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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

(covering its work during 1967)

Rapporteur: Mr. Mohsen S. ESFANDIARY (Iran)

#### CHAPTER I

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

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<sup>\*</sup> This document contains chapter I of the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly. Chapters II to XXIV have been issued separately in documents A/6700 (Part II) and Add.1-15. The report as a whole, incorporating the chapters circulated as addenda, will be issued subsequently under the symbol A/6700/Rev.1.

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/:...

#### LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

5 December 1967

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 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966. This report covers the work of the Special Committee during 1967.

The report of the Special Committee concerning 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, South West Africa and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination" which was the subject of operative paragraph 20 of the above-mentioned General Assembly resolution has previously been circulated in document A/6868 and Add.1.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) John W.S. MALECELA
Chairman
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 U Thant Secretary-General United Nations New York

#### CHAPTER I

## ESTABLISHMENT, ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

#### I. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

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

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Annexes, addendum to item 25 (A/5238).

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- 5. The General Assembly, at its eighteenth session, following its consideration of the report of the Special Committee, 2/ adopted resolution 1956 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963. In this resolution, it requested the Special Committee "to continue to seek the best ways and means for the immediate and total application of the Declaration to all Territories which have not yet attained independence, and to report to the General Assembly not later than at its nineteenth session".
- 6. At the same session, the General Assembly, in its resolution 1899 (XVIII) of 13 November 1963 on the question of South West Africa, requested the Special Committee to continue its efforts with a view to discharging the tasks assigned to it by resolution 1805 (XVII).
- 7. The General Assembly at the same session, by resolution 1970 (XVIII) of 16 December 1963, decided to dissolve the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and requested the Special Committee to study the information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations. It also requested the Special Committee to take this information fully into account in examining the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration in each of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and to undertake any special study and prepare any special report it might consider necessary.
- 8. At its nineteenth session, the General Assembly was unable to consider the report of the Special Committee on its work during 1964. The Special Committee, however, continued to discharge its mandate during 1965 in the context of the declaration made by the President at the 1330th plenary meeting of the General Assembly at its nineteenth session, on 18 February 1965, to the effect that the General Assembly should for its own official records note that reports relating, inter alia, to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had in fact been received and that those bodies which had continuing responsibilities such as the Special

<sup>2/</sup> Ibid., Eighteenth Session, Annexes, addendum to item 23 (A/5446/Rev.1).

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

Committee should continue to function, subject to the agreed budgetary limits for 1965.

- 9. At its twentieth session, the General Assembly, following its consideration of the reports of the Special Committee, dopted resolution 2105 (XX) of 20 December 1965. In this resolution it requested the Special Committee "to continue to perform its task and to continue to seek the best means for the immediate and full application of resolution 1514 (XV) to all Territories which have not yet attained independence".
- 10. The General Assembly, at its twenty-first session, following its consideration of the report of the Special Committee, <sup>5</sup>/<sub>2</sub> adopted resolution 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966. The text of the resolution is reproduced below.

## "The General Assembly,

"Recalling the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,

"Recalling its resolutions 1654 (XVI) of 27 November 1961, 1810 (XVII) of 17 December 1962, 1956 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963 and 2105 (XX) of 20 December 1965,

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

"Having considered the report of the Special Committee covering its work during 1966, 6/

"Noting with deep regret that six years after the adoption of the Declaration many Territories are still under colonial domination, and deploring the negative attitude of certain colonial Powers, and in particular the intransigent attitude of the Governments of Portugal and

<sup>4/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annex No. 8, (A/5800/Rev.1); Ibid., addendum to agenda item 23 (A/6000/Rev.1).

<sup>5/</sup> A/6300 and Add. 1-10.

<sup>6/</sup> Ibid.

South Africa, which refuse to recognize the right of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence,

"Concerned at the policy followed by colonial Powers of circumventing the rights of colonial peoples through the promotion of the systematic influx of foreign immigrants and the displacement, deportation or transfer of the indigenous inhabitants,

"Bearing in mind that the preservation of colonialism and its manifestations, including racism and apartheid, and the attempts of some colonial Powers to suppress national liberation movements by repressive activities and the use of armed force against peoples are incompatible with the Charter and the Declaration,

"Deploring the attitude of certain States which, despite the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Special Committee, continue to co-operate with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and with the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia, which are continuing to repress the African populations,

"Having considered the sections of the report of the Special Committee dealing with the activities of foreign economic and other financial interests operating in South West Africa, the Territories under Portuguese domination and Southern Rhodesia, and the conclusions and recommendations contained therein,

"Convinced that further delay in the complete and universal implementation of the Declaration remains a source of international conflicts and differences, which are seriously impeding international co-operation and endangering world peace and security,

"Noting the action taken and envisaged by the Special Committee with respect to the list of Territories to which the Declaration applies,

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

- "1. Reaffirms its resolutions 1514 (XV), 1654 (XVI), 1810 (XVII), 1956 (XVIII) and 2105 (XX);
- "2. Notes with satisfaction 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 expresses its appreciation to that Committee for its efforts to secure the implementation of the Declaration;
- "3. Approves the report of the Special Committee covering its work during 1966 and again invites the administering Powers to implement the recommendations contained therein;

- "4. Approves the action taken and envisaged by the Special Committee for the year 1967 with respect to the list of Territories to which the Declaration applies;
- "5. Approves the programme of work envisaged by the Special Committee during 1967, including the sending of visiting missions and the possibility of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters, and requests the administering Powers to allow visiting missions to be sent to the Territories under their administration;
- "6. <u>Declares</u> that the continuation of colonial rule threatens international peace and security and that the practice of apartheid, as also all forms of racial discrimination, constitutes a crime against humanity;
- "7. Reaffirms its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples under colonial rule to exercise their right to self-determination and independence and urges all States to provide material and moral assistance to the national liberation movements in colonial Territories;
- "8. Requests the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other international relief organizations and the specialized agencies concerned to increase their economic, social and humanitarian assistance to the refugees from those Territories;
- "9. Requests all States, directly and through action in the international institutions of which they are members, including the specialized agencies, to withhold assistance of any kind to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and to the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia until they renounce their policy of racial discrimination and colonial domination;
- "10. Draws the attention of all States to the grave consequences of the formation in the southern part of Africa of an entente between the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia, and calls upon all States to withhold any support or assistance to this entente, whose existence and activities run counter to the interests of international peace and security;
- "11. Requests the colonial Powers to dismantle their military bases and installations in colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones and from using those that still exist to interfere with the liberation of the peoples in colonial Territories in the exercise of their legitimate rights to freedom and independence;
- "12. Condemns the activities of those foreign financial and economic interests in colonial Territories, in particular in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese domination, which

support colonial régimes and thus constitute a serious obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and calls upon the Governments concerned to take the necessary measures to put an end to those activities;

- "13. Condemns the policies, pursued by certain administering Powers in the Territories under their domination, of imposing non-representative régimes and constitutions, strengthening the position of foreign financial and economic interests, misleading world public opinion and encouraging the systematic influx of foreign immigrants whilst displacing, deporting and transferring the indigenous inhabitants to other areas, and calls upon those Powers to desist from such manoeuvres;
- "14. Requests the Special Committee to apprise the Security Council of developments in any Territory examined by the Committee which may threaten international peace and security and to make any concrete suggestions which may assist the Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations;
- "15. <u>Invites</u> the Special Committee, whenever it considers it proper and appropriate, to recommend a deadline for the accession to independence of each Territory in accordance with the wishes of the people and the provisions of the Declaration;
- "16. <u>Invites</u> the Special Committee to pay particular attention to 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 the right to self-determination and independence;
- "17. Requests the Special Committee to continue to perform its tasks and to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration in all Territories which have not yet attained independence;
- "18. Requests the Secretary-General to promote, through the various organs and agencies of the United Nations, the continuous and large-scale publicizing of the Declaration and of the work of the Special Committee, in order that world opinion may be sufficiently aware of the situation in the colonial Territories and of the continuing struggle for liberation waged by the colonial peoples;
- "19. Requests the Secretary-General to continue to provide the Special Committee with all the financing and facilities necessary for the implementation of its mandate;
- "20. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its twenty-second session an item entitled '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, South West Africa and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination'."

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

Resolution No.	Adopted on	<u> Item</u>
2134 (XXI)	29 September 1966	Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland
2138 (XXI)	22 October 1966	Southern Rhodesia
2144 (XXI)	26 October 1966	Violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of apartheid, in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and Territories
2145 (XXI)	27 October 1966	South West Africa
2146 (XXI)	27 October 1966	Petitions concerning South West Africa
2151 (XXI)	17 November 1966	Southern Rhodesia
2183 <b>(XXI)</b>	12 December 1966	Aden
2184 (XXI)	12 December 1966	Territories under Portuguese administration
2185 <b>(X</b> XI <b>)</b>	12 December 1966	Fiji
2200 (XXI)	16 December 1966	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
2202 (XXI)	16 December 1966	Policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa
2226 (XXI)	20 December 1966	Trust Territory of Nauru
2227 (XXI)	20 December 1966	Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea

Resolution No.	Adopted on	<u>Item</u>
2228 (XXI)	20 December 1966	French Somaliland
2229 (XXI)	20 December 1966	Ifni and Spanish Sahara
22 <b>3</b> 0 (XXI)	20 December 1966	Equatorial Guinea
22 <b>31 (</b> XXI)	20 December 1966	Gibraltar
2232 (XXI)	20 December 1966	American Samoa, Antigua, Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Dominica, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Grenada, Guam, Mauritius, Montserrat, New Hebrides, Niue, Pitcairn, St. Helena, St. Kitts- Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Tokelau Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands and the United States Virgin Islands
2233 (XXI)	20 December 1966	Information from Non-Self- Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations
2234 (XXI)	20 December 1966	Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories
2235 (xx)	20 December 1966	Consolidation and integration of the special educational and training programmes for South West Africa, the special training programme for Territories under Portuguese administration and the educational and training programme for South Africans
2236 (XXI)	20 December 1966	Special educational and training programmes for South West Africa
2237 (XXI)	20 December 1966	Special training programmes for Territories under Portuguese administration

Resolution No.	Adopted on	Item
2238 (XXI)	20 December 1966	Oman
2239 (XXI)	20 December 1966	Pattern of Conferences

12. At the 1500th plenary meeting, on 20 December 1966, the President of the General Assembly announced the nomination of Finland to fill the vacancy created by the withdrawal of Denmark from the membership of the Special Committee.

The Special Committee therefore is composed of the following twenty-four members:

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

13. This report covers the work of the Special Committee for the period 9 February 1967 to 5 December 1967 during which it held 89 plenary meetings, including thirty-two meetings away from Headquarters. In the same period its working group and sub-committees held over 100 meetings.

## II. OPENING OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE'S MEETINGS IN 1967

14. The first meeting of the Special Committee in 1967 (484th meeting), held on 9 February, was opened by the Secretary-General.

## Opening statement by the Secretary-General

15. The Secretary General said he was very glad to have the opportunity of being present at the opening meeting of the session of the Special Committee. It gave him much pleasure to extend a warm welcome to all the representatives, and in particular to the representative of Finland, the newest member of the Committee.

16. As members would recall, he had had occasion to make the following remarks in the introduction to his last annual report on the work of the Organization:

"The extent to which decolonization has progressed in the last few years serves only to underline the anomaly of the fact that several million people are still subject to colonial rule - and, worse still, that most of these live under régimes which offer them no hope of an early and peaceful emancipation. It must be admitted that, while the United Nations has been in the forefront of support for the principle of self-determination, and while it has done much to encourage and at times to assist the emergence of dependent peoples, it has so far failed to provide or facilitate effective solutions to the several difficult and serious colonial problems which remain." 7/

- 17. It had been with great interest that he had noted during the debate in the General Assembly at its twenty-first session concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples that that assessment corresponded with the views of the majority of the Members. A large number of Members had observed, as he himself had done, that the failure of the United Nations in regard to the problems referred to had not been due to lack of concern or effort. Rather, as they had pointed out, that failure had been principally due to the non-compliance of certain administering Powers with the relevant United Nations resolutions, and to the reluctance of some others to extend their full co-operation in giving effect to those resolutions.
- 18. That, then, was the context in which the General Assembly, in its resolution 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966, had requested the Special Committee to continue to perform its tasks and to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration in all Territories which had not yet attained independence. In amplification of that mandate, the General Assembly had invited

<sup>7/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Supplement No. 1 A (A/6301/Add.1), p. 11.

the Committee, whenever it considered it proper and appropriate, to recommend a deadline for the accession to independence of each Territory, to pay particular attention to the small Territories and to make any concrete suggestions to the Security Council which might assist the Council in considering appropriate measures regarding developments in dependent Territories which might threaten international peace and security.

