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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**

Rapporteur: Mr. K. NATWAR SINGH (India)

CONTENTS

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL		4
I. ESTABLISHMENT, ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE	1 - 172	5
A. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE	1 - 7	5
B. OPENING OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE'S MEETINGS IN 1964	8 - 21	9
C. ORGANIZATION OF WORK	22 - 111	12
D. MEETINGS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND ITS WORKING GROUP AND SUB-COMMITTEES	112 - 126	44
E. CONSIDERATION OF TERRITORIES	127 - 131	46
F. CONSIDERATION OF OTHER QUESTIONS	132 - 142	48
G. RELATIONS WITH OTHER UNITED NATIONS BODIES	143 - 151	50
H. REVIEW OF WORK	152 - 166	52
I. FUTURE WORK	167 - 171	58
J. APPROVAL OF THE REPORT	172	60

* The report as a whole, incorporating the chapters circulated as addenda, will be issued under the symbol A/5800/Rev.1.

** Item 21 of the provisional agenda.

CONTENTS (continued)

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
II. INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER AND RELATED QUESTIONS	1 - 9	61
APPENDIX I: FUNCTIONS ENTRUSTED TO THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE RELATING TO INFORMATION ON NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER: NOTE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL		63
APPENDIX II: INFORMATION ON NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER AND RELATED QUESTIONS: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL		69
III. SOUTHERN RHODESIA	(issued as A/5800/ Add.1 and Add.1 (part II))	
IV. SOUTH WEST AFRICA	(issued as A/5800/ Add.2)	
V. TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION	(issued as A/5800/ Add.3)	
VI. ADEN	(issued as A/5800/ Add.4)	
VII. BRITISH GUIANA	(issued as A/5800/ Add.5)	
VIII. BASUTOLAND, BECHUANALAND AND SWAZILAND		
IX. FERNANDO POO, RIO MUNI, IFNI AND SPANISH SAHARA		
X. GIBRALTAR		
XI. MALTA		
XII. NORTHERN RHODESIA AND GAMBIA		
XIII. FIJI		
XIV. MAURITIUS, SEYCHELLES AND ST. HELENA		
XV. COOK ISLANDS, NIUE, TOKELAU ISLANDS		
XVI. AMERICAN SAMOA		
XVII. GUAM		
XVIII. TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS		(issued as A/5800/ Add.6)
XIX. TRUST TERRITORY OF NAURU, PAPUA AND TRUST TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA AND COCOS (KEELING) ISLANDS		
XX. NEW HEBRIDES, GILBERT AND ELLICE ISLANDS, PITCAIRN AND SOLOMON ISLANDS		
XXI. BRUNEI		
XXII. HONG KONG		

CONTENTS (continued)

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
XXIII. FALKLAND ISLANDS (MALVINAS))	}	(issued as A/5800/ Add.7)
XXIV. BERMUDA, BAHAMAS, TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS AND CAYMAN ISLANDS)		
XXV. UNITED STATES VIRGIN ISLANDS, BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS, ANTIGUA, DOMINICA, GRENADA, MONTserrat, ST. KITTS- NEVIS-ANGUILLA, ST. LUCIA, ST. VINCENT AND BARBADOS . .)		
XXVI. BRITISH HONDURAS)		

ANNEXES

- I. LETTER DATED 20 OCTOBER 1964 FROM THE REPRESENTATIVE
OF THE UNITED KINGDOM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
SPECIAL COMMITTEE
- II. LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

22 December 1964

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you 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 1956 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963. This report covers the work of the Special Committee during 1964.

The report of the Special Committee concerning the implications of the activities of the mining industry and of the other international companies having interests in South West Africa, which was requested in General Assembly resolution 1899 (XVIII) of 13 November 1963, is being transmitted to you separately.*

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Sori COULIBALY
President of the Special Committee

His Excellency U Thant
Secretary-General
United Nations
New York

* A/5840.

