizations in the achievement of the objectives of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other relevant resolutions of various organs of the United Nations dealing with decolonization, the directors of many United Nations information centres and other OPI officials in the field have undertaken numerous speaking engagements on issues of concern to the Special Committee. Information centres have also produced their own material on such matters, and have helped to adapt and translate into vernacular languages material produced at Headquarters.

30. In response to paragraph 3 (a) of resolution 2879 (XXVI), arrangements have been made so that the Office of the Commissioner for Namibia at Lusaka can provide an additional basis for widespread dissemination of information in Africa, with particular reference to colonial and racial discrimination problems.

31. The United Nations Information Centre at Dar es Salaam, which also serves Zambia, will work closely with the head of the office in Lusaka. In this connexion, it should be noted that the staff member appointed to head that office has a professional information background and is therefore in a position to undertake information activities for the region. However, in order to make full use of this opportunity, the Lusaka office would need the services of an information assistant and two General Service staff. A recommendation for the provision of these posts was not acted upon by the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session.

B. Report by the Chairman of the Special Committee on his consultations with non-governmental organizations\*

INTRODUCTION

1. In a statement to the Special Committee at its 845th meeting, on 28 March 1972, Mr. Mursi Saad Eldin, Deputy Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), extended an invitation to the Chairman to visit AAPSO headquarters at Cairo, Egypt, to hold consultations with officials of that organization with a view to strengthening further co-operation between the United Nations and non-governmental organizations in general and AAPSO in particular, in the achievement of the objectives of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.
2. At the 869th meeting, held on 27 April at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, the Chairman informed the Special Committee that he had received a cable from Mr. Youssef El Sebai, Secretary-General of AAPSO, in which the latter renewed the organization's invitation that the Chairman visit its headquarters for the purpose indicated. The Chairman also informed the Committee that he was in receipt of a similar invitation by cable from Mr. Abdul S. Minty, Honorary Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom, to visit London in order to hold consultations with representatives of several non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization.
3. At the same meeting, the Special Committee agreed to request its Chairman to accept these invitations and, having regard to the various provisions of the relevant decisions of the General Assembly and of the Special Committee itself, to hold consultations, as appropriate, with representatives of the organizations concerned.

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\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.797

1. CONSULTATIONS WITH THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED

4. In accordance with the decisions referred to above and following the conclusion of the Special Committee's meetings away from Headquarters at Addis Ababa, the Chairman visited Cairo on 1 and 2 May and London on 3 to 6 May and held a series of meetings with the representatives of the non-governmental organizations concerned at the respective capitals, as follows:

(a) 2 May 1972, at Cairo

- (i) Meeting at AAPSO headquarters with Mr. Youssef El Sebai, Secretary-General, and other senior officials of the secretariat and members of the AAPSO Permanent Secretariat.
- (ii) Working luncheon organized by the Secretary-General of AAPSO, attended by AAPSO officials, senior members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of Egypt, a number of members of the diplomatic corps in Egypt, including several African and Asian ambassadors and the former Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Germán Nava Carrillo of Venezuela, and representatives of national liberation movements of colonial Territories in southern Africa, including the following:

- Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU)
- Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)
- Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA)
- Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO)
- South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)

Mr. Frank Owen Abdulah of Trinidad and Tobago, Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee also took part in the meetings and the working luncheon with the AAPSO secretariat.

- (iii) Meeting and consultations, held at the African Association and organized by the Government of Egypt, with the representatives of the national liberation movements referred to above.

(b) 3 May 1972, at London

Meeting held in the evening in a committee room at the House of Commons, organized by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom and presided over by Miss Joan Lestor, M. P., Vice-Chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Among the participants were a number of members of the United Kingdom Parliament, members of the Commonwealth secretariat, including its Secretary-General, Mr. Arnold Smith, several high commissioners and other representatives of the diplomatic corps, journalists, writers and, in

addition to senior members of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom, representatives of the following non-governmental organizations and liberation movements:

African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa  
Amnesty International  
British Council of Churches  
Christian Care  
Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau)  
and Cape Verde  
International Defence and Aid Fund  
Justice for Rhodesia Campaign  
Labour Action for Peace  
Liberation  
Liberation Struggle  
National Peace Council  
South African Congress of Trade Unions  
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

(c) 4-6 May 1972, at London

- (i) Meeting with the National Executive Committee of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom
- (ii) Consultations with some of the organizations referred to above. The Chairman also had an opportunity to consult with the Reverend Canaan Banana, Vice-President, and Mr. Ronald Sadomba, Deputy Foreign Secretary, of the African National Council of Zimbabwe.

5. In the course of these meetings, the Chairman noted with satisfaction that, over the past five years, there had been an increase in co-operation between the Special Committee and many of the non-governmental organizations specially interested in the field of decolonization. He mentioned in particular the very close working relationship existing between the Committee and certain organizations such as AAPSO, the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom and the World Peace Council, which frequently sent representatives to appear before the Committee and invited the Committee to dispatch groups of its members to attend their meetings. The important role played by non-governmental organizations in the field of decolonization has long been recognized by the United Nations. It was for this reason that the General Assembly, in its resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, containing the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration, had called upon all States to undertake measures aimed at enhancing public awareness of the need for active assistance in the achievement of complete decolonization and, in particular, at creating satisfactory conditions for activities by national and international non-governmental organizations in support of the peoples under colonial domination. Likewise, after studying the report of its ad hoc group which

visited Africa in May 1971, a/ the Special Committee had endorsed an observation by that group to the effect that:

"The co-operation and assistance of every competent national and international non-governmental organization should be sought to build up world public opinion against the evils of colonialism in all its manifestations and to bring about the effective and complete isolation of those régimes which continue to pursue colonial and racist policies, in violation of the various relevant United Nations resolutions."

6. The Chairman also recalled Economic and Social Council resolution 1651 (LI) of 29 October 1971, entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations". Among the provisions of the resolution was an instruction to the Council's Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations "to study how non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Council assist in the achievement of the objectives of the Declaration and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly". That Committee had been asked to submit a report to the Economic and Social Council at its fifty-fourth session.

7. Subsequently, the General Assembly, in its resolution 2878 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971, had requested the Special Committee to assist the Council in the above study, bearing in mind the need to enlist the support of non-governmental organizations in the achievement of the Declaration's objectives and the implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions.

8. The Chairman urged the non-governmental organizations concerned to co-operate fully with the Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations of the Economic and Social Council so as to assist it in carrying out the study. He also said that he would take up this question when he consulted with the President of the Council, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2874 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971 on the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and other United Nations organizations. He explained that he had in mind the positive action which the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) had taken in 1971 with respect to the non-governmental organizations in relationship with it. b/

9. The Chairman also draw attention to the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2879 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971 concerning the dissemination of information on decolonization. He referred in particular to paragraph 3 (c) of that resolution in which the Secretary-General had been asked to enlist the support of the non-governmental organizations concerned (namely, those in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council or having a

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a/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session. Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. V, para. 18 (17).

b/ A/8314/Add.6 (part II).

special interest in the field) for that purpose. In the same resolution, the General Assembly had invited those non-governmental organizations, together with States and specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations family, to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the large-scale dissemination of information on the evils and dangers of colonialism, the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by the colonial peoples, particularly in southern Africa, and the efforts being made by the international community to eliminate the remaining vestiges of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. The Chairman assured the representatives of the non-governmental organizations concerned that, when the Special Committee received a report of the Secretary-General on the question of dissemination of information on decolonization at its subsequent meetings, it intended to seek the most suitable ways and means to maintain a regular system of liaison between the United Nations and the organizations concerned in order to enlist the latter's support in the achievement of the objectives of the Declaration. The Chairman also informed the representatives of the intention of the Committee, having regard to the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2873 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971, to continue to study activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding implementation of the Declaration, including in particular the efforts being made by non-governmental organizations to acquaint world public opinion with the role played by those interests.

10. The representatives of AAPSO and the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom, as well as the other organizations concerned, expressed their appreciation to the Special Committee for its continued efforts to assist in the liberation of the oppressed peoples still under colonial domination, and for having increased its collaboration in that respect with the non-governmental organizations concerned. The adoption in 1960 of the historic Declaration had given impetus to one of the most significant developments in the growth of non-governmental organizations and other movements of solidarity with the peoples struggling for freedom in colonial Territories, especially in southern Africa. Those movements represented large segments of the population in a number of countries, where they actively generated political and material support by the public for the liberation struggle of dependent peoples, thus serving, albeit in varying degree, to counteract colonialist propaganda. The mobilization of world public opinion should be aimed at: (a) inducing the authorities in southern Africa to abandon their policies of colonialist oppression; (b) pressuring Governments to discontinue all collaboration with those authorities; (c) extending all moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements of those colonial Territories.

11. The representatives considered it essential to maintain a constant flow of up-to-date information concerning: (a) activities of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, including in particular the work of the Special Committee, the United Nations Council for Namibia and the committees of the Security Council which deal with colonial and other related questions; (b) the heroic struggle being waged by the peoples of the Territories concerned and their national liberation movements in order to achieve the goals set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration; and (c) the various obstacles to the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration, such as those resulting

from the activities of foreign economic and other interests operating in those Territories and the military activities and arrangements therein by colonial Powers, as well as the obstructionist policies of certain Western Powers which frustrated the endeavours of the world community. For those reasons, they welcomed the action of the Committee in sending a mission to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) at the invitation of the national liberation movement of that Territory and considered it as an historic landmark in the decolonization efforts of the United Nations. The first-hand information gathered by the mission concerning the struggle of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and the work of reconstruction being carried out by the liberation movement should be given the widest possible publicity. The need of the national liberation movements for external assistance was most serious and acute, and these non-governmental organizations were prepared to bring to the attention of the public, the Governments concerned and other national and international organizations the plight of the peoples struggling under colonial rule and their urgent need for assistance in their struggle.

12. In order to ensure an effective flow of relevant information, the representatives considered that the Special Committee should institute without delay a semi-permanent system of periodic consultations and exchanges of views with the non-governmental organizations concerned. Besides the direct participation by representatives of non-governmental organizations in the work of the Special Committee during its consideration of the pertinent items, visits by the Chairman and/or groups of committee members could be envisaged to those parts of the world such as Western Europe where there was a most urgent need to elicit public support for decolonization. Such visits would also encourage the press and other information media to give publicity to the issues involved and to the commitment of the United Nations in the cause of decolonization. In order to meet the particular circumstances of the recipient countries, selective publicity campaigns might be organized in close collaboration with the non-governmental organizations concerned. For example, a publicity campaign could be undertaken concerning the activities of the Angola Comite in the Netherlands with regard to the boycott of Angolan coffee.