- 19. The increasing concern of the United Nations at the delay in the implementation of the Declaration, as also the wide consensus existing among Members with regard to questions of decolonization, had been equally manifest in the proceedings of the Fourth Committee during the twenty-first session. Impelled by that concern, the Fourth Committee, as it had done during the twentieth session, had given separate attention not only to the more serious and difficult colonial problems but also to many other individual questions, the special character of which required careful examination. In consequence, it had become possible for the Assembly, on the recommendation of that Committee, to adopt a number of specific resolutions which, taking account of the peculiarities of each situation, outlined in concrete terms the measures and procedures required in particular Territories for the attainment of the objectives laid down in the Charter and in the Declaration.
- 20. It went without saying that the work of the Special Committee in that regard would include following up and supervising the implementation of those resolutions, reviewing the situation in each Territory, carrying out other tasks as requested by the Assembly, and, in the light of developments, recommending further measures as appropriate for the speedy application of the Declaration. In addition, there were a number of specific points arising from other resolutions of the General Assembly and from previous decisions taken by the Committee itself to which members would wish to give attention in establishing the Committee's programme of work for the year. That programme of work would undoubtedly be strenuous; furthermore, many of the problems which the Committee was called upon to examine had themselves increased both in difficulty and gravity.
- 21. The question of Southern Rhodesia, the universal and serious concern regarding which was registered in the resolutions recently adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly, was one of those problems. When it took up that

question, the Special Committee would, he was sure, be guided, as it had been in the past, by the need to secure rapid and positive movement towards a solution in keeping with the aspirations of the people of the Territory.

- 22. Concerning South West Africa, members were of course aware that, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa was examining the practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence. As the Secretary-General had stated elsewhere, the question of South West Africa also remained the concern of the Special Committee within the context of the implementation of the Declaration, and would no doubt receive the attention of the Committee as appropriate.
- 23. With regard to the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration, no progress could be recorded in the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions. Considering that the need to enable the peoples of those Territories to exercise fully and in freedom their right to self-determination and independence was more imperative than ever, he was certain that the question would be the subject of further examination by the Special Committee.
- 24. On Aden, his consultations in regard to the appointment of a special mission, as requested by the General Assembly in its resolution 2183 (XXI), were still in progress. It was his confident hope that the work of the proposed mission would be of assistance to the Special Committee and the General Assembly in enabling the people of Aden to attain independence in conditions of peace and harmony.
- 25. The emphasis placed by the General Assembly on the importance of sending a special mission to Aden was, in his judgement, a reflection of the widely held conviction that the United Nations could play an increasingly useful role in bringing dependent Territories to independence. It was in line with that conviction that stress was laid, in the General Assembly's resolutions on Fiji and on Territories in the Caribbean, Indian and Pacific Ocean areas, on the sending of visiting missions. In that connexion, it would be pertinent to reiterate that, especially with respect to the small Territories, visiting missions had an indisputable value; they were a means of securing adequate information on conditions in the Territories and on the views, wishes and aspirations of their inhabitants.

- 26. As a further indication of the role envisaged for the United Nations by the majority of Members, it was also noteworthy that on French Somaliland, Ifni and Spanish Sahara and Equatorial Guinea the relevant General Assembly resolutions called for various forms of participation by the United Nations in the processes involved in the exercise by the inhabitants of those Territories of their right to self-determination. He was in communication with the administering Powers concerned regarding the discharge of the mandate entrusted to him by the General Assembly in those resolutions, and he would of course report to the Special Committee and the General Assembly on developments in that regard.
- 27. In conclusion, he wished to express to the Special Committee his best wishes for the success of its work and the earnest hope that the necessary co-operation would be made available by the administering Powers. He was as conscious of the magnitude and difficulty of the tasks facing the Committee in 1967 as he was convinced of their importance. He was, however, confident that the Committee's work during the year would represent a further positive contribution towards the realization by dependent peoples of their aspirations to freedom and independence.

## Election of officers

28. At its 484th meeting, on 9 February 1967, the Special Committee unanimously elected the following officers:

Chairman: Mr. John W.S. Malecela (United Republic of Tanzania)

Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Kadhim Khalaf (Iraq) and

Mr. Manuel Pérez Guerrero (Venezuela)

Rapporteur: Mr. Mohsen Sadigh Esfandiary (Iran)

## Statement by the Chairman

- 29. <u>The Chairman</u> said that he considered his election an indirect tribute to Mr. Julius Nyerere and to the Government and people of Tanzania for the vigorous struggle which they had never ceased to wage against colonialism.
- 30. Recalling that the task of decolonization was still unfinished, as a large part of the human race, particularly in Africa, was still subjected to merciless oppression, he pointed out that that situation was due to the non-co-operation of certain colonial Powers. Portugal, in particular, remained adamant, while the

practice of cruelty and massacre was being intensified against the African people of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. The South African racists also were persisting in their brutal suppression of the aspirations of the people of South West Africa. Although the question of South West Africa had that year been referred more particularly to an Ad Hoc Committee established by the General Assembly, it still remained within the realm of the Special Committee. It was therefore to be hoped that the latter would maintain its vigilance on the problem and give the Ad Hoc Committee on South West Africa its fullest co-operation. In Southern Rhodesia, the situation could only be described as tragic, because the issue at stake was the possible establishment in Africa of another apartheid régime. The way in which the United Kingdom Government had reacted to the situation in Southern Rhodesia was regrettable, especially as more than a year had passed since the unilateral declaration of independence and no concerted effort had been made by the United Kingdom Government to put down the rebellion. The Tanzanian delegation wished to reiterate that the proposed sanctions would never work in Southern Rhodesia. The whole question of Southern Rhodesia had to be approached realistically, because the Smith régime would never fall without the use of force. For the Africans, it was a question not of the white racists' power of resistance but of the moral obligations the United Nations had towards 4 million Africans. That moral consideration should supersede all other considerations and, in particular, all kinds of relationships, whether economic or military. The situation in Aden seemed to be the reverse of that in Southern Rhodesia, and he hoped that the members of the Committee would give that question the full attention it deserved.

33. In the case of the Territories administered by Spain, the Committee had witnessed a new departure in its work, namely, an invitation by Spain to visit one of the Territories administered by it. The results had so far been encouraging. In particular, that new trend had encouraged the General Assembly to call for more of that co-operation between the Special Committee and the administering Powers. He therefore took that opportunity to appeal to those Powers to agree to the sending of visiting missions to the various colonies - for example, to the numerous islands in the Caribbean. He personally was convinced that the process of decolonization would as a result be considerably accelerated.

- 34. In 1965 at Addis Ababa, Mr. Coulibaly, then Chairman of the Special Committee, had appealed to the Security Council to meet in Africa. He himself wished to renew that appeal and ask the Council seriously to consider meeting in Africa during 1967 to examine the many African problems, especially the Rhodesian problem. It would be more advantageous for that important organ of peace to meet near the roots of the trouble if it was to help Africa avoid becoming the scene of bitter conflict.
- 35. He wished to pay a tribute to Ambassador Collier, the outgoing Chairman, whose untiring devotion to the cause of decolonization would never be forgotten. After expressing his appreciation to the representatives of Chile and Iraq, the outgoing Vice-President and Rapporteur, respectively, and to the Danish delegation, which was no longer a member of the Committee, and after welcoming the representative of Finland and the new Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories, he said that he would endeavour in particular, by organizing as many consultations as possible at all levels to achieve the widest possible agreement within the Committee in order to solve the grave problems still remaining.

#### III. ORGANIZATION OF WORK

- 36. The Special Committee discussed the organization of its work for the year at its 484th to 487th meetings.
- 37. The Chairman recalled that the Special Committee had decided to hold two sessions in 1967, the first to end on 31 May and the second to last from 17 July to 25 August. In order to assist the Committee, he wished to make some suggestions that might be referred to the Working Group for consideration, together with the views expressed by members.
- 38. Regarding the scope of its work, the Committee, in addition to the assignments referred to it by the General Assembly in the relevant resolutions. might wish to consider on its own initiative some problems of special interest. Referring in particular to operative paragraphs 12 and 20 of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI), operative paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI) and operative paragraph 1(b) of Assembly resolution 2160 (XXI), he mentioned two matters on which the Committee might decide to undertake a study. These were "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, South West Africa and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination" and the role of military activities and arrangements by the colonial Powers which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration. It was pursuant to a recommendation of the Special Committee (A/6300/Add.1 (part II), para. 1134 (f)) that the General Assembly had decided to include in the agenda of its twenty-second session an item concerning the activities of foreign economic interests in colonial Territories.
- 39. The Working Group should be constituted and might be requested to submit recommendations without delay, regarding the order of priority of items to be considered in plenary meeting, bearing in mind the views expressed by members and taking into consideration the nature of recent developments in the various Territories, especially in the Caribbean area.

- 40. It might also be desirable for the Working Group to consider recommending that the Special Committee should maintain Sub-Committees I, II and III and request them to begin their work immediately. In addition to their existing terms of reference, the Special Committee might ask them to carry out the specific duties assigned by the General Assembly concerning the items referred to them. Any special studies which the Special Committee might decide to undertake could probably be referred to Sub-Committee I. The Sub-Committees might also be requested to submit specific recommendations without delay regarding the sending of visiting missions to the Territories with which they were concerned.
- 41. Any visiting missions that the Special Committee might dispatch to the various Territories should be sent before the third week of April 1967, whether the Territories were those studied by sub-committees or those which the Special Committee had discussed in plenary meeting the previous year. In either case account should be taken of the forthcoming special session of the Assembly, the decision previously taken by the Special Committee regarding its programme of meetings, and the further series of meetings which it might hold in Africa shortly. 42. For some of the missions, namely those to be sent to Aden, Equatorial Guinea, Spanish Sahara and French Somaliland, consultations were called for between the Secretary-General and the administering Powers and, as appropriate, with the Special Committee. It was to be hoped that the Secretary-General would report to the Special Committee on those matters at an early date.
- 43. The Special Committee would also have to decide on the establishment or prolongation of various sub-committees. Regarding Fiji, the Chairman would make the necessary arrangements for the appointment of a sub-committee in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2185 (XXI). He intended to begin appropriate consultations with the administering Power and to make an announcement as early as possible.
- 44. Concerning Aden, the Special Committee might wish to maintain the existing Sub-Committee and to request it to keep the situation in that Territory under continuous review. On Oman, the Special Committee could consider whether to set up a sub-committee to examine the situation in the Territory on the basis of General Assembly resolution 2238 (XXI) and to submit recommendations to the Special Committee.

- 45. The Chairman recalled the possibility of the Special Committee holding another series of meetings in Africa in 1967. There were indications that invitations might be extended by some Governments, and the Special Committee would no doubt wish to refer them to the Working Group for its consideration.
- 46. Finally, referring to resolution 2202 (XXI), in which the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to organize as soon as possible an international conference or seminar on the problems of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa, he observed that the Special Committee would be called upon to express its views on certain matters relating to the organization of the proposed seminar and the participation of the Special Committee itself. The Working Group might also be requested to submit recommendations thereon.
- 47. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that, at the outset of another year, the Special Committee should devote a certain amount of time to taking stock of what had been achieved and analysing the problems and tasks facing it. The continuation of colonialism was a challenge to all the freedom-loving and peace-loving forces of the world. Human freedom was indivisible, and colonialism was the enemy of freedom. Today, the threat to freedom and peace represented by colonialism was more serious than ever. In Africa, especially the southern part of Africa, colonialism was taking on a particularly dangerous form. It was manifested in the illegal régimes of the racist white minority in Southern Rhodesia, the prophets of apartheid in South Africa and South West Africa and the Portuguese aggressors in Mozambique and Angola. Those forces, which in their turn were tools of international imperialism, represented a threat not only to peace in southern Africa but also to international peace and security in general.
- 48. Although their activities had been condemned by the freedom-loving peoples of the world and in countless United Nations resolutions, the Portuguese colonialists continued to flout the basic principles of the Organization and persisted in their criminal war against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea called Portuguese Guinea. It was able to do so only because of the hypocritical attitude of its military allies which, while professing allegiance to the principles of freedom and peace, supplied Portugal with weapons. Meanwhile, their nationals exploited the resources of the Territories. Foreign financial monopolies, in order to safeguard their super-profits, co-operated with the Portuguese in impeding the attainment of independence by the Territories. Although those monopolies might be private undertakings, the Western countries where they originated, such as the United Kingdom and the United States, profited indirectly from the sweat and blood of the

African peoples. Exports from the Territories helped to reinforce the economic structures of the industrialized nations of the West. Some of the financial monopolies were making direct cash contributions, amounting to millions of escudos, towards the Portuguese war effort in Angola and Mozambique, and thus contributing to the crime against humanity being perpetrated by the Portuguese aggressors. The legitimate rights of the African peoples to freedom and independence were being denied and a threat to international peace and security was being perpetuated, particularly as the Portuguese imperialists were aiding and encouraging the illegal racist white minority régime in Southern Rhodesia.

- 49. The continuation of the situation in Southern Rhodesia was another source of danger for peace, security and freedom in southern Africa. The racist minority, having obtained control of the Territory by means of the notorious 1961 Constitution, which had been imposed by the United Kingdom against the wishes of the people, remained in power, and the current situation in Southern Rhodesia was simply a prolongation of colonialism. Despite eloquent statements by representatives of the administering Power, all measures which would have put an end to the racist régime had been frustrated, and responsibility for the continued sufferings of the African people of Zimbabwe lay with the United Kingdom Government. Although the heroic people of Zimbabwe, who were in the front line of the struggle against the forces of colonialism and racism, must play the main role in bringing about their liberation, the United Nations could do its part to help them achieve their goal. Part of the Committee's task during 1967 should be to study all the different elements of the Southern Rhodesian situation.
- 50. It was true that resolutions had been adopted calling for selective mandatory sanctions against the Southern Rhodesian régime. His delegation had always maintained that sanctions as proposed by the United Kingdom would not be effective. To put an end to the situation in Southern Rhodesia, force must be used, the racist minority must be isolated from its Portuguese and South African allies and the so-called rebellion must be crushed. As the Secretary-General had noted in his opening address, the failure of the Organization to resolve colonial problems had been due mainly to the non-compliance of certain administering Powers with relevant United Nations resolutions and the reluctance of others to co-operate fully with the United Nations. His delegation also fully supported the Chairman's suggestion

that the Committee should undertake a study of the role of foreign interests in impeding the attainment of independence by the peoples of Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, the Territories under Portuguese domination and other colonial Territories. The activities of such financial interests were co-ordinated with those of the colonial Powers and formed part of a plan to establish neo-colonialism in the Territories concerned.