CHAPTER I

ESTABLISHMENT, ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

A. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

1. The General Assembly, at its fifteenth session, by resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.
2. At its sixteenth session the General Assembly, following its consideration of the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, adopted resolution 1654 (XVI) of 27 November 1961 by which it decided to establish a Special Committee of seventeen members. The Special Committee was directed to examine the application of the Declaration, to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of the implementation of the Declaration and to report to the General Assembly at its seventeenth session. The seventeen members of the Special Committee were:

Australia
Cambodia
Ethiopia
India
Italy
Madagascar
Mali
Poland
Syria

Tanganyika (now the United Republic
of Tanzania)
Tunisia
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland
United States of America
Uruguay
Venezuela
Yugoslavia

3. At its seventeenth session the General Assembly, following its consideration of the report of the Special Committee of Seventeen (A/5238), adopted resolution 1810 (XVIII) of 17 December 1962 by which it enlarged the membership of the Special Committee by the addition of seven new members and invited the enlarged 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. The new members added to the Special Committee were:

Bulgaria	Iraq
Chile	Ivory Coast
Denmark	Sierra Leone
Iran	

4. At its eighteenth session the General Assembly, following its consideration of the report of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four (A/5446/Rev.1) adopted resolution 1956 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963 by which it requested the Special Committee to continue to seek the best ways and means for the immediate and total application of the Declaration to all territories which have not yet attained independence and to report to the General Assembly not later than at its nineteenth session. The text of resolution 1956 (XVIII) is reproduced below:

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples contained in its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and resolutions 1654 (XVI) of 27 November 1961 and 1810 (XVII) of 17 December 1962 by which the General Assembly established the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples,

"Having considered the report of the Special Committee,

"Taking into consideration the observations of the Special Committee regarding the list of territories to be examined by it,

"Noting with deep regret that, three years after the adoption of the Declaration, many territories are still under foreign domination and that, in some cases, not even preliminary measures have been taken towards the application of the Declaration,

"Deploing the negative attitude of certain Administering Powers and their partial or complete refusal to co-operate with the Special Committee in the implementation of the Declaration,

"Deploing further the assistance given to some Administering Powers by certain States, which enables those Powers to persist in their refusal to apply the Declaration,

"Having adopted resolutions on Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, Territories under Portuguese administration, Aden, Malta, Fiji, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland and British Guiana,

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

"2. Notes with appreciation the work accomplished by the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and endorses its methods and procedures;

"3. Approves the report of the Special Committee and calls upon the Administering Powers to implement the conclusions and recommendations contained therein;

"4. Requests the Special Committee to continue to seek the best ways and means for the immediate and total application of the Declaration to all territories which have not yet attained independence, and to report to the General Assembly not later than at its nineteenth session;

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

"6. Invites the Special Committee to apprise the Security Council of any developments in any territory examined by it which may threaten international peace and security;

"7. Requests all States to refrain from any action which may jeopardize the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Special Committee for the application of the Declaration;

"8. Further requests the Administering Powers to give their full co-operation to the Special Committee and to facilitate the task of the sub-committees and visiting groups instructed by the Special Committee to go to the territories under its mandate;

"9. Requests the Secretary-General to continue to provide the Special Committee with all the facilities and personnel necessary for the implementation of the present resolution."

5. By resolutions adopted at its seventeenth and eighteenth sessions, the General Assembly also entrusted to the Special Committee the following additional functions previously performed by other Committees concerned with the dependent Territories which had been dissolved:

(a) By resolution 1805 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, the General Assembly requested the Special Committee to discharge, mutatis mutandis, the tasks

assigned to the Special Committee for South West Africa by resolution 1702 (XVI), taking into consideration the special responsibilities of the United Nations with regard to the Territory of South West Africa. By resolution 1806 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, the General Assembly decided to dissolve the Special Committee for South West Africa. By resolution 1899 (XVIII) of 13 November 1963, the General Assembly requested the Special Committee to continue its efforts with a view to discharging the tasks assigned to it by resolution 1805 (XVII).

(b) By resolution 1807 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, the General Assembly requested the Special Committee to give high priority to an examination of the situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration. By resolution 1809 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, the General Assembly decided to dissolve the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese administration.

(c) By resolution 1970 (XVIII) of 16 December 1963, the General Assembly decided to dissolve the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. By the same resolution, the General Assembly invited Member States which have or which assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government to transmit or continue to transmit to the Secretary-General information as prescribed under Article 73 e of the Charter, as well as the fullest possible information on political and constitutional development. It requested the Special Committee to study this information and take it fully into account in examining the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples in each of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and to undertake any special study and prepare any special report it may consider necessary in addition to its activities under General Assembly resolutions 1654 (XVI) and 1810 (XVII).

6. With the dissolution of the Committee on Information, the Special Committee is now the only body responsible for matters relating to dependent territories, with the exception of the Trusteeship Council, which is responsible for the three remaining Trust Territories.