13. The representatives who participated in the meetings and consultations considered that there was an imperative need for concerted action by interested non-governmental organizations, in close co-operation with the United Nations, in order to achieve maximum effect in arousing world public opinion against the evils and dangers of colonialism and in bringing about the effective and complete isolation of those régimes which continue to pursue colonialist and racialist policies. It was their opinion that the United Nations should consider holding at an early date an international conference on colonialism, to which should be invited representatives of the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories and of the national and international non-governmental organizations especially concerned with decolonization. In selecting the place for such a conference, account should be taken of its possible impact on the struggle against the well-financed forces which support the policies of the colonial Powers.

Accordingly, it was suggested that the conference might preferably be held at a Western European capital.

## 2. OBSERVATIONS

14. The Chairman was most impressed by the dedicated manner in which the non-governmental organizations represented at the meetings manifested their support of the struggle for freedom and independence of the colonial peoples. Their determined efforts had succeeded in arousing world public opinion against the policies and activities of certain Governments which continued to assist the colonialist and racist régimes. That was a most valuable beginning, but in order to achieve concrete results, the campaign needed to be sustained, co-ordinated and translated into action.

15. To this end, the organizations represented at the meetings proposed as a matter of urgency that an international conference on decolonization should be held under the auspices of the United Nations.

16. In view of the successful outcome of similar international conferences and seminars previously organized by the United Nations, the Chairman is confident that the Special Committee will give serious consideration to formulating appropriate recommendations to the General Assembly in this regard. In recommending the place for such a conference or seminar, members of the Committee will no doubt wish to take into account the views expressed by the representatives of the non-governmental organizations concerned (see paragraph 13 above). As to participation, the Chairman suggests that invitations should be sent to the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system as well as to the non-governmental organizations concerned and the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories. One of the purposes of such a conference would be, on the one hand, to stimulate and co-ordinate concrete action by the non-governmental organizations, including the provision of material assistance to the liberation movements, and on the other, to bring about the discontinuance of all co-operation by the non-governmental organizations with the colonialist and racist régimes.

17. With respect to the holding of periodic consultations with the organizations concerned, the Special Committee might wish to consider the possibility of dispatching periodically, in consultation with the Office of Public Information (OPI), a small group of its members to meet with representatives of the organizations at their respective headquarters. Alternatively, it might consider inviting them to appear before the Committee at United Nations Headquarters. The purpose of the consultations would be to explore further measures to co-ordinate the mobilization of world public opinion on colonial issues.

18. The important role to be played by OPI in co-operation with the non-governmental organizations in the successful organization of international campaigns against colonialism cannot be over-emphasized.

In this connexion, the Chairman wishes to recall that in a report on the review and reappraisal of United Nations information policies and activities submitted to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session, c/ the Secretary-General stated, inter alia, as follows:

"176. There is a growing realization in the United Nations of the need to work more closely than in the past with non-governmental organizations. This realization is reflected in the increasing number of resolutions of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council which seek more co-operation from non-governmental organizations.

"177. The relationship of the Office of Public Information with non-governmental organizations has in recent years been limited in large measure to the provision of public information material. However, both the need and the possibility exist today of a much broader and more dynamic approach to the potential represented by the non-governmental organizations in spreading information about the United Nations throughout the world and in building support for it at the 'grass roots' level. Steps to this end can be taken both at Headquarters and in the field.

"178. At Headquarters, there is need for a more active programme of personal contact and follow-up with individual organizations in order to assist them in developing information programmes relating to the United Nations. Organizations with a common interest in specific major issues - such as peace and international security, trade and aid, the Second Development Decade, the human environment and human rights - can be encouraged to form working groups on these topics. These could provide useful forums for an exchange of views and ideas, not only among non-governmental organizations themselves, but with interested United Nations agencies and officials. At the same time, more material specifically geared to the needs of non-governmental organizations could be developed in order to encourage further non-governmental organization initiatives. For example, community action guides, such as those produced for the International Year for Human Rights, could be provided to non-governmental organizations suggesting specific action by them in support of various activities and interests of the United Nations such as economic and social development, refugee programmes or anti-apartheid activities."

19. In the same report the Secretary-General further stated that "in certain fields, when the Organization itself has, as a whole, taken a definitive and an action-oriented stand - as, for example, economic and social development, promotion of human rights, decolonization, elimination of racial discrimination and, more recently, protection of the human environment - the United Nations Office of Public Information cannot any longer restrict itself to merely neutral

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c/ A/C.5/1320/Rev.1.

stances or statements. It must go beyond this and actively identify itself with these universally approved causes and movements. Not to do so would not only be falling short of historic responsibility and potential but neglecting binding directives from legislative organs".

20. As will be seen from the foregoing, OPI is in a unique position to assist in the efforts of the world community towards the effective moulding of world public opinion in support of the struggle of the peoples of the colonial Territories. For example, OPI could do much to assist in promoting a vigorous publicity campaign directed specifically to Western countries where the need is greatest; among other things, it could take maximum advantage of the interest and enthusiasm aroused in those countries by the special mission of the Special Committee to Guinea (Bissau) and by the Committee's recent series of meetings in Africa. The Committee will no doubt wish to take these possibilities into account when considering the item relating to the dissemination of information on decolonization.

21. Finally, the Chairman wishes to place on record his appreciation to Mr. Youssef El Sebai, Secretary-General of AAPSO, Mr. John Ennals, Chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom, and officials of other non-governmental organizations for the co-operation and assistance extended to the Chairman, thus making it possible for him to discharge the mandate entrusted to him by the Special Committee. The Chairman wishes also to express his particular gratitude to the Government of Egypt for the kind hospitality and the facilities made available to him during his stay in Cairo.

ANNEX VII

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE (1972)

AFGHANISTAN

Representatives: Mr. Abdur-Rahman PAZHVAK  
Mr. Mohammad Hakim ARYUBI  
Mr. S. M. Farouk FARHANG  
Mr. Yahya Pashtoon MAROOFI  
Mr. Mohammed Farhad MIRZA

BULGARIA

Representatives: Mr. Guéro GROZEV  
Mrs. Eléna GAVRILOVA (until June)  
Mr. Ivan G. GARVALOV

CHINA

Representatives: Mr. AN Chih-yuan  
Mr. CHANG Yung-kuan

Advisers: Mr. WU Miao-fa  
Mr. WU Tsien-min

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Representatives: Mr. Zdeněk ČERNÍK  
Mr. Ilja HULINSKY  
Mr. Stanislav SUJA

ECUADOR

Representatives: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES  
Mr. Horacio SEVILLA-BORJA  
Mrs. Jenny Almedia de RIBADENEIRA

ETHIOPIA

Representative: Mr. Yohannes TSEGHE

Alternate Representative: Mr. Yilma TADESSE

FIJI

Representatives:

Mr. Semesa K. SIKIVOU  
Mr. Vishnu D. PRASAD  
Mr. Satya N. NANDAN  
Mr. Rodney William Driver ACRAMAN  
Ratu Epeli MAILATIKAU

INDIA

Representative:

Mr. Samar SEN

Alternate Representatives:

Mr. N. P. JAIN  
Mr. Aditya Narayan HAKSAR  
Mr. Barakat AHMAD  
Mr. Thangkima CHERPOOT

INDONESIA

Representatives:

Mr. Chaidir ANWAR SANI (from March)  
Mr. J. B. P. MARAMIS (until March)  
Mr. Yoga SOEGOMO

Alternate Representative:

Mr. Mohamad SIDIK

IRAN

Representative:

Mr. Fereydoun HOVEYDA

Alternate Representatives:

Mr. Jamal SHEMIRANI  
Mr. Morteza JALILI

Adviser:

Mr. Hossein Firouz Helmut HANJAN

IRAQ

Representatives:

Mr. Abdul Karim AL-SHAIKHLI  
Mr. Wissam AL-ZAHAWIE  
Mr. Riyadh AL-QAYSI

Alternate Representative:

Mr. Ayad MUNIR

IVORY COAST

Representatives:

Mr. Siméon AKE  
Mr. Amadou TRAORE  
Mr. Koffi KOUAME  
Mr. Ignace YAPI

MALI

Representatives:

Mr. Seydou TRAORE  
Mr. Zana DAO

SIERRA LEONE

Representatives:

Mr. Ismael Ryne TAYLOR-KAMARA  
Mr. C. O. BRIGHT  
Mrs. Famah Josephine JOKA--BANGURA  
Mr. B. S. A. KAMARAKE

SWEDEN

Representatives:

Mr. Olof RYDBECK  
Mr. Kaj I. SUNDBERG  
Mrs. Brita SKOTTSBERG-ÅHMAN  
Mr. Folke LÖFGREN

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

Representatives:

Mr. George J. TOMEH (until June)  
Mr. Haissam KELANI (from June)  
Mr. Rafic JOUEJATI

Alternate Representatives:

Mr. Ahmad Fathi AL-MASRI  
Mr. Anis KHATTAB  
Mr. Majdi JAZZAR

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Representative:

Mr. Frank Owen ABDULAH

TUNISIA

Representatives:

Mr. Rachid DRISS  
Mr. Abdelkrim MOUSSA  
Mr. Kamal E. BELKHIRIA (until August)

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Representative:

Mr. V. S. SAFRONCHUK

Alternate Representative:

Mr. I. G. NEKLESSA

Adviser:

Mr. I. E. KARTASHOV

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

Representatives:

Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM  
Mr. E. Weidi N. MWASAKAFYUKA  
Mr. Joshua Watson OPANGA  
Mr. Soter MULIKOZI  
Mr. Aloys Henry MKOBA

VENEZUELA

Representatives: Mr. Andrés AGUILAR M. (until May)  
Mr. Leonardo DIAZ GONZALEZ (from May)  
Mr. Tulio ALVARADO (until May)

Alternate Representative: Miss Esther MENESES

Adviser: Mr. Horacio ARTEAGA ACOSTA

YUGOSLAVIA

Representative: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV

Alternate Representative: Mr. Aleksandar PSONČAK

Advisers: Mr. Zlatan KIKIĆ  
Mr. Feodor STARCEVIC

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

Representative: Mr. C. M. von STEDINGK

Alternate Representative: Mr. Juan A. MATEOS-CICERO

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION  
OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Representative: Mr. M. Garvey LAURENT

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

Representative: Dr. Rodolphe L. COIGNEY

OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH  
COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

Representatives: Mr. F. J. HOMANN-HERIMBERG  
Mr. D. HAN

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC  
AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

Representatives: Mr. André VARCHAVER  
Mr. Mikhail BORISSOV

CHAPTERS II-IV  
(A/8723 (Part II))

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## CHAPTER II

### MEETINGS HELD AWAY FROM HEADQUARTERS, 1972

1. In its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session, 1/ the Special Committee envisaged, as part of its programme of work for 1972, the possibility of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters during that year within the context of paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) of 27 November 1961, which, in establishing the Committee, authorized it "to meet elsewhere than at United Nations Headquarters wherever and whenever such meetings may be required for the effective discharge of its functions". In reaching that decision, the Special Committee was also guided by paragraph 3 (9) of General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, by which the Assembly had directed the Special Committee to hold meetings at places where it could best obtain first-hand information on the situation in colonial Territories, as well as to continue to hold meetings away from Headquarters as appropriate. Further, the Special Committee took into account the relevant observations of the Ad Hoc Group dispatched by it to Africa in 1971, which stated, inter alia:

"Having in mind the constructive results achieved by its previous sessions in Africa, the Special Committee should give most serious consideration to the plan to hold a session away from Headquarters in 1972, after consulting OAU [Organization of African Unity].... The holding of a session as proposed will provide the Special Committee with a new occasion to demonstrate the solidarity of the United Nations with the African peoples fighting for their liberation from colonial bondage and give them further encouragement to pursue their just struggle...." 2/

2. By paragraph 2 of resolution 2878 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971, the General Assembly approved the programme of work envisaged by the Special Committee during 1972, including the possibility of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters. Within the context of the programme thus approved, the Governments of Ethiopia, Zambia and Guinea extended invitations to the Committee in letters dated 21 January and 14 and 15 February, respectively (A/AC.109/389, 393 and 394), to hold meetings at their respective capitals during 1972.