- 51. In South West Africa, the Pretoria régime was resorting to neo-fascist methods in suppressing the people. Although the question of South West Africa was under study by the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa, his delegation considered that the Special Committee must still undertake the task of making an over-all analysis of the situation in that Territory and formulate its own recommendations which could be adopted in conjunction with those that might be submitted by the Ad Hoc Committee.
- 52. His delegation welcomed the proposal in General Assembly resolution 2202 (XXI) for a seminar on the problems of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa. In its view, apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism were all aspects of a single system. The Committee should consider the possibility of creating an <u>ad hoc</u> sub-committee to propose guidelines for that undertaking. He also hoped that the Chairman would, without delay, enter into consultations with the Secretary-General regarding the venue and other arrangements for the seminar.
- 53. He fully supported the Chairman's suggestions regarding those various matters. He would also like to suggest that the Office of Public Information should devote more attention to the dissemination of information concerning developments in colonial Territories.
- 54. Turning to the immediate question of the organization of the Special Committee's work, he supported the Chairman's view that certain recent developments called for urgent action. The announcement by the United Kingdom of preparations to convert the British colonies in the Caribbean into what were termed "associated States" was highly disturbing. The United Kingdom had not kept the United Nations fully informed of its intentions regarding the Territories concerned. The Committee should take into account the urgency of the situation and consider whether a mission should be sent to the area.
- 55. The colonial Powers had so far failed to implement the General Assembly resolutions on the dismantling of military bases in colonial Territories. He

strongly supported the suggestion that a special study should be devoted to the question.

- 56. His delegation had always favoured the sending of visiting missions to colonial Territories. To secure the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Committee must be given facilities for visiting such Territories and appraising itself of the situation there. He welcomed the co-operation shown by the Spanish Government in that regard. The decision of the United Kingdom Government finally to agree to a mission to Aden was welcome. He hoped that the Committee would seek still more co-operation from the administering Powers in that respect.
- 57. His delegation would support a proposal for the Committee to hold some meetings in Africa during 1967.
- 58. The representative of <u>Syria</u> fully agreed with the Chairman that the Committee should pursue the study of specific aspects of colonialism with a view to helping the Assembly implement resolution 1514 (XV). The decision of the Assembly in resolution 2189 (XXI) to include in the agenda of its twenty-second session an item concerning the activities of foreign economic and other interests in colonial Territories was particularly important, and the Sub-Committee which dealt with such activities should resume its useful work without delay.
- 59. Almost all United Nations resolutions relating to Non-Self-Governing Territories emphasized the need to dismantle military bases established by the colonial Powers against the wishes of the people. The independence of such Territories could never be genuine until such sources of overt or covert coercion disappeared. The administering Powers, however, when they actually acknowledged that such bases existed, described them as small and benign military installations or as staging posts for port facilities. In view of the situation, the question of military bases should be studied by a special sub-committee.
- 60. The Sub-Committee on Aden should keep the situation in that Territory under constant review; it seemed that no real improvements had taken place since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2185 (XXI) and that the administering Power was still determined to consolidate its grip on the Territory. Similarly, the United Kingdom's complete disregard of United Nations resolutions on Oman meant that the situation in that Territory was deteriorating; it was therefore urgently

necessary for a sub-committee on Oman to be established, particularly since oil exploitation was about to begin in that Territory.

- 61. The change in the composition of the Sub-Committee on Petitions might perhaps be accompanied by a clarification of the terms of reference of that body. In his view, the Sub-Committee had full competence to scrutinize petitions and the status of petitioners. It was inconceivable that the Sub-Committee should serve any purpose contrary to that of the Special Committee, namely, decolonization.
- 62. In conclusion, his delegation strongly supported sending visiting missions to Non-Self-Governing Territories, organizing seminars on specific items and holding a further series of meetings in Africa. The Special Committee's visits to Africa were now a well-established tradition, and the Syrian people and Government would be most grateful if the Special Committee decided to accept their invitation to visit Damascus. He agreed that the Special Committee should visit Africa during the first part of its session although he felt that the Chairman and the Working Group should make specific recommendations on the time-table for the visit.
- The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that his delegation fully agreed with the Secretary-General and the Chairman that in 1967 the Committee should make new efforts to secure immediate implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It should make full use of the right granted to it by the General Assembly to recommend dates for the independence of colonial Territories, it should make recommendations to the Security Council to help it settle situations in dependent Territories threatening international peace and security and it should give attention to the situation of the so-called small colonial Territories. His delegation also agreed with the Secretary-General that the failures of the United Nations in decolonization were not its fault, but were due to the unwillingness of the colonial Powers to carry out the Declaration, to their opposition to other United Nations resolutions and to their determination to maintain colonial domination in their own economic and strategic interests. The Committee should therefore make a special point of reviewing the application of resolutions already adopted by the United Nations.
- 64. His delegation fully supported the Chairman's statement on the tasks facing the Committee in 1967 and the organization of its work. It agreed that the Commission should concentrate on the decolonization of Africa, keeping a watch on

the course of events in Southern Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonies and South West Africa and on imperialist and colonialist manoeuvres and making appropriate recommendations where necessary. That did not mean, however, that it should neglect other matters, such as the decisions taken by the General Assembly on Aden, Oman and other small colonial Territories, or, in general, any resolutions designed to help the struggle of colonial peoples for their rights, freedom and independence. Such resolutions included the General Assembly's appeals to Member and non-member States, especially the NATO Powers, and to the specialized agencies and their member States not to grant any aid, whether military, economic, financial or other, to Portugal, South Africa or Southern Rhodesia until they renounced their policy of racial discrimination and colonial supremacy. The Committee should consider as soon as possible the question of compliance by IBRD and IMF with the General Assembly's recommendation that no loans be granted to South Africa or Portugal. The Committee did not know how those various resolutions were being applied. The Secretariat should be asked to provide it with information showing which countries were complying with the resolutions and which were not and what diplomatic, economic and other ties countries maintained with the Governments of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. The whole world would then know where those régimes got their support.

65. His delegation supported the Chairman's proposal that the Committee should consider the consequences of the activities of international monopolies in South West Africa, the Portuguese colonies, Southern Rhodesia and other colonial Territories. The Committee had prepared reports on the activities of monopolies in South West Africa, Angola and Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia, but they had not included the latest data and had not contained information on other colonial Territories. It was therefore most desirable that a general report on the subject should be submitted to the General Assembly. The Soviet Union also agreed with the Chairman's proposal to consider military and related activities of the colonial Powers in dependent Territories. Such activities were becoming more and more important. The colonial Powers not only had not dismantled their military bases and installations in colonial Territories, as recommended by the General Assembly, but were taking steps to expand them. Such behaviour was an obstacle to self-determination and created a threat that the Territories might be used for aggression

against independent States and for the suppression of independence movements. The colonialists claimed that their military bases were no obstacle to independence, but the way they used their military bases on Guam and Ascension Island, in Aden and elsewhere showed that claim to be false. The Committee should supply the General Assembly with material showing the true nature of colonial military activity in dependent Territories.

- 66. His delegation supported the Chairman's proposal that missions should visit small colonial Territories to study the local situation and determine the wishes of the people regarding their future. The Committee should not permit neo-colonialist decisions on such Territories and should prevent the colonial Powers from absorbing them under the guise of "association" or "integration". Such missions would also help to reveal the effects of the presence of military bases and the nature of military action taken to suppress independence movements. His delegation also agreed with the Chairman's proposal that the question of an international conference or seminar on apartheid should be entrusted to a working group and with his proposals concerning the work of the sub-committees. 67. In 1966 the Committee had not been able to take a decision on the Cuban proposal to include the question of Puerto Rico in its agenda. Further delay would be inadmissible; the Committee should take a decision on the substance of the matter in 1967. Another question to which the Committee should give attention was the General Assembly's recommendation that all United Nations channels should be used to publicize United Nations activities in the field of decolonization, the
- Accomplices of the colonialists used their influence to prevent publicity about the achievements of the United Nations and to whitewash the policy of the colonial Powers. The Committee should study the matter thoroughly and recommend improvements.

implementation of the Declaration. The situation at present was not satisfactory.

struggle of oppressed peoples to win freedom and the reasons preventing

68. At its twentieth and twenty-first sessions the General Assembly had taken a number of important decisions in which it had recognized the legality of the struggle of colonial peoples for freedom and independence, had declared colonialism, apartheid and racism to be crimes against mankind and had condemned the policy of the colonial Powers. Those resolutions had given substantial political support to

the peoples in question. In their struggle to eliminate colonialism their own efforts and the support given them by the many States opposing imperialism and colonialism were of vital importance. At the same time, the United Nations and particularly the Special Committee, could play a useful role. The forces of imperialism and colonialism did not want to surrender their positions in the remaining colonial Territories and resorted to various cunning devices to maintain their domination. It was the duty of the United Nations to unmask the colonialists' plots, protect the interests of enslaved peoples and do everything possible to assist them in their struggle. The Soviet Union, which had gone through a great revolution to secure equality and end the exploitation of man by man, would continue to give full support to peoples oppressed by imperialism and colonialism. 69. The representative of India said that since the establishment of the Special Committee only thirteen former colonies had been restored to freedom and independence - hardly a satisfactory record. Moreover, the Special Committee could not really consider that it alone had been responsible for the independence of those thirteen territories. However, while not spectacular, its work was essential if only because it served as a constant reminder to the colonial Powers that it was their sacred obligation to transfer power to the true representatives of the people and to allow the people to determine their own future in accordance with their own wishes. The Special Committee also provided a forum which enabled those suffering under the colonial yoke to voice their grievances and obtain moral support. 70. He endorsed the suggestions which the Chairman had made at the previous meeting regarding the organization of the Special Committee's work and hoped that the Committee as a whole would accept them so that it could take up its substantive work as soon as possible. He agreed that the Working Group should be established without delay and that Sub-Committees I, II and III should be maintained. While it was true that Mauritius would very probably become independent during 1967, he felt that Sub-Committee I should be maintained, since it had achieved some sort of expertise in economic matters; it would therefore be appropriate if the item on the activities of foreign economic and other interests in colonial Territories, which the General Assembly was to discuss at its twenty-second session, were assigned to that sub-committee.

71. He agreed with the comments made by the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania concerning the Office of Public Information. While the Office had been

doing useful work in the field of decolonization, he felt that it could do still more. He had been surprised to learn during the Special Committee's visit to Africa in 1966 that the Prime Minister of Mauritius had been unaware of where the Special Committee was to hold its meetings, since he had been led to believe that the Committee's programme had been well publicized in advance.

- 72. He endorsed the suggestion made by the representative of Syria that the terms of reference of the Sub-Committee on Petitions should be defined more clearly. He fully agreed with the Secretary-General that visiting missions had an indisputable value, especially in the case of small Territories, because they were a means of securing adequate information on conditions in the Territories and on the wishes of their inhabitants. His delegation's views on the question of holding meetings in Africa remained unchanged.
- 73. The representative of <u>Poland</u> said that at each session of the Special Committee members were reminded that the task of decolonization was still incomplete. However, he was deeply convinced that the process of liberation of colonial peoples could not be stopped or reversed and that, with the help of all progressive forces, such peoples would finally free themselves and regain their rightful place among sovereign nations. Naturally, the decisive role would be played by the people themselves; however, the tempo of decolonization had to be speeded up and conditions had to be created so that decolonization could take place without unnecessary bloodshed and misery. To that end, the United Nations, and in particular the Special Committee, had an outstanding role to play. All avenues should be explored and all means used to exert pressure on the colonial Powers trying to counteract and halt the process of liberation.
- 74. He had been particularly interested by the suggestions made by the Chairman. Certainly, the Special Committee should concentrate on the implementation of the resolutions adopted at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. It was therefore advisable for the work of the Committee to be organized so as to ensure that developments in Non-Self-Governing Territories could be followed up and, if necessary, action taken. In his view, the most effective method would be to create an adequate number of permanent or ad hoc sub-committees to examine particular problems or Territories. Attention had been drawn to the problem of the small Territories. In view of all the difficulties deriving from the geographical

location, size and limited economic potential of such Territories, it was all the more necessary to ensure that proper recommendations were made for their future development. Visiting missions could be particularly useful in that respect and the Committee should therefore repeat its appeal to administering Powers to allow such missions to visit the Territories under their administration.