7. This report covers the work of the Special Committee for the period 25 February to 15 December 1964, during which it held 101 plenary meetings and its Working Group and Sub-Committees held over 140 meetings.

B. OPENING OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE'S MEETINGS IN 1964

Opening statement by the Secretary-General

8. The first meeting of the Special Committee in 1964 (219th meeting), held on 25 February, was opened by the Secretary-General. In his opening address, the Secretary-General recalled that, during the first two years, the Special Committee had concerned itself mainly with decolonization in Africa, for it was in that continent, as the Committee had noted in its report, that the largest colonial Territories and some of the most difficult colonial problems still existed. In 1964, the Committee would no doubt give special attention to recent developments in the Territories which it had considered in 1963: South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, the three Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, the Territories under Portuguese administration, particularly Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Spanish Sahara, Ifni, Fernando Póo, Río Muni, Gambia, Gibraltar, Malta, British Guiana, Aden and Fiji. While some of those Territories were well on their way to independence, others still presented problems which the Committee would have to examine.

9. Although in the past two years a number of Non-Self-Governing Territories had acceded to independence and were now Members of the United Nations, there were still some sixty dependent Territories, many of which, though small in area and population, nevertheless came within the purview of the Declaration on decolonization. Those small Territories included many groups of sparsely populated islands scattered in the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans. During its 1964 session the Committee would be faced with problems which it had not so far been called upon to solve; it would have to seek the most effective ways of enabling those small Territories to attain the objectives of resolution 1514 (XV). The task would not be an easy one but there could be no doubt that the experience gained by the members of the Committee would prove helpful in the forthcoming deliberations.

10. At its eighteenth session, the General Assembly, by resolution 1970 (XVIII), had dissolved the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and had entrusted some of its former functions to the Special Committee. By virtue of that decision, the Special Committee had become the only body other than the Trusteeship Council concerned with matters relating to dependent Territories. He had issued a note (A/AC.109/L.97) setting out the implications of the dissolution of the Committee on Information and had requested the Special Committee to express its views on the manner in which it proposed to carry out the functions devolving upon it.

11. He was convinced that the Special Committee would approach with its usual objectivity the many problems with which it would have to deal during the present session and that it would have the co-operation of the Administering Powers concerned.

Election of officers

12. At its 219th meeting, following the opening statement of the Secretary-General, the Special Committee decided to re-elect the following officers who were elected in 1963:

- Mr. Sori Coulibaly (Mali), Chairman
- Mr. Carlos Maris Velázquez (Uruguay), First Vice-Chairman
- Mr. Voeunsai Sonn (Cambodia), Second Vice-Chairman
- Mr. K. Natwar Singh (India), Rapporteur.

Statement by the Chairman

13. The Chairman thanked the Secretary-General for having opened the meeting of the Special Committee and said that the Secretary-General had always shown great interest in the work of the Committee and the latter could count on his co-operation and understanding.

14. The problem of decolonization was now one of the major tasks of the United Nations and the means required to carry out that task would doubtless be made available to the Committee in accordance with the wish expressed by the General Assembly.

15. In adopting resolution 1514 (XV) and subsequently resolution 1654 (XVI) establishing the Special Committee, the United Nations General Assembly had sought

to express its firm determination rapidly to put an end to colonialism in all its manifestations. Nevertheless, three years after the adoption of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, despite the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth sessions, despite the recommendations of the Special Committee, despite the debates in the Security Council and despite the struggle, often armed, which had been waged by the subject peoples, many territories were still under foreign domination. The stubborn contempt shown by the colonial Powers for the aspirations and legitimate rights of the colonial peoples and the failure of those Powers to heed United Nations resolutions constituted grave threats to international peace and security.

16. As the Special Committee was not a permanent organ of the United Nations, the process of decolonization must of necessity be accelerated. If the Special Committee was to perform the task entrusted to it by the General Assembly, the colonial Powers would have to reconsider their attitude towards it. The Assembly's resolution 1956 (XVIII) expressly requested the administering Powers to give their full co-operation to the Special Committee and to facilitate the task of its sub-committees and visiting groups. In the majority of cases, both in Territories where an explosive situation existed and in the small, sparsely populated Territories, the Special Committee could help the administering Powers in overcoming many difficulties to the extent that the real and sincere objectives of those Powers was to lead the peoples under their administration to independence. The Special Committee's activities should not be regarded by the colonial Powers as interference by the Committee in what they considered to be their domestic affairs. Under the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the international community could not remain indifferent to the tragic fate of millions of people deprived of their inalienable rights. He therefore appealed again to the colonial Powers to co-operate sincerely with the Special Committee, so that the latter might be in a position to submit to the General Assembly at its nineteenth session a complete report, including recommendations regarding the accession to independence of every colonial Territory in conformity with the wishes of the populations concerned. The crises which had occurred recently in certain newly independent States were