3. During the discussion on the organization of the work of the Special Committee, which took place at its meetings held between 10 February and 3 March, 3/ the importance of holding meetings in Africa was stressed by a number of members. It was considered that a session of the Special Committee away from Headquarters, following the intensified examination by the Security Council of the questions relating to the Territories in southern Africa at its meetings at

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1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. I, para. 202.

2/ Ibid., para. 130.

3/ A/AC.109/PV.834 and Corr.1, 835, 836 and Corr.1 and 837.

Addis Ababa earlier in the year, not only would underline once again the active solidarity of the United Nations with the colonial peoples in their just struggle for freedom and independence, but also would further enhance the capacity of the Committee to assist those peoples in realizing their aspirations. Such a session would also enable the Committee to maintain close contact with the leaders of the national liberation movements, and would facilitate the appearance before the Committee of representatives of those movements wishing to express their views regarding the future of their countries, who would otherwise be unable to travel to New York.

4. At its 841st meeting, on 16 March, the Special Committee considered recommendations for the holding of a series of meetings away from Headquarters, which were contained in the sixty-fifth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.763 and Corr.1). The Committee also had before it a report by the Secretary-General on the administrative and financial implications of these recommendations (see annex I to this chapter). At the same meeting, following statements by the representatives of Venezuela, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, India, Bulgaria and Sierra Leone, as well as by the Chairman, the representative of the Office of Conference Services and the Committee Secretary (A/AC.109/PV.841 and Corr.1), the Committee decided without objection to adopt the report of the Working Group, it being understood that the comments made by certain members would appear in the record of the meeting.

5. By adopting the report, the Special Committee decided that it would accept, with an expression of its appreciation, the invitations extended to it by the Governments of Ethiopia, Zambia and Guinea to hold meetings at their respective capitals, and that it should hold these meetings, subject to the convenience of the host Governments and to the possibility of appropriate travel arrangements being made, in the following order and for the approximate duration indicated, beginning on or about 10 April: Conakry, five to six working days; Lusaka, five to six working days; and Addis Ababa, four to five working days.

6. The Special Committee also decided that the agenda for its meetings away from Headquarters should include the questions of Southern Rhodesia, Territories under Portuguese administration and Namibia, it being understood that priority would be given to the hearing of petitioners and that the Special Committee might, in the light of developments, take up other relevant items, as appropriate.

7. With respect to the dissemination of information concerning the meetings away from Headquarters, the Special Committee decided to request its Chairman to prepare a press release on the subject for the widest possible dissemination by the Office of Public Information (OPI), particularly in the areas to be visited, in order that petitioners wishing to appear before the Committee might be apprised of its plans; to invite the three Governments to publicize as widely as possible the Committee's plans to hold meetings in their capitals; and to collaborate closely with OAU in this regard and, through it, with the national liberation movements of the Territories concerned, with a view to their full participation in the relevant proceedings of the Committee. The Committee further decided that OPI should provide full publicity coverage, including press, radio, film and still photography, for

the meetings, in the light of the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2879 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971 on the question of dissemination of information on decolonization.

8. Following the adoption of the above decisions, the Chairman, on behalf of the Special Committee, issued on the same date a communiqué concerning the Committee's plan to hold meetings away from Headquarters. Reflected in the communiqué was the grave concern of the Special Committee at the slow progress in the implementation of the Declaration, particularly with respect to the colonial Territories in Africa, as well as its conviction that another session held in close proximity to the colonial Territories in that continent would be of great value in its consideration of the complex problems with which it was entrusted.

9. In letters dated 16 March 1972, the Chairman informed the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU and the Executive Secretary of its Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, as well as leaders of the national liberation movements, of the Special Committee's decision to hold meetings in Africa, and expressed the hope that they would be able to participate actively in the relevant proceedings.

10. Members of the Special Committee <sup>4/</sup> arrived at Conakry on 6 April. The Committee met at Conakry from 10 to 13 April, at the Palais du Peuple; it arrived at Lusaka on 15 April and held meetings there from 17 to 21 April, at Mulungushi Hall; it arrived at Addis Ababa on 24 April and held meetings there from 25 to 28 April at Africa Hall.

11. During its session in Africa, the Special Committee held seven 24 plenary meetings and the Sub-Committee on Petitions held seven meetings.

12. Statements of a general character were made on the occasion of the opening and closing of the Special Committee's meetings at the three capitals, as follows:

<u>Capital</u>	<u>Opening of meetings</u>	<u>Closing of meetings</u>
Conakry	Mr. Ahmed Sekou Touré, President of the Republic of Guinea; the Chairman; and Mr. Diallo Telli, Administrative Secretary-General of OAU (A/AC.109/SR.847).	Mr. Ismael Touré, Chairman of the delegation of Guinea on behalf of the President of the Republic of Guinea; the Chairman; and the representatives of Venezuela, India, Bulgaria, China, Tunisia and Mali (A/C.109/SR.854).

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<sup>4/</sup> A list of representatives present at the meetings away from Headquarters appears in annex II to the present chapter.

<u>Capital</u>	<u>Opening of meetings</u>	<u>Closing of meetings</u>
Lusaka	Mr. Timothy Kankasa, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the President of the Republic of Zambia; and the Chairman (A/AC.109/SR.855).	Mr. Timothy Kankasa; the representatives of China, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Sierra Leone, Iran, Sweden and Yugoslavia; and the Chairman (A/AC.109/SR.863).
Addis Ababa	His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia; and the Chairman (A/AC.109/SR.864).	The Administrative Secretary-General and the Director of Political Affairs of OAU; the representatives of Trinidad and Tobago, Afghanistan, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania; the Chairman; and the representative of Ethiopia (A/AC.109/SR.870).

At Lusaka, Dr. Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, addressed members of the Committee at a dinner given at State House in honour of the Committee.

13. Representatives of OAU participated in meetings of the Special Committee and made statements at the 847th, 861st, 865th, 866th, 869th and 870th meetings (A/AC.109/SR.847, 861, 865, 866, 869 and 870). Mr. Issoufou S. Djermakoye, the representative of the Secretary-General, made a statement at the 860th meeting (A/AC.109/SR.860).

14. With the agreement of the Special Committee, representatives of Guinea and Zambia participated, in an observer capacity, in meetings at Conakry and Lusaka, respectively. In accordance with decisions of the Special Committee at its 851st meeting, on 11 April, and its 856th meeting, on 17 April (A/AC.109/SR.851 and 856 and Corr.1), representatives of Cuba participated in meetings of the Committee in an observer capacity, and made statements at the 851st, 861st and 867th meetings (A/AC.109/SR.851, 861 and 867).

15. At its 847th meeting, on 10 April, the Special Committee paid a tribute to the memory of Sheikh Abedi Amani Karume, First Vice-President of the United Republic of Tanzania. Statements in that connexion were made by the representatives of Trinidad and Tobago, Mali, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, India, Sweden and China, and by the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU (A/AC.109/SR.847). The Chairman, speaking as the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, made a statement in reply (A/AC.109/SR.847). At its 870th meeting, on 28 April, the Special Committee paid a tribute to the memory of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, former President of the Republic of Ghana and Co-President of the Republic of Guinea (A/AC.109/SR.870). Statements in that connexion were made by the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Afghanistan, Mali and Trinidad and Tobago, by the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/SR.870).

Statements were made in reply, with the consent of the Committee, by the representatives of Ghana and Guinea (A/AC.109/SR.870).

16. During its meetings in Africa, the Special Committee heard statements by representatives of the following national liberation movements:

At Conakry: Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC)

At Lusaka: Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA)  
Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO)  
Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique (COREMO)  
Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU)  
Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)  
Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI)  
South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)  
African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa  
Unity Movement of South Africa (UMSA)

At Addis Ababa: Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA)  
South West Africa National United Front (SWANUF)  
Front de Libération de la Côte des Somalis (FLCS)  
Mouvement de Libération de Djibouti (MLD)

At Addis Ababa, the Committee also heard representatives of the African National Council of Zimbabwe. An account of these hearings is contained in the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee (see paragraph 18 below).

17. During their stay at Conakry, members of the Special Committee, at the invitation of PAIGC, visited the headquarters of that organization, as well as a school and a hospital under its administration.

18. Following the hearings concerning the Territories under Portuguese administration, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, the Special Committee held a general debate on the Territories under Portuguese administration and continued the general debate on Namibia which it had begun at Headquarters. Taking into consideration the information furnished by the representatives of the national liberation movements, and in the light of the views expressed during the debate on each item, the Committee adopted the following decisions:

(a) Two resolutions concerning the question of Territories under Portuguese administration, one at its 854th meeting, on 13 April, at Conakry, and one at its 862nd meeting, on 20 April, at Lusaka.

(b) A resolution concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia, at its 869th meeting, on 27 April, at Addis Ababa.

(c) A consensus concerning the question of Namibia, at its 869th meeting, on 27 April, at Addis Ababa.

An account of the Special Committee's consideration of these items, together with the texts of the resolutions and consensus adopted thereon, is contained in chapters VIII, IX and X of the present report (A/8723/Add.1-3).

19. At the conclusion of its meetings in each of the three capitals, the Special Committee unanimously adopted resolutions (A/AC.109/401, 405 and 406) expressing its appreciation to each host Government, as follows:

A. Resolution adopted by the Special Committee at its 854th meeting, on 13 April 1972, at Conakry, Republic of Guinea

The Special Committee,

Having held meetings from 10 to 13 April 1972 at Conakry, on the invitation of the Government of the Republic of Guinea,

Having heard the very important statements made by the President of the Republic, His Excellency Mr. Ahmed Sékou Touré, at a special opening session on 10 April 1972 and those made by other spokesmen for the Government of the Republic of Guinea during its meetings at Conakry,

Expresses its profound gratitude to the President, the Democratic Party of Guinea, the Government and the people of the Republic of Guinea for providing the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with the necessary facilities for its meetings, for the outstanding contribution they have made to the success of the Special Committee's work and in particular for their very generous and kind hospitality and for the warm and cordial reception they accorded to the Special Committee throughout its stay in Guinea.