- 75. General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI) had made it clear that the establishment of military bases and installations in colonial Territories was incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). In addition, General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI) had requested the colonial Powers to dismantle their military bases and installations in colonial Territories, and to refrain from establishing new ones and from using those that still existed to interfere with the liberation of the peoples in colonial Territories in the exercise of their legitimate rights to freedom and independence. He therefore fully supported the proposal that the Committee should undertake a study of the military activities and arrangements of the colonial Powers which might be impeding the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). Also of great importance was the proposal that the Committee should undertake a study on the activities of foreign economic and other interests impeding the implementation of that resolution in colonial Territories. With all its accumulated knowledge and experience, the Committee could and should produce a comprehensive report for the next session of the General Assembly.
- 76. In conclusion, he hoped that the views expressed in the Special Committee would be taken into account by the Working Group; the Working Group should be able to examine during the present session those matters which had not been taken up at the previous session.
- 77. The representative of <u>Bulgaria</u> said that his delegation agreed with the ideas and suggestions concerning the Committee's work advanced by the Chairman and the Secretary-General in their statements. The Committee's work would also be facilitated by the decisions taken by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session.
- 78. While it was true that decolonization was proceeding only slowly, the reason was not that the Committee had neglected its work. The slowness of the pace was actually due to the fierce opposition of those who sought to safeguard their own interests, sometimes at the cost of the blood of patriots and the sweat of oppressed

peoples. The responsibility of the administering Powers had been emphasized also by the Secretary-General. In those circumstances, the Committee must ensure that its activities were more and more closely associated with the struggle of the colonial peoples themselves. In particular, it must continue vigorously to combat the colonialist policies of certain States and certain organizations which rendered assistance to the colonialists and the policies of those who, by their attitudes, encouraged the arbitrary actions of racist minorities.

- 79. One of the ways in which the Committee could draw nearer to the oppressed peoples would be to hold a session in Africa in 1967, in accordance with a practice already established. Meetings in Africa would give the Committee an opportunity to increase its awareness of the tragedy of the colonized peoples, and at the same time to make a detailed study of the progress achieved and of the continuing obstacles to the implementation of United Nations decisions on such important questions as Southern Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonies and South West Africa. 80. His delegation also supported the proposal that the Security Council should be
- CO. His delegation also supported the proposal that the Security Council should be requested likewise to hold a session on African soil. Such a session would be especially useful, in that its results could be coupled with those of the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on South West Africa.
- 81. Nothing must be left undone to foil the schemes of the colonial Powers, and with that end in view his delegation believed that the Special Committee, at the present stage of its work, should set itself the primary goal of taking measures to compel those Powers to facilitate the implementation of the decisions taken by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session and, very recently, by the Security Council.
- 82. In view of the fact that at the twenty-first session the General Assembly had devoted particular attention to conditions in the smaller colonial Territories and the dearth of information about them, his delegation shared the view that visiting missions should be sent to those Territories for the purpose of establishing direct contact with the local inhabitants and their representatives.
- 83. The Committee should also undertake a study of the activities of foreign economic interests in South West Africa, the Portuguese colonies and Southern Rhodesia, and in all the Territories under colonial domination, and submit a report on the subject to the General Assembly.

- 84. The question of military bases in colonial Territories should also be studied by the Committee, which should determine to what extent such bases had an adverse effect on the outcome of the liberation struggle of the peoples of those Territories and should make recommendations on the subject. In particular, the Special Committee could establish direct contact with international organizations and the specialized agencies, requesting them to supply it with information concerning measures taken or envisaged to implement United Nations recommendations on the cessation of economic, financial and technical aid to the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia and to various Powers which were seeking to strengthen their domination over certain Territories. In that connexion, stress must be laid on the great importance of implementation by the specialized agencies of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence.
- 85. Under General Assembly resolution 2202 (XXI), the Committee was to take an active part in the preparation and organization of a conference or seminar on the problems of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa. In that connexion, his delegation wished to underline the importance of publicizing the struggle being waged by the national liberation movements and the constructive action being taken in the regions liberated by revolutionary movements, and also the role which the United Nations, and in particular the Committee, might play in that respect. It supported the proposals made by the representative of India concerning the part which the United Nations Office of Public Information should take in giving world-wide publicity to the struggle of the colonial peoples. A large section of the Press sought to conceal the truth from world opinion. It would therefore be proper for the Office of Public Information to become more active in the dissemination of information on the peoples struggle for national liberation and on the sessions of the Special Committee and other bodies dealing with the question. It might be helpful if the Chairman or one of the other officers of the Committee were to contact the Office of Public Information with a view to making the necessary arrangements.
- 86. The representative of <u>Venezuela</u> observed that, as the Committee advanced towards the elimination of colonialism, it encountered increasingly complex problems, particularly in combating certain colonial practices which were an affront to the most elementary principles of universal morality.

- 87. His delegation had noted with great interest the Chairman's suggestions regarding the organization of the Committee's work. The dispatch of visiting missions was a practice which his delegation had always favoured. The question of the United Nations presence in French Somaliland called for a special comment, namely, that some degree of priority should be given to it, as a referendum was to be held in the Territory on 19 March 1967.
- 88. Visiting missions were an essential factor in the Committee's work and provided it with information of the highest importance on developments in the Territories with which it was concerned. While not wishing to attach more importance to one visiting mission than to the rest, he felt that the mission to Aden called for special mention. At the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, the question of dispatching such a mission had been raised as a matter of urgency, owing to the political disturbances which had occurred in the Territory and the repressive measures which had been taken. It was disquieting to note that, more than a month after the Assembly had concluded its work, it had still not been possible to appoint the visiting mission and its dispatch would apparently have to be further delayed. He hoped that the Chairman could report on the status of the consultations and on any obstacles to the dispatch of a mission which, in his delegation's opinion, should be in the Territory already.
- 89. With regard to the visiting missions to other Territories, he shared the Chairman's hope that they would be dispatched as soon as possible, so that the information needed for the Committee's report to the General Assembly at its next session could be collected in good time.
- 90. With respect to the order in which the different Territories should be considered, his delegation thought that, if the Committee was unable to act immediately on the General Assembly's recommendations to it regarding the larger Territories, such as Southern Rhodesia, the Territories under Portuguese administration and South West Africa, it could profitably begin a consideration of the smaller Territories of which it had not yet been able to make a thorough study. 91. His delegation agreed with the suggestion that the existing sub-committees should be maintained and that the count to the control of the smaller than the suggestion that the existing sub-committees
- should be maintained and that they must start their work as soon as possible. The Sub-Committees and the Working Group played an essential part in the work of the Committee.

- 92. The representative of the <u>United States of America</u> said that the members of the Committee were becoming increasingly aware of the difficulties of applying to small Territories the same methods as were used in the consideration of larger Territories. His delegation sincerely believed that those methods needed to be reviewed and that the Committee, in studying the situation in those Territories, should be guided by the aspirations of their people. It was because of the small size and remoteness of some Territories that their people appeared to be hesitant about their own future. The Committee should not place itself in the position of appearing to impose a status which the peoples of the smaller Territories might be reluctant to choose. They nevertheless had the right to determine their political status and their choice must be an educated one.
- 93. His delegation supported the Chairman's proposal that the three regional Sub-Committees which had been in operation the previous year should be reconstituted. It suggested that each sub-committee should continue to be responsible for serving a specific region and that the studies required by the Special Committee should be allocated to the three sub-committees on that geographical basis.
- 94. On another matter which had been the subject of proposals, his delegation firmly believed that travel by the Committee should be limited to such travel, in connexion with meetings away from Headquarters and the possible dispatch of missions, as represented the best means of accomplishing the tasks for which it was responsible. It would be strongly opposed to travel which would not only waste the limited funds of the United Nations but might jeopardize the Special Committee's reputation by suggesting that its work was not of the serious nature expected of it. His delegation would express its views on the question of travel when specific proposals were submitted to the Special Committee. For the present it urged representatives to take a careful and selective approach to that question. 95. Turning to another matter, he said that, since Puerto Rico had been mentioned, he was obliged to repeat his Government's position, which was that the Territory was a self-governing one whose status had been confirmed by the General Assembly and that there was therefore no reason for the Special Committee to deal with it. 96. In conclusion, he said that the problems which the Special Committee would have to tackle were not new. The fact that they had already been under attack for

several years should not, however, give rise to any pessimism. The United Nations could, in fact, feel satisfied with the steps taken in 1966, such as the establishment of a Special Committee to deal with South West Africa, the adoption of a programme of mandatory sanctions with a view to ending the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia and the agreement on sending a United Nations mission to Aden. 97. His delegation was prepared to contribute in every possible manner to resolving the problems before the Committee. It believed that peoples everywhere were entitled to govern themselves in an atmosphere of social justice and political and economic freedom. Moreover, the United States believed that it was in its national interest to promote the application of the principles of freedom and self-determination, since the manner in which existing tensions were handled at the international level significantly affected the long-term prospects for world stability and peace.

The representative of Sierra Leone said that his delegation wished to reiterate its disappointment at the fact that the Committee had been unable to achieve more since it was established. When its work began, it was dealing with about sixty Territories, of which it still had fifty-two left. Although that state of affairs was not the fault of the Committee, but of the administering Powers which had not applied all the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, the Committee should nevertheless seek to increase the pace of attaining self-determination. 99. The Chairman had spoken of visiting missions. It was by means of such missions that the peoples of the various Territories, and the administering Powers concerned, could present their case fully to the Special Committee. A number of administering Powers, including Spain and the United Kingdom, had agreed to the sending of missions to the Territories administered by them and others should be urged to follow their example. His delegation would also like to know what progress had been made in the implementation of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly concerning Aden. It urged administering Powers in general, and Australia, Spain, the United States, France, New Zealand and the United Kingdom, in particular, to co-operate with the Secretary-General, so that the Committee might know what missions could proceed during the current session and so that those missions would have sufficient time available to report to it in July.

100. The Chairman had suggested that Sub-Committee I might deal with an item which was on the agenda for the twenty-second session of the General Assembly entitled "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, South West Africa and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination". His delegation agreed with that suggestion, as Sub-Committee I was familiar with the subject and that material would enable it to expand the scope of the work it had already done on Rhodesia.

- 101. Similarly, a study of the role of military bases in impeding progress towards self-determination and independence might be undertaken either by a special group or by a sub-committee whose work programme was less heavy than the others. His delegation left it to the Chairman to choose the sub-committee concerned.

  102. His delegation would like visiting missions to be sent to the smaller Territories in the Caribbean and the Pacific Ocean, to which the Special Committee had not given sufficient attention in 1966, and would like the sub-committees concerned to begin their study of those Territories at an early date. The problems peculiar to them were acute and the Committee should devote as much attention to them as to the Territories in southern Africa.
- 103. On the subject of South West Africa, which had also been mentioned, his delegation believed that, even if some aspects of the Special Committee's work were being considered specifically by other United Nations bodies, the Committee should also keep them under review.
- 104. He drew the Committee's attention to operative paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI), which concerned the list of Territories referred to in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. He thought that the Committee should attempt to decide in 1967 which Territories to include in its agenda. With regard to operative paragraph 14 of the same resolution, he pointed out that some members had always resisted any attempt by the Committee to make suggestions to the Security Council, stating that it was not within the Committee's province to do so. He hoped that, as a result of the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI), the Committee would no longer be impeded in respect of such action and would be better able to help the Security Council and the Secretary-General than it had been in the past.

105. It was always difficult to decide on priorities, but the order should be determined in the light of the visits which the Committee would either make itself or entrust to missions, the interests of the peoples of the Territories and recent developments there. While the questions of southern Africa and Aden were, of course, particularly important, the smaller Territories should also be borne in mind.

106. Finally, the Committee should try during the current session to carry out all the tasks specifically entrusted to it by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session.

107. The representative of <u>Italy</u> supported most of the remarks made by the Chairman at the opening meeting, especially those concerning the importance of the work of the Sub-Committees, at least in the first stage of the Committee's work. He felt that the results achieved by sub-committees in previous years had been excellent. 108. In 90 per cent of the cases, the slow progress of the various Territories towards self-determination and independence was not necessarily due to ill-will on the part of the administering Power, but rather to built-in factors, such as political or ethnic divisions, economic difficulties and the small size or sparse populations of certain Territories. The Committee must therefore devote its attention to that specific and, in some cases, very difficult problem. It must request the co-operation of the administering Powers, but must also be ready to give them advice and guidance.

109. He agreed with the Polish representative that the Committee must guide the Territories in their progress towards self-determination and independence by showing them the best way to obtain genuine freedom from colonial rule, which meant helping them to solve their political and constitutional problems and to obtain the economic assistance they needed if they were not to become the prey of a new imperialism.

110. With regard to visiting missions, he suggested that the Committee should abandon the method of asking the administering Powers to grant a general consent to the sending of missions to Territories under their administration. It would be better if, whenever the Committee judged it necessary to send a mission to a specific Territory, the Chairman were to hold informal consultations with the administering Power and report the result of his negotiations to the Committee.

- lll. With respect to the planned session in Africa or the Middle East, he believed that it was too early to take any decision even of a general nature. Once the Committee had received invitations from Member States, it would be able to decide whether it was possible to visit each of the inviting countries without the journey becoming too long, too expensive or too taxing for the members of the Committee. Moreover, to avoid any appearance of discourtesy, it should be made clear in advance that it might be impossible for the Committee to accept all the invitations extended to it.
- 112. He did not regard the holding of a session away from Headquarters as a sort of climax to the Committee's work. If the Committee took that view, it might fail to realize the urgency of the work it had to do at Headquarters. He hoped that most of that work would be concluded before 31 May so that the summer session might be devoted to a very limited number of items and to the adoption of the report to the General Assembly.
- 113. In conclusion, he assured the Chairman of his delegation's continuing devotion to the cause of decolonization and of its support for him in his new functions.