attributable in certain cases to the existence of unsuitable structures inherited from the former colonialist regime, while in other cases they were the culmination of practical problems created and left unresolved by the former administering Powers. However, just as the older nations had experienced and overcome similar crises, the young States which were currently undergoing them would also succeed in finding ways and means of surmounting them.

17. The exercise of sovereignty was an inalienable right of all peoples, and no conditions should be attached to it. All peoples should enjoy full sovereignty and determine themselves the conditions of their national existence.

18. The struggle against colonialism had become a permanent watchword of all Governments which believed in justice and regarded human dignity as a universal concept. In that respect, the Special Committee was not alone in its endeavours. At the second ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, which was then meeting in Lagos, the liquidation of colonialism was one of the key items on the agenda. The decisions which would be taken there would no doubt contribute to the speedy achievement of the aims of the Special Committee.

19. Although the pace at which the colonial Territories were attaining independence was very slow, owing to the obstinacy of the colonial Powers, the Committee must not be discouraged, but must on the contrary plan its work so as to press the attack on the last remnants of colonialism and submit to the General Assembly at its nineteenth session a report covering all the Territories mentioned in paragraph 5 of resolution 1514 (XV).

20. He also drew the Committee's attention to General Assembly resolutions 1899 (XVIII) and 1970 (XVIII), which had entrusted new responsibilities to the Committee, and to the statements which had been made at the eighteenth session of the General Assembly during the debate on the 1963 report.

21. He welcomed those representatives who were newcomers to the Committee and expressed the hope that the latter's work would be conducted in an atmosphere of courtesy, mutual understanding and co-operation.

C. ORGANIZATION OF WORK

22. The Special Committee discussed the organization of its work at its 219th to 222nd meetings, at which general statements were made by members.

Statements by members

23. The representative of Cambodia said that in considering how its work should be organized, the Committee should bear in mind resolution 1956 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963, in which the General Assembly requested "the Special Committee to continue to seek the best ways and means for the immediate and total application of the Declaration to all territories which have not yet attained independence", and resolution 1970 (XVIII) of 16 December 1963, in which the Assembly, while deciding to dissolve the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, requested "the Special Committee to study this information and take it fully into account in examining the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples in each of the Non-Self-Governing Territories".

24. The working methods and procedures which the Special Committee had adopted in 1962 and which had been approved by the General Assembly in resolutions 1810 (XVII) and 1956 (XVIII) could be followed. In that connexion, however, he wished to remind the Committee that it was agreed that decisions should be reached as far as possible without having recourse to voting, but that the Committee could always decide to resort to a vote if, in a particular case, a representative felt that course to be necessary.

25. The documentation to be submitted by the Secretariat concerning the territories which the Committee planned to consider would contain, not only political and constitutional information, but also - owing to the dissolution of the Committee of Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories - all the other information supplied by the administering Powers under Article 73, paragraph 3, of the Charter.

26. He proposed that the Sub-Committee on Petitions should be kept in being. The question of the freedom of access of all petitioners to United Nations Headquarters would have to be studied with the Secretariat, in the light of the discussion on that subject in the Fourth Committee during the eighteenth session of the General Assembly. On the other hand, the recourse to visiting missions was commendable. The Secretary-General's report on financial implications (A/C.5/999) and the thirty-first report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions had allowed for the possible dispatch in 1964 of a certain

number of those visiting missions to Non-Self-Governing Territories. Needless to say, the co-operation of the administering Powers would be necessary for that purpose.

27. The order of priority for consideration of the Territories could be determined, in consultation with the Committee, by a working group similar to the one set up in 1963. The Committee might also establish study groups to consider the smaller Territories. Lastly, the principle that any administering Power which was not a member of the Committee must be invited to take part in the discussion of the Territories for which it was responsible should be generally applied.