B. Resolution adopted by the Special Committee at its 863rd meeting, on 21 April 1972, at Lusaka, Zambia

The Special Committee,

Having held meetings from 17 to 21 April 1972 at Lusaka, Zambia, at the invitation of the Government of the Republic of Zambia during its meetings at Lusaka,

Having heard the statements made by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Government of Zambia during its meetings at Lusaka,

Having been received by the President of the Republic of Zambia, His Excellency Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, at State House on 19 April 1972,

Expresses its profound gratitude to the President, the Government and the people of the Republic of Zambia for the contribution they have made to the success of the work 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, and in particular for providing the Special Committee with the necessary facilities for its meetings, for their very generous and kind hospitality and for the cordial reception they accorded to the Special Committee throughout its stay in Zambia.

C. Resolution adopted by the Special Committee at its 870th meeting, on 28 April 1972, at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

The Special Committee,

Having held meetings from 25 to 28 April 1972 at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, at the invitation of the Government of Ethiopia,

Having heard the inaugural address delivered by His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I at the opening meeting on 25 April 1972,

Having been graciously received by His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I at Jubilee Palace on 26 April 1972,

Expresses its profound gratitude to His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I and the Government and the people of Ethiopia for the contribution they have made to the success of the work 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, and in particular for providing the Special Committee with the necessary facilities for its meetings, for their very generous and kind hospitality and for the cordial reception they accorded to the Special Committee throughout its stay in Ethiopia.

20. On 13, 21 and 28 April, respectively, the texts of the resolutions were transmitted to the Governments concerned.

ANNEX I\*

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

1. In terms of regulation 13.1 of the Financial Regulations and Rules of the United Nations, the Secretary-General is required to submit to the Special Committee, prior to its decision, a report on the administrative and financial implications of the recommendations of the Working Group to the effect that the Committee should accept the invitations extended to it by the Governments of Ethiopia, Guinea and Zambia to hold meetings at their respective capitals. The Working Group recommended that the Special Committee should hold these meetings beginning on or about 10 April 1972 for the approximate durations indicated: Conakry, five to six working days; Lusaka, five to six working days; and Addis Ababa, four to five working days.

2. On the assumption that the visit to Africa will not exceed a total period of four weeks during April 1972, including travel time, and subject to the reservations made in paragraph 3 below, the minimum costs involved are estimated at \$176,300, under the following main headings:

Travel and subsistence of 22 representatives . . . . .	\$51,600
Travel and subsistence of 54 staff members:	
(7 substantive officers and 3 secretaries, 1 administrative officer, 1 finance officer, 1 secretary, 1 conference officer, 13 interpreters, 2 revisers, 8 translator/précis writers, 10 typists, 2 press officers, 1 radio officer, 4 film and sound crew) . . . . .	108,800
Salaries for contractual OPI staff . . . . .	1,200
General expenses (including cables, transportation of equipment, OPI production costs and miscellaneous supplies) . . . . .	14,700
	<u>176,300</u>

3. The above estimates have been based on the following assumptions:

(a) That all the necessary equipment and supplies listed below are available and will be at the disposal of the United Nations without cost, at the place of meetings:

- (i) Typewriters, paper, stencils, etc.;
- (ii) Mimeograph machines, supplies and operators;

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\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.764

(iii) Microphones;

(iv) Interpreters' booths and relevant equipment;

(v) Local transportation;

(vi) Office supplies and adequate conference rooms;

(b) That the records of the Committee's meetings will consist of composite two-language summary records (English/French) in provisional form only, and that these summary records would be reissued subsequently in all the working languages.

ANNEX II

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES WHO ATTENDED THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE'S  
MEETINGS AWAY FROM HEADQUARTERS

Afghanistan	Mr. Mohammad Hakim ARYUBU (Rapporteur)
Bulgaria	Mr. Ivan G. GARVALOV
China	Mr. CHANG Yung-kuan Mr. WU Miao-fa Mr. SUN Chi-long <u>a/</u> Mr. SOON Kuo-chin <u>b/</u> Mr. YAN Chung-liang <u>b/</u> Mr. WANG Wen-chuan <u>c/</u> Mr. CHENG Chin-chiung <u>c/</u>
Czechoslovakia	Mr. Ilja HULINSKY (Vice-Chairman) Mr. Jaroslav KOZAK <u>a/</u> Mr. Eduard KUKAN <u>b/</u> Mr. František PENAZKA <u>c/</u>
Ecuador	Mr. Horacio SEVILLA-BORJA
Ethiopia	Mr. Yilma TADESSE
Fiji	Mr. Satya N. NANDAN
India	Mr. Barakat AHMAD Mr. S. S. NATH <u>a/</u>
Indonesia	Mr. Mohamad SIDIK
Iran	Mr. Jamal SHEMIRANI
Iraq	Mr. Riyadh AL-QAYSI
Ivory Coast	Mr. Koffi KOUAME
Mali	Mr. ZANA DAO
Sierra Leone	Mrs. Famah Josephine JOKA-BANGURA
Sweden	Mrs. Brita SKOTTSBERG-AHMAN Mr. Fölke LOFGREN <u>a/</u>
Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Dia-Allah LL-FATTAL
Trinidad and Tobago	Mr. Frank Owen ABDULAH (Vice-Chairman) Mrs. Isabel TESHEA <u>c/</u>
Tunisia	Mr. Kamel E. BELKHIRIA
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. I. G. NEKLESSA Mrs. K. G. VASCHENKO Mr. V. N. BEREZOVSKIY

United Republic of Tanzania

Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM (Chairman)

Mr. F. RUTAKYAMIRWA a/

Mr. C. P. NGAIZA b/

Mr. Salim RASHID c/

Mr. J. P. MBEZI b/

Mr. E. Weidi N. MWASAKAFYUKA

Venezuela

Mr. Tulio ALVARADO

Yugoslavia

Mr. Aleksandar PSONCAK

Mrs. Vukosava PETROVIC b/ c/

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a/ Attended meetings at Conakry.

b/ Attended meetings at Lusaka.

c/ Attended meetings at Addis Ababa.

## CHAPTER III

### COMPLIANCE OF MEMBER STATES WITH THE DECLARATION AND WITH OTHER RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS ON THE QUESTION OF DECOLONIZATION, PARTICULARLY THOSE RELATING TO TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE DOMINATION, NAMIBIA AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA

#### A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

1. By paragraph 12 of its resolution 2878 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971, the General Assembly requested the Special Committee "to undertake a special study on the compliance of Member States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on decolonization, particularly those relating to the Territories under Portuguese domination, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session".
2. At its 841st meeting, on 16 March 1972, the Special Committee, by approving the sixty-fifth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.763), decided, inter alia, to take up separately an item entitled "compliance of Member States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on decolonization, particularly those relating to the Territories under Portuguese domination, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia".
3. By the same decision, the Special Committee, in order to facilitate its consideration of the item, requested its Rapporteur to undertake a preliminary study of the principal resolutions adopted by the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Committee itself in the field of decolonization, as well as the measures taken by Member States in implementation of those resolutions and, on the basis of the study, to prepare for the Committee's consideration and approval draft conclusions and recommendations concerning the item.
4. At the 887th meeting, on 25 August, the Rapporteur presented to the Special Committee a report on the item in accordance with the decision of the Committee (see annex to the present chapter).
5. At the 889th meeting, on 28 August, statements on the item were made by the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Sweden, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria (A/AC.109/PV.889). At the same meeting, the Special Committee adopted the report of the Rapporteur and endorsed the general observations and the recommendations contained therein, it being understood that the reservations expressed by the representatives of Venezuela and Sweden would be reflected in the record of the meeting.

## B. DECISION OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

6. The recommendations referred to in paragraph 5 above are reproduced below.

The Special Committee recommends that:

(1) The General Assembly should call upon the Governments of Portugal and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to take steps forthwith for the transfer of all powers to the people of the Territories under Portuguese administration and Southern Rhodesia on the basis of majority rule without any conditions or reservations and without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable the peoples, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, to enjoy complete freedom and independence without any further delay. In particular:

(a) The Government of Portugal should be called upon to cease forthwith all military operations and other repressive measures against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and to withdraw without further delay all its forces from these Territories.

(b) The Government of the United Kingdom should be called upon to take forthwith all effective measures to bring down the rebellious minority régime, as well as to convene a constitutional conference of all leaders and national liberation movements representing the people of Zimbabwe.

(2) With respect to Namibia, the General Assembly should call upon the Government of South Africa immediately and unconditionally to relinquish its control over the Territory, to withdraw its administration, police and military personnel therefrom and to release all Namibian political prisoners in order that the Territory should accede to independence at the earliest possible date.

(3) The General Assembly should request all States to comply strictly with the provisions of its various resolutions and those of the Security Council concerning the above-mentioned Territories and, in particular:

(a) To render all necessary moral and material assistance to the peoples of colonial Territories, especially those in the liberated areas, in their struggle to attain freedom and independence.

(b) To discontinue all collaboration, military, economic or otherwise, with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia.

(c) To take more stringent measures in order to prevent any circumvention by individuals and bodies corporate of their nationality, or under their jurisdiction, of the sanctions prescribed by the Security Council and to refrain from any action which might confer a semblance of legitimacy on the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia.

(d) To mount a sustained campaign against activities and practices of foreign economic, financial and other interests operating in colonial Territories

for the benefit and on behalf of colonial Powers and their allies as well as against all military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in colonial Territories.

(e) To take measures aimed at enhancing public awareness of the need for active and increased assistance to the peoples of these Territories and their national liberation movements, including in particular those in the liberated areas.

(f) To intensify their efforts in the field of dissemination of relevant information on decolonization and to take specific measures designed to counter the conspiracy of silence engaged in by certain Powers.

(4) In addition, the General Assembly should request all States and, in particular, call upon the military allies and the major trading partners of Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia; to desist forthwith from giving any support or assistance without which these authorities would be unable to pursue their repressive activities and armed aggression.

(5) Further, having regard to previous suggestions of the Special Committee, and bearing in mind the relevant provisions of the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration, the General Assembly should once again recommend to the Security Council that it urgently consider taking effective action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations in order to give full effect to its own resolutions and those of the General Assembly concerning these Territories and in particular:

(a) To widen the scope of the sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia to include all the measures envisaged in Article 41 of the Charter.

(b) To give consideration to the question of imposing sanctions against South Africa and Portugal, in view of their continued defiance of the relevant decisions of the Security Council.

(c) To give consideration to the question of imposing fully and unconditionally, under international supervision, an embargo on arms of all kinds to the Government of South Africa and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia.