  114. The representative of the <u>United Republic of Tanzania</u> stated in answer to the United States representative's statement concerning Puerto Rico, that in his delegation's view Puerto Rico was indeed a colonial Territory. Its people should therefore have the opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination under the auspices of the United Nations.
- 115. The representative of <u>Madagascar</u> said that in view of the importance the United Nations attached to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it was regrettable that certain Powers were refusing to respect the principles of the Charter and were doing nothing to facilitate the implementation of the relevant General Assembly resolutions.
- 116. In view of the effectiveness of the work done during the previous session by the sub-committees and ad hoc committees of the Special Committee, he would agree that such committees should be maintained. He welcomed the fact that some Powers had agreed to allow missions to visit the Territories under their administration, and hoped that before such missions left for the smaller Territories the information services of the United Nations would keep the Committee informed of political developments there. In conclusion, his delegation favoured holding another series of meetings in Africa in 1967.

117. The representative of Yugoslavia said that there were still no grounds for optimism regarding a settlement of colonial problems in conformity with General Assembly resolutions and in a manner which would satisfy the legitimate interests of the peoples concerned. Regrettably, many Territories were still deprived of the fundamental right to freedom and independence. Moreover, the peoples of colonial Territories, like the United Nations itself, were faced with the organized resistance of the colonial Powers and their allies, which were attempting by means of pressure and intervention not only to impede the process of decolonization but also to expand their political, economic and strategic positions. That was especially true of southern Africa, where racism, colonial wars and other forms of repression were preventing the indigenous peoples from achieving freedom and independence.

118. He thanked the Secretary-General for the great interest he had shown in the problems of decolonization. He fully supported the Chairman's suggestions regarding the organization of the Committee's work; however, he felt that African colonial problems warranted special attention. A study of the activities of foreign monopolies and other economic interests in colonial Territories would no doubt bring to light the reasons why such monopolies were preventing the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and would be of great assistance to the General Assembly when it considered that question at its twenty-second session.

119. At the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, his delegation had suggested that the Special Committee might consider the possibility of summarizing its studies on the Portuguese colonies in a single document which would be translated into various languages, including Portuguese, and be widely circulated in order to mobilize world public opinion with a view to finding a solution to the problems of those colonies. Another important colonial issue which should be reviewed by the Special Committee was the question of Aden.

120. His delegation had devoted special attention to the question of the small Territories, and had always supported the dispatch of visiting missions to examine the situation prevailing in such Territories. At the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, the Yugoslav delegation had suggested that the Special Committee might consider the possibility of convening a conference, under United Nations auspices. of representatives of the small Territories. Such a conference would enable representatives of the people of those Territories to describe their problems and propose appropriate solutions, on the basis of which the United Nations would be able to work out a broad action programme.

121. The military bases established in some Non-Self-Governing Territories against the will of the peoples concerned were a serious obstacle to the liberation of the colonial peoples and a means of aggression and intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. Since the General Assembly, at both its twentieth and twenty-first sessions, had requested the dismantling of such bases, his delegation supported the suggestion that the question of military bases should be given special attention by the Committee. On the question of holding another series of meetings in Africa, his delegation's views remained unchanged.

122. The representative of Iran said that the eradication of colonialism was an immense task, which was bound to take time. However, steady progress was being made towards that goal, and at the same time the Committee was helping to lay the foundations for new nations. The Committee should seek inspiration for its tasks by maintaining direct contacts with the peoples involved. It could thus derive confidence from the support of those peoples, while they in turn would be encouraged by the knowledge that they were not alone in their struggle for freedom and justice. 123. It was in that light that he viewed the questions relating to visiting missions, the establishment of a United Nations presence to supervise the exercise of self-determination in particular Territories, and the holding of meetings in Africa. The Committee had already received a certain measure of co-operation from some of the administering Powers, and he welcomed the policy pursued by the Spanish Government in that respect, as also the change in the United Kingdom's attitude regarding the dispatch of a mission to Aden. He hoped that a similar attitude would be shown by all administering Powers with regard to other Territories, such as Fiji and the Territories in the Caribbean.

124. The dissemination of information, a matter which had been raised by other speakers, was also an instrument for focusing attention on the plight of subjugated peoples. However, he did not share the view that the Office of Public Information had been remiss in the performance of its duties; it had acquitted itself well in 1966 and he was confident that it would do even better in 1967.

125. The Committee should devote a major share of its attention to problems which concerned international peace and security in addition to the right to self-determination and independence, particularly the questions of Southern Rhodesia,

South West Africa, the Portuguese Territories and Aden. Despite the Security Council's decision to apply economic sanctions against the rebel régime in Southern Rhodesia, no progress had yet been achieved towards returning that Territory to its rightful owners, the Zimbabwe people. The Committee should also feel free to take up the question of South West Africa when it deemed appropriate, although that question was currently under consideration by the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa. With regard to the Territories under Portuguese domination, he hoped that the Committee would be able to offer new proposals for stronger action by the General Assembly to overcome Portugal's intransigence. On the question of Aden, he shared the anxiety expressed by other speakers. He sincerely hoped that the special mission called for by the General Assembly in resolution 2183 (XXI) would be appointed soon, so that it could proceed to the Territory without further delay.

126. With regard to the question of small Territories, he considered that the sub-committees should begin work without delay, in order to be able to give those Territories the attention they deserved. On that and other matters, he supported the suggestions made by the Chairman.

127. The representative of Australia said that although there were some quite deep philosophical differences within the Committee, he thought that there was an identity of aims among members. At the same time of the drafting of the United Nations Charter, the Australian delegation had been among the most zealous in supporting the inclusion of the provisions concerning Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories. The aims of members of the Special Committee regarding independence, self-determination and the protection of the rights of the peoples of the Territories were the same, and while there might be differences in approach, it was the Committee's task to harmonize those differences to promote the common goal.

128. He recalled that the Chairman had referred to General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI) and suggested that the Committee might make a study of activities of foreign economic and other interests which were impeding the progress of colonial Territories to independence. A report to the General Assembly on the results of such a study could constitute a really important document, and he would suggest

that for that reason the Committee should be careful in sifting the evidence brought before it. What was required was a sound economic study based on hard facts and statistics, not a polemical document. He also hoped that controversial doctrinaire views would not be injected into the report. His delegation, for example, saw no reason why foreign economic investment in certain forms should not be in the interests of the people of dependent Territories. The Committee should not allow preconceived views on such matters to colour its judgements. The only consideration should be the interests of the people of the Territories and the matter in which they themselves interpreted those interests.

- 129. He had some reservations about the Chairman's suggestion that all special studies should be referred to Sub-Committee I; experience suggested that detailed studies could best be carried out by a Sub-Committee which devoted its attention to a particular region. He would support what had been said by the representatives of India and Syria regarding the Sub-Committee on Petitions. During 1966, the Sub-Committee's work had not proceeded in an altogether satisfactory manner. The Sub-Committee had here unable to devote adequate time to the consideration of petitions, and there had sometimes been inexplicable delays between the Sub-Committee's approval of a petition for circulation and its actual circulation to the Special Committee. In at least two instances, petitions which might have altered the course of a debate had been delayed and had not been before the Special Committee at the time of its decision on the Territory concerned.
- 130. He agreed with the view that visiting missions could be of value, but they were impossible without the full co-operation of the administering Power. The administering Power was responsible for the Territories which it administered, and its decision as to the acceptability of a mission must necessarily be governed by many factors. The wishes and interests of the people of the Territory must also be a paramount consideration
- 131. There were circumstances in which visiting missions could be very helpful; the proposed mission to South Arabia might have a great influence in helping the people of that area to reach independence, which they were about to attain in any case, with a minimum loss of life. On the other hand, unwelcome visits could antagonize the people of a Territory and make it difficult for the administering Power to bring them to full self-determination.

132. With regard to the possibilities of meetings of the Special Committee in Africa, he would suggest that the Committee should try to arrange its programme on a practical basis. He realized that it was difficult to refuse invitations, but he thought that the paramount consideration should be the practical usefulness of visiting a particular city. By keeping its aims within practical bounds, the Committee would be fulfilling the responsibility it shared with other organs of the United Nations to keep down costs.

133. The representative of Tunisia said the Committee's work was helped by the fact that its responsibilities had been clearly defined in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and would also be helped by the advice the Secretary-General had offered at the beginning of the session. However, the time had come for the Committee to ask itself whether it had really made any progress, and whether it should continue to repeat what it had done in previous years. It had proclaimed the rights of subject peoples and condemned the atrocious conduct of the colonialists, but that had not stopped the colonial Powers from perpetrating their crimes against humanity. Nevertheless, the Committee should not despair. The colonial Powers had become so used to the Committee's discussions and resolutions that they no longer took the trouble to vote against the latter in the General Assembly. They merely abstained, which was damaging to the prestige and effectiveness of the United Nations and insulting, in particular, to the Special Committee. If the Committee was to fail, it would mean the failure of the Organization as a whole and of its Members, who adopted resolutions that they were powerless to apply.

Assembly for hastening the achievement of independence and national sovereignty by the dependent Territories. He wished to make a number of suggestions on how that could be achieved. First, although private consultations such as those the Chairman had already held regarding the organization of work with many delegations, including that of Tunisia, were an acceptable procedure, they could be fruitful only if all delegations were consulted. Secondly, the influence of foreign financial groups in the prolongation of colonial domination was a very important and complex question. The Committee should ask the Secretariat to provide it with the necessary documentation, and if necessary with the services of experts, to assist it in dealing with what was in some ways a highly technical

problem. Thirdly, he agreed that it was advisable to send visiting missions, but they must be properly prepared, and must not be sent without the prior consent of the administering Powers. They must also be assured of complete freedom of action once they were on the spot. If those conditions could not be met, it would be better not to send any missions; the Committee would have to examine each case on its merits. Fourthly, although experience had shown that meetings away from Headquarters could be fruitful, their number should be kept to a minimum, for they involved serious practical problems for small delegations. It would be best to select one or two countries in which the Committee could make a fairly prolonged stay.

135. The representative of Mali said that the results achieved since the adoption of the historic Declaration set forth in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) were not encouraging. Although the Committee had done its work conscientiously, it had to recognize that the administering Powers refused to co-operate fully with it and with the General Assembly. By denying freedom and independence to millions, those Powers openly violated the Charter. The Committee had always denounced such violations and would continue to do so as long as the administering Powers persisted in disregarding the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. The Secretary-General had referred to the increasing concern of Member States over the refusal of the colonial Powers to apply the resolutions of the General Assembly and over their covert support of the colonialists in Southern Rhodesia and the fascist regimes of Portugal and South Africa. The Special Committee must continue to draw public attention to the dangerous situation prevailing in the Territories of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Pacific Islands which had not yet attained independence. United Nations information services should give priority to colonial questions, and should use all the media of communication, including radio, to inform the peace-loving peoples of the remedies for colonialism proposed by the United Nations and emphasize the enormous responsibility which the administering Powers took upon themselves in hesitating to honour their obligations to the peoples under their administration.

136. The Committee might well ask itself why the administering Powers were so unco-operative. In his view, it was entirely because they wished to hold on to the substantial advantages, including purely military and strategic advantages,

which they derived from the shameless exploitation of the subject peoples and their natural resources. For that reason, the Committee should give attention to the economic and military aspects of colonialism. It was encouraging that the General Assembly had decided, in resolution 2189 (XXI), to include in the provisional agenda of its twenty-second session an item entitled "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, South West Africa and Territories under Portuguese domination as well as in all other Territories under colonial domination". The discussion of that item would show the public how the colonial Powers systematically pillaged the colonized countries under the cloak of their civilizing mission. He supported the Chairman's suggestion that the Committee should discuss that subject.

137. He also supported the other suggestions put forward by the Chairman. It was the Committee's responsibility to follow up the application of General Assembly resolutions, and the dispatch of visiting missions, particularly to small Territories, would help the Committee to follow developments in such Territories and obtain first-hand information. His delegation felt that it was bound by the decision already taken that part of the Committee's session should be held in Africa; he would comment further on that point at the appropriate time. He supported the maintenance of the sub-committees, which had done excellent work over the previous year. Lastly, he expressed the hope that the Committee would be able to complete its work in time; that would enable it to obtain more co-operation from the administering Powers, thus ensuring the speedy application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

#### Decisions

138. At the conclusion of the debate on the organization of its work, the Special Committee, at its 487th meeting, requested the Working Group to consider and submit recommendations regarding the Committee's programme of work for the current year, including the order of priority for the considertion of items. In doing so, it 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-first session as well as the tasks envisaged by the Committee itself for 1967, an outline of which is contained in the note by the Secretary-General (A/AC.109/L.366). Further, the Special Committee requested the Working Group to take into consideration the views expressed during its debate on the organization of work (A/AC.109/SR.484 to SR.487), and the possibility of the Committee holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters during the year. 139. On the basis of the recommendation contained in the twenty-sixth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.368/Rev.1) the Special Committee, at its 488th meeting, decided to maintain Sub-Committees I, II and III and requested them to carry out, in addition to their existing terms of reference, the specific tasks assigned by the General Assembly in its resolutions concerning the Territories referred to them. The Special Committee also authorized the Sub-Committees to submit specific recommendations without delay regarding the sending of visiting missions to Territories with which they are concerned. 140. At the same meeting, the Special Committee decided to undertake special studies concerning the following items and referred them to Sub-Committee I for consideration and report:

- (a) 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, South West Africa and Territories under Portuguese administration as well as in all other Territories under colonial domination;
- (b) Military activities and arrangements by the colonial Powers, which may be impeding the implementation of the Declaration in Territories under their administration.
- 141. At its 507th meeting, the Special Committee, by adopting the twenty-eighth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.385) decided that: (a) it should accept in principle the invitations extended to it by the Governments of Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania, Iraq, Morocco, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Mauritania and Zambia to hold meetings at their respective capitals, with an expression of its deep appreciation (A/AC.109/221, 222, 224, 226-228, 230 and 232); and (b) it should avail itself this year of the invitations received from the Governments of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia, and it should inform the Governments of

Ethiopia, Morocco and Mauritania that, subject to their convenience, it would prefer to take advantage of their invitations at a future date. Subsequent decisions by the Special Committee concerning its meetings held away from Headquarters are set out in chapter II of the present report (A/6700 (part II)). 142. At its 498th, 509th and 543rd meetings, the Special Committee took various decisions concerning its programme of work for 1967 including the order of priority for the consideration of the items before it, on the basis of the recommendations contained in the twenty-seventh, twenty-ninth and thirty-second reports of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.380, L.391 and L.418). These decisions are reflected in section V of this chapter.