28. In 1963 the Committee had completed consideration of twenty-six Territories. It still had to consider thirty-five Territories and to complete consideration of five others. He suggested that they might be grouped as follows: Group A, Territories in Africa and adjacent Territories and Territories in Asia; group B, Caribbean Territories and Western Atlantic Territories; group C, Pacific Territories. The Trust Territories could be considered after the meeting of the Trusteeship Council in June 1964. With regard to the Territories which had been considered in 1963, a preliminary discussion could be held within the context of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its eighteenth session, and in the light of the important events which had taken place since then. They could be considered in detail a little later, after the new Territories were taken up. The task of completing the list of Territories with respect to which the Special Committee was competent, as defined in operative paragraph 5 of resolution 1514 (XV), might be entrusted to a working group.

29. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics expressed the hope that the Special Committee would, at the current session, find specific and effective solutions for the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, so that the colonial regimes which still existed in some parts of the world might be speedily and completely liquidated.

30. The national liberation movements had affected all the Territories enslaved by colonialism. As the result of a heroic struggle, more than 50 million human beings had shaken off the yoke of the colonial system since 1960. New States, established on the ruins of former empires, now played an active part in international political life. In a desire to determine their own destinies, they

were not content with political independence, but were seeking to achieve economic autonomy. The decisions taken by the United Nations had played, and continued to play, an important role in that process. The Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples provided considerable moral backing for the peoples fighting for independence and freedom; it implied that the United Nations recognized the legitimacy and justice of their struggle and condemned the action of the colonial Powers to suppress it.

31. Over 50 million other human beings were still under the yoke of colonialism. The colonial Powers continued stubbornly to oppose the implementation of the Declaration in Angola, Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique, British Guiana, South West Africa, Aden and a number of other Territories. There were also many other Territories in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and in the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Oceans, which were still in colonial status. The colonialists flouted the decisions taken by the General Assembly and the Security Council for the application of the Declaration because of their desire to maintain their military, strategic, political and economic interests and to perpetuate their exploitation of the colonial peoples. Colonialism was unwilling to recognize the historical factors which prompted the awakening of the peoples of colonies and semi-colonies, or the naturalness of that process; it was unwilling to abandon - to use the expression of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism - its zoological outlook, and contended that nature itself made masters and slaves, exploiters and exploited. Colonialism was unwilling to retire from the arena of history, and therefore resorted to the use of armed forces, bases, and economic and political pressure. When the colonialists were obliged to withdraw from a colony, they sought to keep roots in the country by all possible means, using every kind of device and strategem - imposing elections whenever, as in British Guiana, it served their purpose, but refusing them when, as in Malta, elections were not to their advantage; creating artificial federations; stirring up tribal wars; encouraging separatist movements; instigating territorial or border disputes; creating problems where none existed; and so forth.

32. If the total liquidation of the colonial system was to be achieved, the United Nations, and all States which truly desired the end of colonialism, must redouble their efforts. The main task of the Special Committee in 1964 must be to

devise specific measures to ensure that the Declaration on the granting of independence would be fully and speedily implemented in all colonial territories, without exception, before 1965, which would be International Co-operation Year. To that end the Special Committee should lay down for each Territory precise time-limits, which should be as short as possible, for the liquidation of the colonial regime notwithstanding the argument, which was sure to be advanced by the administering Powers, that the people were "not yet ready" or were "incapable" of governing themselves. Such an argument was daily disproved in the countries which had recently become independent, where the process of staffing every sphere of public and cultural life with indigenous personnel was tens of times more rapid than under colonial rule.

33. The Soviet Government considered that the Committee of Twenty-Four should concentrate primarily on examining the manner in which the colonial Powers had carried out the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council regarding the granting of independence to the Portuguese colonies (Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea), Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, British Guiana, Aden and other colonial Territories. The Soviet Union agreed with the Secretary-General that the Committee should give special attention to developments in the colonial Territories since its 1963 session, bearing in mind the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its eighteenth session. It should invite the colonial Powers to state unequivocally what specific measures they proposed to take in the immediate future to give effect to United Nations decisions, and in the light of those statements it should consider what functions it had to perform as a result of the abolition of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. The colonial Powers should submit to the Committee, not information regarding individual minor reforms that they intended to carry out in the Territories under their administration, but information on the specific measures which they had taken or proposed to take in the immediate future in order to grant independence to their colonial possessions. It was the Committee's duty to call upon the colonial Powers to submit reports on the implementation of the aforementioned decisions and, where necessary, to dispatch special missions to the