(d) To consider the adoption of measures to prevent the supply of arms of all kinds to Portugal.

(6) As regards the remaining Territories, the General Assembly should urge the administering Powers concerned to apply without delay the principle of self-determination in accordance with the Declaration, to establish majority rule and speedily to transfer all powers to fully representative organs elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage, and, to that end and in consultation with the elected representatives of the peoples concerned, consider establishing a target date, where appropriate, for the act of self-determination.

(7) The General Assembly should request the administering Powers concerned, having regard to the specific problems of many of these Territories, to take effective measures to strengthen their economic infrastructure and to promote to the fullest possible extent their economic, social and educational advancement

and, in that regard, seek assistance, as appropriate, from the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system.

(8) Bearing in mind the constructive results achieved as a consequence of the dispatch of previous United Nations visiting missions, the General Assembly should strongly urge the administering Powers to permit the sending of visiting groups by the Special Committee to the Territories under their administration.

(9) The General Assembly should call upon the administering Powers to ensure the cessation in these Territories of any foreign economic and other interests which are exploiting natural resources to the detriment of the legitimate interests and advancement of the indigenous population and are thus impeding the implementation of the Declaration therein, and request all States to put an end to such activities undertaken by their nationals or companies under their jurisdiction.

(10) The General Assembly should urge the administering Powers immediately to dismantle their military bases and installations in the colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones and request all States that are involved directly or indirectly in military arrangements and activities in the colonial Territories to desist therefrom without delay.

ANNEX\*

REPORT BY THE RAPPORTEUR

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## INTRODUCTION

### A. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

5. On 14 December 1960, the General Assembly, at its fifteenth session, adopted by an overwhelming majority and without a single negative vote the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)). By that Declaration the General Assembly, convinced that all colonial peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, solemnly proclaimed the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. To that end the Assembly declared that:

"The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation",

and that:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other Territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those Territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom."

In the same context, the Assembly declared that inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence.

6. During the decade following the adoption of the Declaration, some 30 dependent Territories with a total population of approximately 60 million have attained the goals set forth in the Declaration; many of these formerly dependent Territories became States Members of the United Nations and were actively participating in the work of the Organization, in particular in the field of decolonization. These developments, in large measure, resulted from the unstinting endeavours of the peoples under colonial domination in their struggle to achieve freedom and independence, and in that regard the United Nations also played a major role in keeping the problem in the forefront of attention, bringing about a concerted approach to decolonization in the United Nations, and extending substantial encouragement and assistance to that struggle.

7. At the same time, it was recognized that the lofty goals enshrined in the Declaration had as yet eluded peaceful realization with respect to peoples who were still deprived of the opportunity to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Many of these inhabited small and often isolated Territories, where, due primarily to the paucity of human and natural resources, the realization of decolonization required a particular solution in each case. Some 18 million, however, lived under régimes which offered them very little hope, if any, of early or peaceful emancipation. Indeed, in many of these Territories, repressive measures, including armed aggression, continued to be taken against the inhabitants and their national liberation movements.

8. It was in the context of the foregoing that the General Assembly, in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration, adopted on 12 October 1970 by an overwhelming majority the programme of action for the full implementation Declaration (General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV)). In this programme of action, the General Assembly, in reaffirming that "all peoples have the right to self-determination and independence and that the subjection of the peoples to alien domination constitutes a serious impediment to the maintenance of international peace and security and the development of peaceful relations among nations," declared "the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations /to be/ a crime which constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the principles of international law".

9. The adoption of the programme of action by the General Assembly marked a further landmark in the efforts of the United Nations towards the realization of the purposes and objectives of the Charter as well as of the Declaration. The programme represented not only an expression of the universal desire to expedite the process of the liberation of peoples who are still under colonial and alien domination but also the further development, as well as the reaffirmation, of the principles embodied in the Declaration. One such development was that the concept of inalienable rights of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence was expanded to include a recognition of their inherent right to struggle "by all necessary means at their disposal" against colonial Powers which suppressed by force their aspirations for freedom and independence. Proceeding from this recognition, and as a corollary, the General Assembly recommended that Member States as well as the specialized agencies and other members of the United Nations system of organizations should render all necessary moral and material assistance to the peoples concerned in their struggle to attain freedom and independence.

10. Notwithstanding the adoption by the General Assembly of this programme, setting out a number of specific recommendations and guidelines for action by Member States, the process of decolonization with respect to certain Territories continues to make agonizingly slow progress. The basic cause of this is not far to seek. Indeed, the Rapporteur's examination of the information contained in the various relevant reports furnished by Member States relating to their compliance with United Nations resolutions concerning Namibia, Southern Rhodesia; the Territories under Portuguese administration and other colonial Territories (see appendix below), and of statements made in that connexion by the representatives of Member States, establishes beyond any doubt that the majority of Members are unreservedly and scrupulously adhering to the requests contained in those decisions; furthermore, many of them are taking positive steps to extend moral, political and material assistance to the peoples of these Territories and their national liberation movements. The Rapporteur wishes to observe that the cause of the present impasse lies, rather, in the open defiance by the colonialist and racist Powers concerned of the relevant United Nations resolutions and in the refusal of certain States, particularly the major military allies and trading partners of those Powers, to co-operate with the Organization in the implementation of the recommendations and solutions prescribed in those resolutions.

11. In particular, the grave situation obtaining in the colonial Territories in southern Africa, as also in Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, has continued to deteriorate and poses a most serious threat to international peace and security. The authorities in these Territories, acting in collaboration with one another and

in collusion with foreign economic and other interests, and availing themselves of the vast military, economic and other assistance which they continue to receive from their military allies, have continued to enslave millions of dependent peoples under conditions of ruthless repression, devoid of the most fundamental human rights, including all-out military operations and the forcible imposition of racist policies, in order to stifle the legitimate struggle of the peoples for their liberation. In these endeavours, they have also continued to commit aggressive acts against independent African States adjacent to the Territories and have otherwise violated repeatedly their territorial integrity and sovereignty.

12. The Government of the United Kingdom, as the administering Power having the primary responsibility to restore constitutional government in Southern Rhodesia, has persisted in its refusal to take all effective measures to put an end to the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. In disregard of the categorical rejection by the General Assembly of the so-called proposals for a settlement between the Smith régime and the United Kingdom, the administering Power proceeded with the test of acceptability, which revealed that the proposals were totally unacceptable to the Africans of Southern Rhodesia. The sanctions imposed by the Security Council, on the other hand, have failed to bring about the desired results. In fact, the illegal régime continues to enjoy a substantial gain in the volume of foreign trade. The cause for this failure clearly lies in the deliberate opposition and continuous non-co-operation of certain Powers and in the refusal of some others to collaborate with the United Nations in the application of effective measures. The principal responsibility for the failure rests without doubt on the Governments of South Africa and Portugal, which, in open defiance of the Council decisions, continue to support the illegal régime and, in particular, to permit the use of the Territories under their domination for the exchange of goods by the régime with its trading partners overseas. The effectiveness of the sanctions is further jeopardized by the blatant violation of the resolutions of the Security Council by the United States Government which enacted legislation permitting the import of chrome ore from Southern Rhodesia.

13. The situation in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) is no less disquieting. The Government of Portugal continues to deny the principle of self-determination as defined by the United Nations, in total disregard of the proposal contained in the Manifesto on Southern Africa which calls for a peaceful transfer of power to the peoples in these Territories. In defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, Portugal has undertaken instead to intensify its military operations against the peoples in the Territories struggling to liberate themselves from its oppressive rule, resorting to the indiscriminate bombing of civilians and the ruthless and wholesale destruction of villages and property and to the use of napalm and chemical substances against these peoples. In doing so, Portuguese armed forces have on several occasions violated the territorial integrity of African States sharing common borders with the three Territories, once again underlining the dangers inherent in the escalation of military operations with the aim of suppressing liberation movements. Indeed, the report of the Special Mission which visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) a/ bears ample testimony to the gravity of the situation and the consequential threat to peace in the region as a whole, as a result of the further intensification of Portugal's military operations and other oppressive colonialist measures.

14. That Portugal is able with impunity to execute its policies of colonial oppression and to prosecute its colonial wars is due solely to the massive

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a/ A/8723/Add.3, annex I.

economic and military assistance it receives from certain States, particularly from its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and from other trading partners. Despite repeated appeals addressed to those States by the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Governments concerned continue to supply to Portugal weapons, military equipment and material for the manufacture or maintenance of weapons and ammunition which that country uses to perpetuate its colonial domination in this continent. They continue to participate in the Portuguese venture of exploiting the natural and human resources of the Territories, consolidating their financial and economic control and thus impeding the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration with respect to those Territories. The agreement concluded in December 1971 in the Azores between the Governments of the United States and Portugal, by which the former would provide the colonialist régime with a sum exceeding \$400 million in all-purpose aid, is one example of such assistance. It is patently clear that, if the process of decolonization is to be expedited without any further delay, an immediate end must be put to all these activities which intentionally or otherwise enhance Portugal's capacity to prosecute its colonial wars.

15. In the case of Namibia, a Territory for which the United Nations is directly responsible, the challenge to the authority and prestige of the United Nations is specially flagrant, for the Government of South Africa persists in its refusal to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations and continues its illegal occupation and administration of the Territory. Moreover, that Government continues to extend to Namibia its notoriously inhuman policies of apartheid and racial discrimination, as well as its policies aimed solely at destroying the unity of the people and the territorial integrity of Namibia through the establishment of separate "homelands" on the basis of racial and tribal distinctions. In the meantime, encouraged by South Africa, the exploitation of Namibia's natural resources by foreign economic and other interests continues at an increasingly rapid rate. All sectors of Namibia's economy are almost exclusively controlled by these interests. The advisory opinion delivered by the International Court of Justice on 21 June 1971, in response to the request of the Security Council, casts the problem in its proper perspective. Not only has the Court confirmed the illegality of South Africa's continued presence in Namibia and its obligation to withdraw its administration from the Territory immediately, but it has affirmed that Member States are under an obligation to recognize the illegality of that presence and administration, and that it is incumbent upon States which are not Members of the United Nations also to give assistance in the action taken by the United Nations with regard to Namibia. Proceeding from these views, all States should, as a matter of urgency, take effective economic and other measures designed to ensure the immediate withdrawal of the South African presence from Namibia, thereby making possible the full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in respect of the Territory without further delay.

16. As seen from the foregoing, through the strengthening of an entente dedicated to maintain a dominant position by a racist minority and to achieve the complete and permanent subordination of the dependent peoples to its interests, and through the resort to ruthless inhuman measures backed by armed force, the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia are determined to exercise complete control over the human and material resources of the Territories concerned and to exploit these resources to their exclusive and fullest possible advantage. In their endeavours, these authorities have been enjoying the active support of international economic and financial interests which,

in their sole objective of making the highest profit, pursue relentlessly exploitative policies to the detriment of the legitimate interests and advancement of the dependent peoples. It is to be deeply regretted that the countries in which these interests have their origin have failed to give effect to the recommendations made by the General Assembly for the cessation of these activities.