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

## Special Committee

143. The Special Committee held 89 meetings during 1967, as follows: First session:

484th to 510th meetings, 9 February to 19 April 1967, United Nations Headquarters

511th to 518th meetings, 29 May to 1 June 1967, Kinshasa 519th to 528th meetings, 3 June to 9 June 1967, Kitwe

529th to 542nd meetings, 12 June to 21 June 1967, Dar es Salaam Second session:

543rd to 572nd meetings. 22 August to 5 December 1967.
United Nations Headquarters

## Working Group

144. The Special Committee, at its 486th meeting, decided to enlarge the Working Group by the addition of one member. Pursuant to this decision, the Special Committee approved the nomination of Bulgaria, Ethiopia, India, Italy and Mali to be members of the Working Group, in addition to the four officers of the Special Committee, namely, Mr. John Malecela (United Republic of Tanzania), Chairman, Mr. Kadhim Khalaf (Iraq) and Mr. Manuel Pérez Guerrero (Venezuela) Vice-Chairmen and Mr. Mohsen Esfandiary (Iran), Rapporteur.

145. During the period covered by the present report, the Working Group held thirteen meetings and submitted eight reports.

#### Sub-Committee on Petitions

146. The Special Committee, at its 487th meeting, decided to continue the Sub-Committee on Petitions with the same membership as in 1966, except for the replacement of Venezuela by Chile. The Sub-Committee on Petitions therefore consisted of the following members:

<sup>8/</sup> A/AC.109/L.368/Rev.1, L.380, L.385, L.391, L.392, L.410, L.418/Rev.1 and L.432/Rev.1

Australia Poland
Chile Syria
India Tunisia

Madagascar

147. At its 96th meeting, on 16 February 1967, the Sub-Committee on Petitions elected Mr. Rafic Jouejati (Syria) as its Chairman and, at its 97th meeting, on 21 February 1967, Mr. Raymond Racelina (Madagascar) as its Vice-Chairman. 148. The Sub-Committee on Petitions held twenty-six meetings and submitted twenty five reports to the Special Committee. The Sub-Committee on Petitions considered, during the period, a total of 479 communications, 427 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 Territories to which they refer. These petitions included thirty-six requests for hearing, which it recommended to the Special Committee for approval. A list of petitioners heard by the Special Committee is given in annex I.

## Sub-Committee I

149. At its 489th meeting, the Special Committee nominated Finland to fill the vacancy in the Sub-Committee I created by the withdrawal of Denmark from membership of the Special Committee. The composition of Sub-Committee I was therefore as follows:

Ethiopia Tunisia

Finland Union of Soviet Socialist

Mali Republics

Syria United Republic of Tanzania

Yugoslavia

150. At its 33rd meeting, on 1 March 1967, Sub-Committee I elected Miss Kongit Sinegiorgis (Ethiopia) Chairman and Mr. Rafic Jouejati (Syria) Rapporteur.

151. Sub-Committee I held fourteen meetings and submitted three reports to the Special Committee covering its consideration of the following items which had been referred to it for consideration (see paragraph 140 above):

<sup>9/</sup> A/AC.109.L.367, 369, L.375, L.376, L.382, L.389, L.390, L.396, L.399, L.402-406, L.408, L.409 and Corr.1, L.421, L.425, L.426, L.430, L.435, L.436 and Corr.1, L.438, L.440 and L.441.

- (a) Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena (A/AC.109/L.498);
- (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, South West Africa and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination (A/AC.109/L.434);
- (c) Military activities by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration (A/AC.109/L.433).
- 152. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the reports of the Sub-Committee relating to item (a) is contained in chapter XIV of the present report. Its consideration of item (b) is contained in document A/6868, while its consideration of item (c) is contained in section IX of the present chapter.

### Sub-Committee II

153. At its 489th meeting, the Special Committee decided to maintain Sub-Committee II with the same membership as in 1966. The composition of Sub-Committee II was therefore as follows:

Afghanistan aa Iraq
Australia Poland
Chile Sierra Leone
Tndia United States of America

154. At its 56th meeting, on 23 February 1967, Sub-Committee II elected Mr. C.R. Gharekhan (India) Chairman and Mr. G.E.O. Williams (Sierra Leone) Rapporteur.

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

- (a) Question of sending visiting missions to the Territories referred to the Sub-Committee (A/AC.109/L.395 and Corr.1);
- (b) Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands (A/AC.109/L.395/Add.1);
  - (c) New Hebrides (A/AC.109/L.395/Add.2);
  - (d) Guam and American Samoa (A/AC.109/L.395/Add.3);
  - (e) Niue and Tokelau Islands (A/AC.109/L.395/Add.4);

- (f) Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (A/AC.109/L.395/Add.5);
- (g) Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Trust Territory of Nauru, Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea (A/AC.109/L.395/Add.6).

156. Details of the Special Committee's consideration of the Sub-Committee's report relating to specific Territories are contained in chapters XV to XXII of the present report. Its consideration of the Special Committee's report on the question of sending visiting mission is contained in section VI of the present chapter.

## Sub-Committee III

157. At its 489th meeting, the Special Committee decided to maintain Sub-Committee III with the same membership as in 1966. The composition of Sub-Committee III therefore was as follows:

Bulgaria

Madagascar

Iran

Uruguay

Italy

Venezuela

Ivory Coast

158. At its 60th meeting, on 23 February 1967, Sub-Committee III elected Mr. Mohsen S. Esfandiary (Iran) Chairman and Mr. G.I. Carresquero (Venezuela) Rapporteur.

- 159. Sub-Committee III held thirty-nine meetings and submitted a report dealing with the following items which had been referred to it for consideration:
- (a) Question of sending visiting missions to the Territories referred to the Sub-Committee (A/AC.109/L.401/Rev.1);
  - (b) United States Virgin Islands (A/AC.109/L.401/Add.1);
  - (c) British Virgin Islands (A/AC.109/L.401/Add.2);
- (d) Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent (A/AC.109/L.401/Add.3);
- (e) Bermuda, Bahamas, Montserrat, Turks and Caicos and Cayman Islands (A/AC.109/L.401/Add.4);
  - (f) Falkland Islands (Malvinas) (A/AC.109/L.401/Add.4).
- 160. Details of the Special Committee's consideration of the Sub-Committee's report relating to specific Territories are contained in chapter XXIII of the present report. Its consideration of the Sub-Committee's report on the question of sending visiting missions is contained in section VI of the present chapter.

## V. CONSIDERATION OF TERRITORIES

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

Territories	Meetings
Aden	490, 492, 493, 499, 504, 508, 543, 567 (United Nations Headquarters)
French Somaliland	499, 500, 502, 503, 506, 508 (United Nations Headquarters) 537, 538 (Dar es Salaam) 557, 559 (United Nations Headquarters)
Ifni and Spanish Sahara	508, 547, 548, 552, 559, 560 (United Nations Headquarters)
Territories under Portuguese administration	513-518 (Kinshasa) 524, 526 (Kitwe) 532-534, 538-541 (Dar es Salaam)
Southern Rhodesia	522, 523, 525, 527, 528 (Kitwe) 536 (Dar es Salaam)
South West Africa	524-526 (Kitwe) 535, 537, 539 (Dar es Salaam) 554, 556, 557 (United Nations Headquarters)
Gibraltar	543-550, 570 (United Nations Headquarters)
Fiji	546, 555, 558, 560, 561 (United Nations Headquarters)
Equatorial Guinea	551-554, 556, 557, 564 (United Nations Headquarters)
Swaziland	561, 568, 569 (United Nations Headquarters)
Oman	564 (United-Nations Headquarters)

## Meetings

## Territories referred to Sub-Committee I

Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena 535-539 (Dar es Salaam)

## Meetings

## Territories referred to Sub-Committee II

	Gilbert and Ellice Islands	562		
	New Hebrides	562		
	American Samoa and Guam	562,	563	
	Niue and the Tokelau Islands	562,	563,	564
	Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands	562,	564	
Trust Territory of Nauru, Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea and				
	the Cocos (Keeling) Islands	564		
	Brunei and Hong Kong	569		

## Territories referred to Sub-Committee III

United States Virgin Islands	564
British Virgin Islands	565
Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent	489-497, 500, 501, 504-506, 565
Bermuda, Bahamas, Montserrat, Turks a Caicos and Cayman Islands	and 565
Falkland Islands (Malvinas)	565
British Honduras	548

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

163. At the 569th meeting, the Chairman of the Special Committee, on behalf of the Rapporteur of Sub-Committee II informed the Committee that, owing to the limited time available to it, Sub-Committee II had decided at its 67th meeting to postpone its consideration of the Territories of Brunei and Hong Kong. At the same meeting, following statements by the representatives of the USSR, Poland and Bulgaria,  $\frac{10}{}$  the Special Committee agreed to take

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

note of the above-mentioned decision. Information concerning these two Territories is given in chapters XXI and XXII of the present report. 164. Sub-Committee III was unable to consider British Honduras owing to lack of time. Information on this Territory is contained in chapter XXIII of the present report.

### VI. QUESTION OF SENDING VISITING GROUPS TO TERRITORIES

- 165. In operative paragraph 5 of its resolution 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966, the General Assembly approved "the programme of work envisaged by the Special Committee during 1967, including the sending of visiting missions and the possibility of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters, and requests the administering Powers to allow visiting missions to be sent to the Territories under their administration".
- 166. In approving the twenty-sixth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.368/Rev.1), the Special Committee, at its 488th meeting, on 20 February 1967, requested its Sub-Committees I, II and III to submit without delay specific recommendations to the Special Committee regarding the sending of visiting groups in relation to Territories with which they are concerned.
- 167. At the 565th meeting, on 6 October, the Special Committee considered the reports submitted by Sub-Committees II and III concerning the question of sending visiting groups to the Territories referred to them (A/AC.109/L.395) and Corr.l and A/AC.109/L.401/Rev.l, see annex II).
- 168. At the same meeting, the representatives of the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Australia reaffirmed the positions of their Governments with regard to the sending of visiting groups, as recorded in the reports of the sub-committees.
- 169. At the same meeting, the Special Committee approved the sections of the reports of Sub-Committees II and III relating to this question, and endorsed the conclusions and recommendations contained therein, it being understood that the reservations expressed by members would be reflected in the record.
- 170. The conclusions and recommendations of the Sub-Committees are set out below:

## Conclusions and recommendations of Sub-Committee II

"The Sub-Committee notes that most of the administering Powers continue to maintain their same negative attitude towards the acceptance of visiting missions to the Territories referred to Sub-Committee II.

"The Sub-Committee recommends that the Special Committee should strongly urge the administering Powers to receive visiting missions to these Territories at an early date. The detailed recommendations regarding the Territories to be visited and other modalities will be decided upon at a later stage."

## Conclusions and recommendations of Sub-Committee III

"Recalling paragraphs five of General Assembly resolutions 2232 (XXI) 2189 (XXI), the Sub-Committee notes with regret that the administering Powers, namely the United States and the United Kingdom, continue to maintain the same negative attitude towards the acceptance of visiting missions to the Territories referred to Sub-Committee III.

"The Sub-Committee recommends that the Special Committee should strongly urge the administering Powers to receive visiting missions to these Territories at an early date."

# VII. QUESTION OF THE LIST OF TERRITORIES TO WHICH THE DECLARATION IS APPLICABLE

- 171. At its 471st meeting, on 10 October 1966, the Special Committee approved the proposals contained in the 25th report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.338) which read as follows:
  - "10. Following an exchange of views on various suggestions, the Working Group agreed that the question of the inclusion of these Territories, namely Puerto Rico and the Comoro Archipelago, /īn the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable required further detailed study and that, in view of the lack of time at this session, it should make such a study at an early date during the next session of the Special Committee. It further agreed that, at that time, it would also consider any other Territories which might be included in the list of 'all other Territories which have not yet attained independence'."
- 172. In operative paragraph 4 of its resolution 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966, the General Assembly approved "the action taken and envisaged by the Special Committee for the year 1967 with respect to the list of Territories to which the Declaration applies".
- 173. At its 509th and 510th meetings, on 17 and 19 April, the Special Committee considered a report submitted by the Working Group concerning the question of the inclusion of Puerto Rico and of the Comoro Archipelago in the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable. The relevant paragraph of this report (A/AC.109/L.392) reads as follows:
  - "2. After discussion, the Working Group agreed, by consensus, to refer to the Special Committee the question of the inclusion of Puerto Rico and of the Comoro Archipelago in the list of Territorics to which the Declaration is applicable. The representative of Italy reserved the position of his delegation regarding this decision."
- 174. At the conclusion of its consideration of this question (see paragraphs 178 to 256 below), the Special Committee, at its 510th meeting, adopted a proposal made by the representative of Syria to adjourn <u>sine die</u> the debate on the question of the inclusion of Puerto Rico in the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable. This proposal was adopted by 19 votes to 8, with one abstention.