17. As regards the problems of decolonization in the remaining dependent Territories, the majority of which are small Territories with peculiar problems arising from their small size and population, geographic isolation and limited economic resources, the progress has been too little and too slow. As reflected in the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly, it is clear that the extent of compliance by the administering Powers with the relevant United Nations resolutions has fallen far short of the purposes and objectives of the Charter and the Declaration, as well as of the specific recommendations prescribed by the General Assembly and the Special Committee relating to individual Territories. Most of the administering Powers of the remaining dependent Territories, unlike those administering Territories in Africa, acknowledge their obligation under the Charter and other pertinent decisions of the United Nations to give effect to the principle of self-determination in the Territories for which they are responsible, and recognize their pledge to ensure the political, economic and social advancement of the inhabitants. Nevertheless although limited constitutional progress has recently taken place in some of these Territories, the competence of the local legislative and deliberative organs has to a large extent been limited in most of the Territories and the effective power of decision in the government and administration continues to be vested in officials designated by the administering Powers.

18. In this connexion, it is to be deeply regretted that certain administering Powers continue to maintain an unco-operative attitude with respect to the request addressed to them repeatedly by the General Assembly and the Special Committee to permit the access by United Nations visiting groups to the Territories under their administration. The value which the United Nations attaches to the sending of such groups is all the more borne out by the constructive results achieved as a consequence of the dispatch in June 1972 of a visiting mission to Niue under the administration of the Government of New Zealand and of the participation of the Special Committee in a United Nations visiting mission in February 1972 to Papua New Guinea under Australian administration in connexion with the elections to the Third House of Assembly. These missions served to prove once again that there exists no substitute for first-hand information on the political, economic and social situation in the Territories and on the views, wishes and aspirations of the people, such as that ascertained directly by the missions, as a means of enhancing the capacity of the United Nations to assist effectively the people concerned to achieve the goals established in the Charter and the Declaration and, at the same time, to ensure that these people are sufficiently cognizant of the applicability of the Declaration or of the various possibilities open to them within that context.

19. As has been noted in the relevant chapters of the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly, in the majority of these Territories, economic, social and educational advancement has fallen far short of the expectations arising from the obligation assumed by the administering Powers under the relevant provisions of the Charter. The pertinent recommendations made by the General Assembly and the Special Committee have for the most part fallen on deaf ears and have remained

unimplemented. Where limited developments have taken place, they have often occurred without regard to the genuine and legitimate interests of the people. Indeed, from many Territories there are reports of injustice and maltreatment of indigenous inhabitants through alienation of their land, exploitation of natural resources against their interests or discriminatory labour practices and working conditions. By perpetuating these activities, the administering Powers are increasing the impediments to the speedy and full implementation of the Declaration with respect to these Territories.

20. Furthermore, in some of these Territories, the colonial Powers and their allies have continued to maintain military bases and installations, on which, as part of their over-all strategy, they have continued to rely for the support of military dispositions and activities elsewhere in the world. These activities and other related arrangements continue to impede the process of decolonization and, in particular to deter economic development, both through the extensive alienation of land for military purposes and by drawing the population away from productive activities. It is therefore regrettable that the colonial and alien dominating Powers concerned have failed to dismantle their military installations and to desist from military activities in those Territories, as repeatedly called for in the resolutions of the General Assembly and in the recommendations of the Special Committee.

21. Finally, the General Assembly has in the past repeatedly requested Member States, in particular the administering Powers, to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in promoting the large-scale dissemination of information on decolonization. These requests were a reflection of the value which the United Nations attaches not only to wider publicity for the efforts of the Organization but also to the mobilization of world public opinion with a view to assisting effectively the dependent people, particularly in the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by them and their national liberation movements. It is hoped that Member States will take vigorous measures to meet this need in order to counter the conspiracy of silence pursued in well-known quarters in this regard.

APPENDIX

DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,  
AND THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE CONCERNING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE  
DECLARATION AND THE QUESTIONS OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA, TERRITORIES  
UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION AND NAMIBIA, AND INFORMATION  
SUBMITTED BY MEMBER STATES ON MEASURES TAKEN BY THEM IN  
IMPLEMENTATION OF THOSE DECISIONS: 1966-1972

<u>Body taking action</u>	<u>Resolutions/ decisions</u>	<u>Paragraphs containing requests addressed to Member States</u>	<u>Report on implemen- tation (where requested by body concerned)</u>
<b>A. GENERAL ASSEMBLY</b>			
<u>Twenty-first session</u>			
Southern Rhodesia	2138 (XXI) of 22 October 1966	-	-
South West Africa	2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966	9	-
Southern Rhodesia	2151 (XXI) of 17 November 1966	10	-
Territories under Portuguese administration	2184 (XXI) of 12 December 1966	6,8,9	-
Implementation of the Declaration	2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966	9,10	-
<u>Fifth special session</u>			
South West Africa	2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967	6, part IV	-
<u>Twenty-second session</u>			
Southern Rhodesia	2262 (XXII) of 3 November 1967	9,10,16	-

<u>Body taking action</u>	<u>Resolutions/ decisions</u>	<u>Paragraphs containing requests addressed to Member States</u>	<u>Report on implemen- tation (where requested by body concerned)</u>
A. GENERAL ASSEMBLY (continued)			
<u>Twenty-second session (continued)</u>			
Territories under Portuguese administration	2270 (XXII) of 17 November 1967	8,12	-
South West Africa	2324 (XXII) of 16 December 1967	3	<u>Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-third Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1968, document S/8357 and Add.1-25; ibid., Supplement for July, August and September 1968, document S/8357/Add.26</u>
South West Africa	2325 (XXII) of 16 December 1967	6	-
Implementation of the Declaration	2326 (XXII) of 16 December 1967	8,9	<u>Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/7200/Rev.1), chap. II, annex I</u>
South West Africa	2372 (XXII) of 12 June 1968	9,10	<u>Ibid., agenda item 64, document A/7171 and Add.1-6</u>
<u>Twenty-third session</u>			
Southern Rhodesia	2379 (XXIII) of 25 October 1968	2	-

<u>Body taking action</u>	<u>Resolutions/ decisions</u>	<u>Paragraphs containing requests addressed to Member States</u>	<u>Report on implemen- tation (where requested by body concerned)</u>
A. GENERAL ASSEMBLY (continued)			
<u>Twenty-third session (continued)</u>			
Southern Rhodesia	2383 (XXIII) of 7 November 1968	8,14	<u>Ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1) chap. VI, annex II</u>
Territories under Portuguese administration	2395 (XXIII) of 29 November 1968	5,6,9,13	-
Namibia	2403 (XXIII) of 16 December 1968	-	-
Implementation of the Declaration	2465 (XXIII) of 20 December 1968	5-8	-
<u>Twenty-fourth session</u>			
Namibia	2498 (XXIV) of 31 October 1969	-	-
Territories under Portuguese administration	2507 (XXIV) of 21 November 1969	11,13	<u>Ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes, agenda item 63, document A/8104</u>
Southern Rhodesia	2508 (XXIV) of 21 November 1969	9,10	-
Namibia	2517 (XXIV) of 1 December 1969	5,8	-
Implementation of the Declaration	2548 (XXIV) of 11 December 1969	3-8,14,16	-

<u>Body taking action</u>	<u>Resolutions/ decisions</u>	<u>Paragraphs containing requests addressed to Member States</u>	<u>Report on implemen- tation (where requested by body concerned)</u>
A. GENERAL ASSEMBLY (continued)			
<u>Twenty-fifth session</u>			
Programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration	2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970	3(1)-(8)	-
Southern Rhodesia	2652 (XXV) of 3 December 1970	6,9,10	-
Namibia	2678 (XXV) of 9 December 1970	2,6,8-10, 12,15	-
Territories under Portuguese administration	2707 (XXV) of 14 December 1970	7,8,10,11	A/8348 and Add.1
Implementation of the Declaration	2708 (XXV) of 14 December 1970	4,6-10,15,17	-
<u>Twenty-sixth session</u>			
Southern Rhodesia	2765 (XXVI) of 16 November 1971	1,2,4	A/8759
Southern Rhodesia	2769 (XXVI) of 22 November 1971	-	-
Territories under Portuguese administration	2795 (XXVI) of 10 December 1971	8,10,11,13	A/8758
Southern Rhodesia	2796 (XXVI) of 10 December 1971	4,6,8,9	-
Namibia	2871 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971	6,9,11,14,15	-
United Nations Fund for Namibia	2872 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971	4,5	-

<u>Body taking action</u>	<u>Resolutions/ decisions</u>	<u>Paragraphs containing requests addressed to Member States</u>	<u>Report on implemen- tation (where requested by body concerned)</u>
A. GENERAL ASSEMBLY (continued)			
<u>Twenty-sixth session (continued)</u>			
United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa	2875 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971	2	-
Southern Rhodesia	2877 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971	5	-
Implementation of the Declaration	2878 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971	3,7-9,15,16	-
B. SECURITY COUNCIL			
<u>Twenty-first year</u>			
Southern Rhodesia	221 (1966) of 9 April 1966	4	-
Southern Rhodesia	232 (1966) of 16 December 1966	2,3,5-8	S/7781 and Add.1-5
<u>Twenty-third year</u>			
South West Africa	245 (1968) of 25 January 1968	3	-
South West Africa	246 (1968) of 14 March 1968	3,4	S/8506 and Add.1-5
Southern Rhodesia	253 (1968) of 29 May 1968	3-9,11,13-16 18,22	S/8786 and Add.1-11, S/8954, S/8973, S/8984, S/8996, S/9015, S/9026, S/9027, S/9052, S/9069, S/9112, S/9119, S/9252 and Add.1, S/9476 and Corr.1, S/9716,

<u>Body taking action</u>	<u>Resolutions/ decisions</u>	<u>Paragraphs containing requests addressed to Member States</u>	<u>Report on implemen- tation (where requested by body concerned)</u>
B. SECURITY COUNCIL (continued)			
<u>Twenty-third year (continued)</u>			
Southern Rhodesia (continued)			S/9732, S/9770, S/9844/Rev.1, S/9960, S/10229 and Add.1-2, S/10385, S/10408, S/10580 and Add.1, S/10593, S/10764
<u>Twenty-fourth year</u>			
Namibia	264 (1969) of 20 March 1969	7	S/9204 and Add.1
Namibia	269 (1969) of 12 August 1969	7,8	S/9463 and Add.1-2
<u>Twenty-fifth year</u>			
Namibia	276 (1970) of 30 January 1970	5,7	S/9863 and Add.1
Southern Rhodesia	277 (1970) of 18 March 1970	2,3,8-14,16-19 23	S/9853 and Add.1
Namibia	283 (1970) of 29 July 1970	1-8,11,13	S/10330 and Add.1
Southern Rhodesia	288 (1970) of 17 November 1970	4,5	
<u>Twenty-sixth year</u>			
Namibia	301 (1971) of 20 October 1971	6,11,15	S/10708 and Add.1

<u>Body taking action</u>	<u>Resolutions/ decisions</u>	<u>Paragraphs containing requests addressed to Member States</u>	<u>Report on implemen- tation (where requested by body concerned)</u>
B. SECURITY COUNCIL (continued)			
<u>Twenty-seventh year</u>			
Namibia	309 (1972) of 4 February 1972	-	S/10738
Namibia	310 (1972) of 4 February 1972	5	S/10752
Territories under Portuguese administration	312 (1972) of 4 February 1972	6	S/10734
Southern Rhodesia	314 (1972) of 28 February 1972	2,4,5	S/10632
Southern Rhodesia	318 (1972) of 28 July 1972	5,6,8,9	-
Namibia	319 (1972) of 1 August 1972	-	-
C. SPECIAL COMMITTEE			
<u>1966 session</u>			
Southern Rhodesia	21 April 1966 a/ (Chap. III, para. 587)	-	-
Southern Rhodesia	31 May 1966 (Chap. III, para. 1097)	10	-
South West Africa	9 June 1966 (Chap. IV, para. 306)	8	-

a/ Resolutions and decisions adopted by the Special Committee in 1966 appear in Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6300/Rev.1) in the chapters indicated.