- 175. At the same meeting, the Special Committee also decided to defer consideration of the question of the inclusion of the Comoro Archipelago in the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable.
- 176. At the 564th meeting, the Special Committee, by approving the 33rd report of the Working Group, decided to continue consideration of the question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable at its next session.
- 177. The views of members on the question of the inclusion of Puerto Rico in the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable, as expressed at the 509th and 510th meetings, are set out below:

## Views of members

- 178. The representative of the United States of America said that the problem raised by the Working Group's report was purely procedural and the facts were clear. For a number of years the United States had transmitted information on Puerto Rico, as a Non-Self-Governing Territory, under Article 73 e of the Charter. In the 1948 general elections the people of Puerto Rico had voted unequivocally, by a vote of almost 6 to 1 for the party favouring commonwealth status over the party favouring independence, to become a commonwealth, or free state, associated with the United States, and the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico had come into force on 25 July 1952.
- 179. Since Puerto Rico had thereby achieved full self-government, the Government of the United States had concluded that it would no longer be appropriate to submit information on it under Article 73 e of the Charter and had duly informed the United Nations of that decision. Full documentation had been sent to the General Assembly's Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, which had discussed the question and approved a resolution noting that the people of Puerto Rico had achieved a new constitutional status after expressing their will in a free and democratic way and that the Commonwealth could be considered as falling outside the scope of Article 73 e of the Charter. On 27 November 1953, the General Assembly had adopted resolution 748 (VIII), which took favourable note of the conclusions of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and explicitly recognized that the people of Puerto Rico had effectively exercised their right to self-determination and had been invested with attributes of political sovereignty which clearly identified the status of self-government

attained by the Puerto Rican people as that of an autonomous political entity. had furthermore stated that it was considered appropriate that the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter should cease. 180. Since the General Assembly itself had found that Puerto Rico was no longer a colonial or Non-Self-Governing Territory but a self-governing Territory with a constitutional and international status chosen by the people themselves, it was difficult to understand how a subsidiary body of the General Assembly established to implement a declaration pertaining to colonial Territories could inscribe Puerto Rico on its agenda. To claim that Puerto Rico was a colonial Territory falling within the jurisdiction of the Special Committee would be to suggest that the latter was in a position to act counter to its parent body's findings and would expose any General Assembly decision to subsequent challenge by a subsidiary body. The question was one of the utmost importance since a proposal to inscribe Puerto Rico on the Committee's agenda would not only violate the basic rules and provisions of the United Nations Charter, but also constitute interference in a matter of direct concern to the United States and all its citizens, including those in Puerto Rico. About that, there should be no misunderstanding. 181. The status of Puerto Rico as an associated Commonwealth had been freely chosen in democratic elections based on universal adult suffrage and had been confirmed by the General Assembly. The United States delegation therefore formally proposed that Puerto Rico should not be included in the list of Territories to

"Having regard to the thirtieth report of the Working Group and recalling General Assembly resolution 748 (VIII), Puerto Rico should not be considered 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."

be considered by the Special Committee. This proposal was subsequently reworded

to read as follows:

182. The representative of <u>Uruguay</u> said that in considering the problem which had been referred to it by the Working Group, the Committee must first decide whether it was competent to pass judgement on the present status of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. He would approach the question from the point of view of law, bearing in mind the importance of applying the law faithfully if the political, economic, humanitarian and social purposes of the United Nations were to be served and the interests of the people of Puerto Rico safeguarded.

183. The Special Committee was a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly, established by resolution 1654 (XVI), to examine the application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)). Its powers were set forth in operative paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 of that resolution. At the seventeenth session, in operative paragraph 8 of resolution 1810 (XVII), the Special Committee had been invited to continue to seek the most suitable ways and means for the speedy and total application of the Declaration to all Territories which had not yet attained independence and to propose specific measures in that regard. It was clear from those provisions that the Committee was to concern itself exclusively with Territories which had not yet attained independence - an expression which was also found in paragraph 5 of the Declaration itself.

184. In 1953, in resolution 748 (VIII), the Assembly had decided that the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico fell outside the category of colonial Territories which had not attained independence. The resolution in question contained a number of findings regarding the new political and constitutional status of Puerto Rico, but he would not go into them since they were outside the competence of the Special Committee. The fact remained, however, that the General Assembly had taken a decision on the matter. The competent principal organ had adopted a resolution, in the exercise of its characteristic powers under the Charter, eight years prior to the establishment of the Special Committee. To question the validity of the General Assembly's decision and attempt to revoke it would be a most serious violation of the legal order of the United Nations, and the Special Committee should therefore limit itself to stating its lack of competence in the matter.

185. A few days previously, at the 29th meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on Human Rights, the representative of Poland had rightly maintained that the existence of an earlier General Assembly resolution on the point in dispute left the subsidiary organ in question no say in the matter. It had been pointed out that the General Assembly had already decided to make Russian a working language of the Conference and that the Preparatory Committee had no competence to question that decision. That thesis had been accepted. The Special Committee now confronted an identical situation, except that what was in

question was not the exclusion of a language, but the inclusion of a Territory in a particular list. The subordinate organ clearly lacked power to modify the decision of its parent body.

186. He now wished to deal with a possible objection. The Working Group, in order to justify the referral of the question to the plenary Special Committee, had referred in document A/AC.109/L.392 to paragraph 10 of its twenty-fifth report (A/6300 (part I), chapter I, para. 265). In the paragraph referred to, the Working Group had stated its view that the question of the inclusion of Puerto Rico and the Comoro Archipelago required further detailed study. That statement, however, in no way suggested a claim of competence in a matter which had been decided years earlier by the General Assembly. The Working Group had simply postponed the matter in view of its complexity, without taking any position on the Committee's competence to take a decision on the matter.

187. Any decision by the Committee to include Puerto Rico in the list of Territories to be considered would be null and void and give rise to a conflict of powers with the General Assembly. He realized that decolonization was a most important political duty and that appeals to legal arguments were unwelcome to those who were deeply concerned for the freedom of peoples. Many essentially political goals were sought by the United Nations, but it was in the interests of all that its actions should conform to legal norms. No one would have faith in a world organization which disobeyed its own rules and encouraged conflicts among its own organs.

188. In the light of those considerations, Uruguay would support a motion to the effect that the Committee had no competence in the matter, and, as a corollary, would vote for the non-inclusion of Puerto Rico in the list of Territories which had not yet attained independence.

189. With regard to the Comoro Archipelago, he suggested that the matter should be taken up at a later date, in view of the complexity of the special factors involved. 190. The representative of the <u>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</u> recalled that his delegation had already expressed its position on the question of Puerto Rico in the Special Committee in October 1965 and October 1966 and had demonstrated that the proposal to include the question in the Committee's agenda was well-founded. His delegation had based its position on the fact that, notwithstanding United States statements to the contrary, the people of Puerto Rico were being deprived

of the opportunity of exercising their inalienable right to self-determination and that the island continued to be a colonial Territory. His delegation continued to hold that view. United States representatives in various United Nations bodies sought to cast doubt on the Organization's competence to consider the question of Puerto Rico by claiming that the people of the Territory had allegedly been given the opportunity to exercise their right of self-determination, that, as a result of the adoption of a new Constitution, Puerto Rico had become a fully self-governing State, and that that had been confirmed by the General Assembly in resolution 748 (VIII). Another argument, advanced by the Uruguayan and other delegations, was that since the Special Committee was a subsidiary body of the General Assembly, it could consider the question only on the basis of a relevant General Assembly resolution. In the Soviet delegation's view, both those arguments were invalid, since from the procedural and substantive points of view, the problem of Puerto Rico came within the competence of the Special Committee. 191. With regard to the procedural aspect, he recalled that the Special Committee had taken up the problem in 1965 and 1966 and that in its report to the twenty-first session of the General Assembly it had said that its Working Group had decided that the question of the inclusion of the Territories, i.e. Puerto Rico and the Comoro Archipelage, required further study and that because of lack of time the Group would carry out that study at the beginning of its next session. As members were aware, in its resolution 2189 (XXI) the General Assembly had approved the Special Committee's report and the programme of work proposed for 1967. Thus, it was clear that the General Assembly had unequivocally entrusted the Special Committee and its Working Group with the task of studying the inclusion of the question of Puerto Rico in the Committee's agenda. It was also clear that such a study should be carried out at the beginning of the Special Committee's current session. Two conclusions could therefore be drawn up from the above-mentioned decisions: first, the Committee was empowered to consider the question and to decide for itself whether or not to include it in its agenda, and, secondly, it had been given a clear direction to consider the question at the beginning of its current session. Thus, the argument that the Committee could not consider the question until it received instructions from the General Assembly to do so could not withstand scrutiny, for it had already received such instructions.

192. The Declaration of the Cairo Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries had, inter alia, condemned the manifestation of colonialism and neo-colonialism in Latin America. In particular, that Declaration had drawn the attention of the Special Committee to the question of Puerto Rico and had called upon the Committee to consider the situation in that Territory in the light of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It was clear that the large number of States which had participated in the Conference had been of the view that Puerto Rico was nothing more than a colony and that the General Assembly resolution in question was applicable to it.

193. With respect to the substantive aspect of the problem, it was also clear that the Special Committee was fully entitled to consider the question of Puerto Rico. The assertion by United States representatives that the people of Puerto Rico had been given an opportunity in the referendum of 1951 to choose between independence, statehood in the United States, and associated status in the form of a commonwealth, was in flagrant contradiction with the facts. An analysis of the relevant documents and the present situation in the Territory showed that the people had not been given the opportunity of deciding the question of their future and that Puerto Rico continued to be a dependent Territory. For example, the official responsible for recording the results of elections in the Territory had said on 18 March 1965 that his department had no documents indicating that a referendum had been conducted in Puerto Rico in which the people had been offered three options - independence, statehood, or commonwealth status. That statement clearly showed that the people of Puerto Rico had not been given an opportunity to decide on their future status. Secondly, in seeking to avoid responsibility for preparing its colony for genuine self-government, the United States had imposed the colonial status of commonwealth upon Puerto Rico by Public Law 600, adopted by the United States Congress on 3 July 1950. With a view to creating the impression that Puerto Rico had become self-governing, not as a result of the unilateral action of a colonial Power but in accordance with the wishes of the people of the Territory, the Law had provided that it would be adopted in the form of an agreement subject to approval at a referendum by a qualified majority of Puerto Ricans and that, after the referendum, a constitutional convention would be held to prepare a draft constitution. The Law had empowered the President of the United States to consider

the question whether the constitution thus adopted was in accordance with the provisions of United States law and with the United States Constitution. In the event of an affirmative decision, the new constitution would be submitted to the Congress for approval. The resolution adopted on 3 July 1952 by both Houses of the United States Congress had approved the Constitution of Puerto Rico subject to certain changes in that document. As a result, the Constitution had included a provision to the effect that any amendment or revision of the Constitution must be consistent with the above-mentioned United States Congress resolution, with the relevant provisions of the United States Constitution, with the Federal Relations Act and with Public Law No. 600. It was thus clear that the United States Congress in which Puerto Rico was not represented, continued to exercise legal control over that Territory.

194. The Uruguayan representative had sought to prove that the Special Committee was not competent to consider the question of Puerto Rico and that the Committee would be undermining the very basis of the United Nations if it discussed the merits of General Assembly resolution 748 (VIII). The Soviet delegation could not agree that the fact that a resolution had been adopted meant that it could not be discussed. To accept that argument would mean that the "Uniting for Peace" resolution was a basic United Nations document, although it had been adopted in violation of the Charter and all the principles of the United Nations and had been forced on the Organization by the United States at a time when it had enjoyed an automatic majority in the General Assembly. Referring to resolution 748 (VIII) he said that the General Assembly had in essence adopted the point of view of the colonial Power, namely the United States. In manufacturing its nefarious commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the United States had trampled on the principle of the equality of rights which was embodied in the Charter. The Committee should be guided by the Charter rather than by the above-mentioned resolution, which was contrary to the basic provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. 195. With regard to the conclusions of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, he wished to point out that there had been no unanimity in the Committee regarding the new constitutional status of the Territory. In particular, the Indian representative had said that Puerto Rico did not possess all the attributes of a fully independent or self-governing State. Furthermore,

the resolution adopted by the Committee had been based on information submitted by the United States. In resolution 748 (VIII) the General Assembly had expressed the opinion "that it stems from the documentation provided that the association of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico with the United States of America has been established as a mutually agreed association" and had considered it appropriate that the transmission of information on Puerto Rico under Article 73 e of the Charter should In essence, the General Assembly had adopted the point of view of the administering Power, i.e. that relations between dependent Territories and the States responsible for those Territories were an internal matter and that only the colonial Power could decide whether a Territory was self-governing or not. In taking that decision and recognizing thereby that the United States was no longer responsible for the Territory, the General Assembly had failed to carry out one of its most important functions under the Charter, namely that laid down in Article 13 initiating studies and making recommendations for the purpose of assisting in the realization of human rights. One of the most important of those rights was the right of peoples to self-determination. In the Soviet delegation's view, the Committee should not be bound by a resolution which had been adopted in violation of the provisions of the Charter.