<u>Body taking action</u>	<u>Resolutions/ decisions</u>	<u>Paragraphs containing requests addressed to Member States</u>	<u>Report on implemen- tation (where requested by body concerned</u>
C. SPECIAL COMMITTEE (continued)			
<u>1966 session (continued)</u>			
Implementation of the Declaration	22 June 1966 (Chap. II, para. 619)	8	-
Territories under Portuguese administration	22 June 1966 (Chap. V, para. 675)	5,7	-
<u>1967 session</u>			
Southern Rhodesia	9 June 1967 <u>b/</u> (Chap. III, para. 609)	11	-
South West Africa	19 June 1967 (Chap. IV, para. 185)	-	-
Implementation of the Declaration	20 June 1967 (Chap. II, para. 744)	12	-
Territories under Portuguese administration	20 June 1967 (Chap. V, para. 1024)	9	-
South West Africa	12 September 1967 (Chap. IV, para. 232)	-	-
<u>1968 session</u>			
Namibia	15 February 1968 <u>c/</u> (Chap. VII, section III)	-	-

b/ Resolutions and decisions adopted by the Special Committee in 1967 appear in Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6700/Rev.1) in the chapters indicated.

c/ Resolutions and decisions adopted by the Special Committee in 1968 appear in the Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/7200/Rev.1) in the chapters indicated.

<u>Body taking action</u>	<u>Resolutions/ decisions</u>	<u>Paragraphs containing requests addressed to Member States</u>	<u>Report on implemen- tation (where requested by body concerned)</u>
C. SPECIAL COMMITTEE (continued)			
<u>1968 session (continued)</u>			
Southern Rhodesia	7 March 1968 (Chap. VI, section II)	-	-
Namibia	30 April 1968 (Chap. VII, section III)	-	-
Territories under Portuguese administration	26 June 1968 (Chap. VIII, section II)	8,13	-
Territories under Portuguese administration	23 September 1968 (Chap. VIII, section II)	3	-
<u>1969 session</u>			
Namibia	19 March 1969 <u>d/</u> (Chap. VII, para. 28)	-	-
Southern Rhodesia	26 March 1969 (Chap. VI, section B.1)	-	-
Namibia	22 May 1969 (Chap. VII, para. 29)	(6),(7)	-
Southern Rhodesia	10 June 1969 (Chap. VI, section B.2)	10	-
Territories under Portuguese administration	24 June 1969 (Chap. VIII, para. 19)	7,10	-

d/ Resolutions and decisions adopted by the Special Committee in 1969 appear in Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1) in the chapters indicated.

<u>Body taking action</u>	<u>Resolutions/ decisions</u>	<u>Paragraphs containing requests addressed to Member States</u>	<u>Report on implemen- tation (where requested by body concerned)</u>
C. SPECIAL COMMITTEE (continued)			
<u>1970 session</u>			
Southern Rhodesia	9 March 1970 <u>e/</u> (Chap. V, para. 17)	(2)	--
Namibia	11 August 1970 (Chap. VI, para. 16)	(6),(7),(8)	--
Territories under Portuguese administration	18 August 1970 (Chap. VII, para. 17)	6,8,9,12	--
Southern Rhodesia	25 August 1970 (Chap. V, para. 18)	7,8	--
<u>1971 session</u>			
Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, Territories under Portuguese administration	4 March 1971 <u>f/</u> (Chap. VI, para. 31)	(6)	--
Territories under Portuguese administration	13 April 1971 (Chap. VIII, para. 30)	--	--

e/ Resolutions and decisions adopted by the Special Committee in 1970 appear in Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1) in the chapters indicated.

f/ Resolutions and decisions adopted by the Special Committee in 1971 appear in Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1) in the chapters indicated.

<u>Body taking action</u>	<u>Resolutions/ decisions</u>	<u>Paragraphs containing requests addressed to Member States</u>	<u>Report on implemen- tation (where requested by body concerned)</u>
C. SPECIAL COMMITTEE (continued)			
<u>1971 session (continued)</u>			
Southern Rhodesia	30 April 1971 (Chap. VI, para. 32)	3	-
Territories under Portuguese administration	2 June 1971 (Chap. VIII, para. 31)	-	-
Southern Rhodesia	2 July 1971 (Chap. VI, para. 33)	-	-
Southern Rhodesia	24 August 1971 (Chap. VI, para. 34)	7,8	-
Namibia	2 September 1971 (Chap. VII, para. 19)	(4),(7),(8)	-
Southern Rhodesia Namibia, Territories under Portuguese administration	9 September 1971 (Chap. V, para. 19)	3,4	-
Territories under Portuguese administration	14 September 1971 (Chap. VIII, para. 32)	6,8,9,11	-
Southern Rhodesia	6 October 1971 (Chap. VI, para. 41 (a))	as a whole	-
Southern Rhodesia	6 October 1971 (Chap. VI, para. 41 (b))	as a whole	-

<u>Body taking action</u>	<u>Resolutions/ decisions</u>	<u>Paragraphs containing requests addressed to Member States</u>	<u>Report on implemen- tation (where requested by body concerned)</u>
C. SPECIAL COMMITTEE (continued)			
<u>1972 session</u>			
Territories under Portuguese administration	13 April 1972 (A/8723/Add.3, para. 34)	2,7	-
Territories under Portuguese administration	20 April 1972 (A/8723/Add.3, para. 35)	5,7,8,9	-
Southern Rhodesia	27 April 1972 (A/8723/Add.1, para. 23)	8,9	-
Namibia	27 April 1972 (A/8723/Add.2, para. 19)	(6),(8),(9)	-

## CHAPTER IV

### QUESTION OF SENDING VISITING MISSIONS TO TERRITORIES

#### A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

1. At its 841st meeting, on 16 March 1972, the Special Committee, by approving the sixty-fifth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.763 and Corr.1), decided, inter alia, to take up the question of sending visiting missions to Territories as a separate item. The Special Committee further decided that the item should be considered at its plenary meetings and, as appropriate, by its sub-committees in connexion with their examination of specific Territories.
2. The Special Committee considered the item at its 880th and 881st meetings, on 11 and 14 August.
3. During its consideration of the item, the Special Committee took into account the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, including in particular resolution 2878 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, by paragraph 16 of which the General Assembly called upon the administering Powers "to co-operate fully with the Special Committee by permitting the access of visiting groups to the colonial Territories in order to secure first-hand information concerning the Territories, and to ascertain the wishes and aspirations of the inhabitants of those Territories under their administration". The Special Committee also took into account the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2869 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971 concerning 17 Territories with which the Special Committee is concerned. By paragraph 6 of that resolution, the Assembly called upon the administering Powers concerned "to reconsider their attitude towards the receiving of visiting missions to the... Territories and to permit access by such missions to Territories under their administration". In addition, the Special Committee paid due regard to the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 2865 (XXVI), 2866 (XXVI) and 2868 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971 relating respectively to the questions of Papua New Guinea, the Seychelles and Niue and the Tokelau Islands.
4. In its consideration of the item, the Special Committee had before it the report of the Chairman (see annex to the present chapter) covering the consultations which he had undertaken with representatives of the administering Powers concerned, in accordance with paragraph 5 of the resolution adopted by the Special Committee at its 822nd meeting, on 1 September 1971. 1/

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1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. IV, para. 20.

5. During the year under review, the Special Committee, within the context of resolution 2868 (XXVI), dispatched a visiting mission to Niue at the invitation of the Government of New Zealand. An account of the Committee's consideration of the report of that mission is set out in chapter XVI of the present chapter relating to Niue and the Tokelau Islands (A/8723/Add.5). The Special Committee was also represented in the United Nations Visiting Mission to observe the elections to the Third House of Assembly of Papua New Guinea in February/March 1972. An account of the Committee's examination of the related item is contained in chapter XX of the present report (A/8723/Add.5). In addition, the Special Committee dispatched, at the invitation of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) a special mission to the liberated areas of Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea. An account of the Committee's consideration of the report is set out in chapter X of the present report relating to Territories under Portuguese administration (A/8723/Add.3).
6. As regards the implementation of resolution 2868 (XXVI) on the question of the Seychelles, the Special Committee was unable to dispatch a visiting mission as envisaged under that resolution, pending the concurrence of the administering Power to permit access to the Territory by such a mission. An account of the Committee's consideration of the matter is set out in chapter XI of the present report relating to the Seychelles and St. Helena (A/8723/Add.4 (part I)).
7. At its 880th meeting, on 11 August, the representative of Sierra Leone introduced a draft resolution on the item, which was sponsored by the following members: Afghanistan, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia (A/AC.109/L.818).
8. At its 881st meeting, on 14 August 1972, the representative of Venezuela submitted an oral amendment to paragraph 2 of the draft resolution (A/AC.109/PV.881), by which the words "Calls upon" would be replaced by the words "Calls once again upon". Following a statement by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.109/PV.881), the Special Committee adopted without objection the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.818), as orally amended, (see paragraph 12 below). Statements were made by the Chairman and by the representatives of India, Yugoslavia and the Ivory Coast (A/AC.109/PV.881).
9. On 21 August, the text of the resolution was transmitted to the representatives of the administering Powers for the attention of their Governments.
10. In addition to the consideration of the item at plenary meetings of the Special Committee, as described above, Sub-Committees I, II and III, in considering the specific Territories referred to them, took into account the provisions of the General Assembly resolutions mentioned in paragraph 3 above concerning the question

of sending visiting missions to Territories, as well as previous decisions of the Special Committee relating to the item.

11. Subsequently, the Special Committee, in adopting the relevant reports of Sub-Committees I, II and III, as indicated below, endorsed a number of conclusions and recommendations concerning the sending of visiting missions to specific Territories.

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Territory</u>	<u>Document</u>
XI	Seychelles and St. Helena .	A/8723/Add.4 (Part I)
XV	New Hebrides	)
XVI	Niue and the Tokelau Islands	)
XVII	Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands	)
XVIII	American Samoa and Guam	) A/8723/Add.5
XIX	Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands	)
XX	Cocos (Keeling) Islands and Papua New Guinea	)
XXII	Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands Cayman Islands, Montserrat and Turks and Caicos Islands	)
XXIII	United States Virgin Islands	) A/8723/Add.6 (Part I)

#### B. DECISION OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

12. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/113) adopted by the Special Committee at its 881st meeting, on 14 August, to which reference is made in paragraph 8 above, is reproduced below:

The Special Committee,

Having considered the question of sending visiting missions to Territories,

Having examined the report of the Chairman on the question,<sup>2/</sup>

Recalling that, in resolutions 2869 (XXVI) and 2878 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971, the General Assembly called upon the administering Powers to co-operate fully with the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by permitting the access of visiting groups to colonial Territories in order to secure first-hand information concerning

<sup>2/</sup> See annex to the present chapter.

the Territories and to ascertain the wishes and aspirations of the inhabitants of those Territories under their administration.

Bearing in mind the constructive results achieved as a consequence of the dispatch of a visiting mission to Niue in June 1972, at the invitation of the Government of New Zealand, and of the participation of the Special Committee in the United Nations Visiting Mission to observe the elections to the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly in February 1972, at the invitation of the Government of Australia.

1. Deeply regrets the negative attitude of certain administering Powers which continue to ignore the repeated appeals made in that regard by the General Assembly and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, thereby impeding the full, speedy and effective implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with respect to the Territories under their administration;

2. Calls once again upon the administering Powers to co-operate fully with the Special Committee by permitting the access of visiting groups to the Territories under their administration;

3. Requests its Chairman to continue his consultations with the administering Powers concerned regarding the implementation of paragraph 2 of the present resolution and to report thereon as appropriate to the Special Committee.

ANNEX\*

REPORT BY THE CHAIRMAN

1. At its 822nd meeting, on 1 September 1971, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted a resolution concerning the question of sending visiting missions to Territories. a/ The operative paragraphs of the resolution read as follows:

"The Special Committee,

...

"1. Notes with satisfaction that the Government of New Zealand has responded positively to the requests contained in the relevant General Assembly resolutions by extending an invitation 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 to send a visiting mission to Niue and the Tokelau Islands in 1972;

"2. Also notes that the Trusteeship Council, at its thirty-eighth session, decided, on the invitation of the Government of Australia and in consultation with the Special Committee, to dispatch a visiting mission to observe the elections to the Third Papua New Guinea House of Assembly in 1972, and that the membership of the mission will, with the agreement of the Special Committee, include two members of the Special Committee;

"3. Deeply regrets the negative attitude of certain administering Powers which continue to ignore the repeated appeals made in that regard by the General Assembly and the Special Committee, thereby impeding the full, speedy and effective implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with respect to the Territories under their administration;

"4. Calls upon those administering Powers to co-operate fully with the Special Committee by permitting the access of visiting groups to the Territories under their administration;

"5. Requests its Chairman to continue his consultations with the administering Powers concerned regarding the implementation of paragraph 4 of the present resolution and to report thereon as appropriate to the Special Committee."

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\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.799.

a/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. IV, para. 20.

2. In accordance with paragraph 5 of the resolution, the Chairman, on 21 March 1972, addressed identical letters to the Permanent Representatives of Australia, France, Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, requesting the views of their respective Governments regarding the timing and modalities for the carrying out of the consultations envisaged in the resolution.

3. Subsequently, the Chairman entered into consultations with those representatives of the administering Powers who, in response to his letters, had indicated their preparedness to hold discussions with him on the question, namely the representatives of Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States. During these consultations, the Chairman drew attention to the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, in particular resolutions 2869 (XXVI) concerning 17 Territories and 2878 (XXVI), both of 20 December 1971. In paragraph 6 of the former resolution, the General Assembly had called upon the administering Powers concerned "to reconsider their attitude towards the receiving of visiting missions" to those Territories and "to permit access by such missions to Territories under their administration". In paragraph 16 of resolution 2878 (XXVI) the General Assembly had called upon the administering Powers to co-operate fully with the Special Committee by permitting the access of visiting groups to the colonial Territories in order to secure first-hand information concerning the Territories and to ascertain the wishes and aspirations of the inhabitants of those Territories under their administration".

4. The Chairman also recalled that, in regard to the sending of visiting missions to colonial Territories during the current year, the Special Committee had stated as follows in its report to the General Assembly at the twenty-sixth session: b/

"... As will be noted in the relevant chapters of the present report, the Special Committee, having regard to the constructive role played by previous United Nations visiting groups, continues to attach vital importance to the dispatching of such groups as a means of collecting adequate and first-hand information on conditions in the Territories and on the wishes and aspirations of the people. In that regard, as noted in paragraph 188 above, the Committee intends to dispatch a group of representatives to the liberated areas of certain of the colonial Territories in southern Africa. In addition, as indicated in paragraph 193 above, during 1972 the Committee will be sending, on the invitation of the Government of New Zealand, a visiting mission to Niue and the Tokelau Islands and will also participate in a special mission of the Trusteeship Council to the Trust Territory of New Guinea and the Territory of Papua. The Committee intends to continue to seek the full co-operation of the administering Powers concerned to enable it to obtain such information through the sending, as appropriate, of visiting groups to the Territories in the Caribbean, Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean areas, and to the Territories in Africa. In that connexion, the Committee believes that the General Assembly will wish once again to address an appeal to the administering Powers concerned to extend their co-operation by facilitating visits to Territories in accordance with the decisions previously taken by the Committee and with other decisions in that regard which the Committee may adopt in 1972."

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b/ Ibid., chap. I, para. 200.

5. In addition, during his consultation with the representative of the United Kingdom, the Chairman drew the latter's attention in particular to General Assembly resolution 2866 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971 on the question of the Seychelles. In that resolution, the General Assembly, having noted the statement of the Chief Minister of the Territory that he would welcome the dispatch of a United Nations mission to the Territory and would agree to the holding of a referendum on the future status of the Territory under the auspices of the United Nations:

(a) requested the administering Power to receive a special mission of the United Nations and to make the necessary arrangements, in consultation with the special mission, for the holding of a referendum on the future status of the Territory; and (b) requested the Special Committee, in consultation with the administering Power and with the assistance of the Secretary-General, to appoint immediately a special mission to visit the Seychelles for the purpose of recommending practical steps to be taken for the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly - in particular for the purpose of determining the extent of United Nations participation in the preparation and supervision of the referendum on the future status of the Territory - and to submit a report thereon to the Special Committee.

6. In response to these representations, the representative of the United Kingdom stated that the basic position of his Government on the question of sending visiting missions to colonial Territories remained unchanged. As the Chairman recalls it, the position was that although the United Kingdom Government did not categorically exclude for all time the possibility of receiving a visiting mission, little encouragement could be given to the Special Committee to believe that it would agree to such proposals. The representative of the United Kingdom stated that his Government continued to consider that the information available at present to the Special Committee on conditions in the Territories concerned was in no way inadequate. As regards the Seychelles, the representative of the United Kingdom pointed out that his delegation had not been consulted by the sponsors of the draft resolution under reference prior to its adoption by the Fourth Committee and that his delegation had not supported the proposal. Notwithstanding the foregoing, the representative of the United Kingdom assured the Chairman that the representations made by the Chairman on behalf of the Special Committee on the question would be communicated to his Government for its attention.

7. The representative of New Zealand expressed his Government's appreciation of the acceptance by the Special Committee of its invitation to send a visiting mission to Niue and the Tokelau Islands and of the recent related decision by which the Committee had designated Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago and the United Republic of Tanzania to serve on the mission. The Chairman, for his part, expressed his gratitude for the close co-operation extended to the Committee by the New Zealand Government in that connexion. He nevertheless regretted that the mission would not at this time be able to visit the Tokelau Islands owing to circumstances beyond the control of the Committee and the administering Power. He expressed the hope that a visit to the Tokelau Islands might become a reality in the future.

8. The representative of Australia drew attention to the report of the special mission c/ which, at the invitation of his Government, had visited Papua New Guinea

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c/ Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Thirty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 2 (T/1739).

in February/March 1972 to observe the elections to the Third Papua New Guinea House of Assembly. Under the terms of General Assembly resolution 2865 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971, that report was being placed before both the Trusteeship Council at its thirty-ninth session and the Special Committee. In that regard, the representative of Australia recalled that the mission had included two members chosen from the Special Committee in the manner prescribed in paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 2590 (XXIV) of 16 December 1969, namely, on the basis of consultations between the Trusteeship Council, the Special Committee and the Administering Authority. The Chairman noted with satisfaction that within the context of resolution 2590 (XXIV), members of the Special Committee had been able to take an active part in the Trusteeship Council visiting missions dispatched to the Territory in 1971 and 1972. In the same connexion, the Chairman hoped that, in constituting future periodic missions of the Council to the Territory, due account would be taken of the views expressed by the Special Committee with respect to the composition of the two previous missions d/ so as to ensure equitable geographic distribution and the necessary political balance. Further, the Chairman expressed the hope that, in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions to which reference is made in paragraph 3 above, the Government of Australia would consider the possibility of inviting the Special Committee to send its own visiting group to the Territory. The representative of Australia stated that, in view of the fact that Papua New Guinea fell within the competence of the two bodies under the terms of the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, it would be difficult to envisage visiting missions of the Special Committee alone to the Territory. Accordingly, he considered that the sending of joint missions in 1971 and 1972 had been most appropriate under the circumstances and that in fact those joint missions had been shown to work well. As regards the composition of periodic missions, he drew attention to the fact that his delegation had already given an explanation in detail both to the Trusteeship Council and to the Special Committee e/ on the basis of which the two bodies had agreed on the arrangements pertaining to the 1972 joint mission to the Territories.

9. The representative of the United States stated that his Government had again given careful consideration to the representations made by the Chairman. While it did not exclude the possibility in the future of making appropriate arrangements for a United Nations presence in Territories under its administration, it continued to believe that visiting groups to Territories under United States administration were not warranted at the present time.

10. Further reports by the Chairman on this question will, if necessary, be issued as addenda to the present document.

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d/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8423/Rev.1), chap. IV, para. 8.

e/ Ibid., annex I, appendix B; T/PV.1386.

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