196. Under the Charter all States Members of the United Nations had an obligation to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. By creating the "Commonwealth" of Puerto Rico, the United States had retained its privileged position; thus it had flagrantly violated the principle of equal rights and self-determination. The United States continued to be responsible for Puerto Rico's foreign affairs and defence, the most important prerogatives of an independent State.

197. Puerto Rico was represented in the United States Congress only by a Resident Commissioner, who did not have the right to vote, although that body determined questions directly affecting the Territory. While the Constitution provided that the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico was a court of last instance, its decisions could be appealed from to a United States court. The Puerto Rican people had been deprived of the possibility of managing their own affairs. The United States Congress retained exclusive jurisdiction over military service, the declaration of war, customs, currency, shipping, air transport, external relations, citizenship,

status of aliens, wages and labour legislation, stationing of armed forces, and so forth. United States monopolies continued to be the masters of the Territory's economy. Moreover, as the United Kingdom newspaper, The Guardian, had pointed out on 6 August 1965, one of the most important factors restricting the independence of Puerto Rico was the existence in the Territory of a large number of military Thus, the referendum held in Puerto Rico in 1951 in order to serve as a "showcase" concealing the colonialist policy of the United States had been conducted in an atmosphere of political and economic domination by the United States, and United States imperialism had sacrificed the aspirations of the Puerto Rican people to its own economic and military purposes. The colonial status of Puerto Rico could not be concealed even in the official circles of the United States. In 1952, a United States Congressman had described the so-called constitution of Puerto Rico as a weak, insignificant colonial statute. In May 1963, a former Attorney General of Puerto Rico had called Public Law 600 a farce that left intact the structure of the colonial administration. In 1964, Luther Hodges, the former Secretary of Commerce, had said that in granting Commonwealth status to Puerto Rico in 1952, Congress had not intended to alter the status of the Territory as a "Possession" of the United States. It was clear that the statements of United States representatives to the effect that the people of Puerto Rico had exercised their right of self-determination and that the island had become a self-governing Territory were without any foundation whatever and were merely aimed at deceiving ill-informed public opinion.

198. The Puerto Rican Constitution, which had been dictated by the United States, was completely at variance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of the Declaration in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The very fact that the United States Government planned to hold a plebiscite in July of the current year showed that it could no longer maintain the fiction that the present status of Puerto Rico was in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Like the referendum of 1951, the planned plebiscite would be conducted under the control of the executive bodies of the colonial Power, in an atmosphere of repression and persecution, and under conditions of military occupation. The United States Government had not even promised to recognize the results of the plebiscite.

199. Puerto Rico came within the third category of Territories listed in paragraph 5 of the General Assembly's Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV), and it was the duty of the Special Committee to include the question in its agenda. 200. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that his delegation rejected the contention that the Committee was not competent to discuss the inclusion of Puerto Rico in its agenda. The General Assembly, in operative paragraph 4 of resolution 2189 (XXI), had approved "the action taken and envisaged by the Special Committee with respect to the list of Territories to which the Declaration applies", and had approved its report containing a reference to the Working Group's twenty-fifth report, in which it had stated its view that the question of the inclusion of certain Territories, including Puerto Rico, required further study, and that such study should take place early in the 1967 session. The General Assembly had clearly approved that decision, and the Special Committee's competence to consider the matter was thus confirmed. decision by the General Assembly must prevail over any earlier decision inconsistent with it. Each session of the General Assembly was sovereign and the decisions of later sessions had precedence over those of earlier sessions. Thus the Committee was legally empowered to take up the question of Puerto Rico. 201. His delegation strongly supported the inclusion of the question of the colonial Territory of Puerto Rico in the Committee's agenda. In taking that stand it could derive support from the Declaration of the Cairo Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries (A/5763). The anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces represented at that Conference had deemed it their duty to proclaim the right of Puerto Rico to independence. In resolution 1514 (XV), the General Assembly had laid down that immediate steps must be taken in all Territories which had not yet attained independence to transfer power to the people. Puerto Rico was a colonial Territory and was not independent. The representative of the Soviet Union had given a list of some of the matters which still remained in the hands of the administering Power. In such circumstances, Puerto Rico was clearly still a colony, and came within the purview of resolution 1514 (XV) and of the present Committee.

202. He recalled that in the case of the Cook Islands a decision had been taken that the administering Power should cease to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter. It had been stipulated, however, that the people of the

Cook Islands had the right to avail themselves of their option under resolution 1514 (XV) at any time they wished. In so doing, the General Assembly had confirmed that the Declaration was applicable as long as a Territory did not enjoy complete independence. The same was true with respect to Puerto Rico. The question of Puerto Rico should therefore be included in the agenda so that it could be fully studied.

- 203. He also supported the inclusion of the question of the Comoro Archipelago in the Committee's agenda, particularly as the administering Power concerned, in connexion with another Territory, had refused to co-operate with the United Nations, with the result that a serious situation had arisen.
- 204. The representative of <u>Bulgaria</u> sail that, as a member of the Working Group, his delegation had, in view of the importance of the matter, supported the suggestion that the question of the inclusion of Puerto Rico in the agenda of the Special Committee should be referred to the plenary meeting.
- 205. As the representatives of the USSR and Tanzania had pointed out, the General Assembly, by adopting the reports of the Special Committee for 1965 and 1966, and by approving the action taken and envisaged by the Special Committee for 1967 with respect to the list of Territories to which the Declaration applied (resolution 2189 (XXI), operative paragraph 4), had authorized the Special Committee to discuss the question. In addition, many requests had been received asking for the inclusion of Puerto Rico in the Committee's agenda.
- 206. His delegation's position was based on the terms of reference of the Special Committee under resolution 1514 (XV), and subsequent resolutions relating to its implementation, and was in conformity with his country's fundamental policy of defending the sacred right of dependent peoples to self-determination and freedom and of supporting them in their struggle. Under paragraph 5 of the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV), the Special Committee had been given a clear mandate to deal with all colonial Territories, including Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories and all other Territories which had not yet attained independence, as in the case of Puerto Rico. The Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Cairo in October 1964, had drawn the attention of the Special Committee to the case of Puerto Rico and had called upon it to consider the situation in the light of resolution 1514 (XV). The Special Committee

was fully qualified to discuss the question of Puerto Rico since the latter was still a dependent Territory, to which resolution 1514 (XV) was fully applicable. That resolution was the raison d'être of the Committee and all criteria for deciding whether a Territory was dependent or not must be based on it. 207. If it was true that the people of Puerto Rico had indeed exercised their right to self-determination and had attained self-government, it was difficult to see why a so-called plebiscite was to be held in July 1967. The main reason was obviously to give the impression that the people were being consulted, while the present situation of virtual colonialism was maintained. The plebiscite would offer the apparent alternatives of statehood in the United States or independence but the United States Congress would not commit itself in advance to abiding by the results. The plebiscite was clearly an attempt by the United States to evade its international responsibilities and postpone once again the solution of the colonial problem of Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico must be included in the list of Territories to which resolution 1514 (XV) was applicable and the Special Committee should discuss in detail all the political, economic, social and other conditions prevailing in the Territory.

208. The representative of Syria said that his delegation's position was based on three principles. The first was that each session of the General Assembly was master of its own business. If that was not so, many errors would be perpetuated. Even the history of the United Nations was not without instances of tragedies resulting from falsifications of the will of the majority. Truth was never decided by the number of votes. Secondly, as a non-aligned country, Syria was bound by the decisions of the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which had called upon the Special Committee to consider, in the light of resolution 1514 (XV), the situation in Puerto Rico and other Territories (A/5763, page 10). Thirdly, there had been a significant change in the composition and political alignment of the United Nations since 1953, when resolution 748 (VIII) had been adopted. Of the forty-six countries which had attended the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, twenty-seven had not been members of the United Nations in 1953, and that was more than the number of those States which had voted in favour of resolution 748 (VIII) since the result had been 26 in favour, 16 against and 18 abstentions. The fact that the result of the vote in the Fourth Committee, before the question had been referred to the General Assembly, had been 22 in favour, 18 against and 19 abstentions, appeared to indicate that the United States delegation had exerted pressure on some Members in order to gain four additional votes.

209. He pointed out that operative paragraph 9 of resolution 748 (VIII) stated that due regard should be paid to the political advancement of the people of Puerto Rico and to the will of the Puerto Rican and American peoples in the conduct of their relations and also in the eventuality that either might desire any change in the terms of their association. He hoped that some progress had been made since 1953, but, in his view, the will of the people could only be ascertained when they enjoyed political sovereignty and previous speakers had already referred to the rights of which the people of Puerto Rico were deprived. 210. The United States representative had said that it had been the people of Puerto Rico who had decided in favour of their present status. Other countries, including Syria, which had suffered under colonialism, had seen Governments set up and deposed, the will of the people falsified and parts of their countries In Puerto Rico, only 34 per cent of the population entitled to vote had in fact voted in favour of the present status, while 6 per cent had voted against and 60 per cent had abstained. Furthermore, no alternatives had been offered. did not indicate that the people of Puerto Rico had been given the opportunity to express their will freely.

211. The only resolution which should guide the Special Committee was resolution 1514 (XV), in particular paragraph 5 of the Declaration, which fully confirmed operative paragraph 9 of resolution 748 (VIII). If the United States was convinced that it had right on its side, it should not try to prevent the Special Committee from considering the matter. He therefore fully supported the inclusion in the Special Committee's agenda of the two Territories of Puerto Rico and the Comoro Archipelago.

212. The representative of the <u>United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland</u> fully agreed with the objections expressed by the United States representative to the inclusion of Puerto Rico in the Committee's agenda. It was solely for the administering Power concerned to decide when a Territory under its formal

administration had ceased to be non-self-governing within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter. That was his Government's basic position. In resolution 748 (VIII), however, the General Assembly itself had recognized the new status of Puerto Rico as that of an autonomous political entity and had declared it appropriate that the transmission of information under Article 73 e of the Charter should cease. He shared the view expressed by the representative of Uruguay that it was not for the Special Committee to question or seek to reverse a clear, unequivocal and specific decision taken by the General Assembly itself. Furthermore, the Puerto Rican people had repeatedly been asked to express their views about their present and future status. Since 1952, support for the political parties favouring independence had declined to 21,000 in 1964, whereas the two main parties which supported Puerto Rico's present status had in 1964 obtained 479,000 and 277,000 votes respectively. It was therefore clear that Puerto Rico was not a Non-Self-Governing or colonial Territory and that the Committee was not competent to discuss it.

213. Similar considerations applied to the Comoro Islands. The former administering Power, France, had informed the United Nations in March 1959 that the Territory had achieved full autonomy and that consequently Chapter XI of the Charter no longer applied. It had also supplied a considerable amount of documentary evidence in support of its decision, which had not been questioned by any formal or other United Nations decision at the time or since.

214. If it was once admitted that new Territories could be added to the Committee's already extensive list, even for the purpose of discussing whether they should be discussed, there would be no end to the controversies raised. If the Committee was to adopt a completely unrestricted view of what constituted a Territory which had not yet attained independence, the list might be endless, especially if the Committee reopened the subject of Territories whose decolonization had already been officially endorsed by the United Nations. His delegation fully supported the United States proposal.

215. The representative of <u>Italy</u> said that the reservations of his delegation, mentioned in the thirtieth report of the Working Group, related both to competence and methods. On the question of competence, his delegation strongly believed

that the Special Committee did not have the power or authority to decide that a Territory had not yet attained independence within the meaning of operative paragraph 5 of resolution 1514 (XV) or to inscribe it on its agenda. During the five years of its existence, the Special Committee had not added a single Territory to its original list without a previous decision by the General Assembly. A decision of such magnitude which was tantamount to defining the status of a territory and involved legal and practical consequences could not be left to a subsidiary body of the General Assembly such as the Special Committee. The Special Committee was even less competent to discuss Territories which had already been the subject of a General Assembly resolution, such as Puerto Rico, or had been removed from the list of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the implicit consent of the General Assembly, such as the Comoro Islands.

- 216. He agreed that in approving the reports of the Special Committee, the General Assembly had implicitly approved each part of the Committee's work, including the decision to postpone until 1967 a procedural debate as to whether a number of items should or should not be inscribed in the agenda. The General Assembly could not, however, express an opinion in advance on a decision which the Special Committee had not yet taken. The reasoning of the USSR and Tanzanian representatives on that point could therefore not be regarded as acceptable.
- 217. Similarly, his delegation could not be associated with another argument advanced, namely that a change in the membership of the United Nations made earlier resolutions valueless and obsolete. To accept such an idea would deal a serious blow to the United Nations. The General Assembly could, of course, revise or reconsider an earlier resolution, but unless and until that was done, the resolution stood and could not be ignored without violating the spirit and letter of the Charter.
- 218. On the question of methods, under operative paragraph 5 of resolution 1514 (XV) the Special Committee had special responsibilities in the drawing up of the list of Territories which had not yet achieved independence. As his delegation had repeatedly maintained in the past, such responsibilities should be discharged by the Working Group which should study the relevant criteria and principles for submission to the General Assembly.
- 219. His delegation had therefore had serious reservations concerning the discussion of the question in the plenary meeting without previous exhaustive consideration by the Working Group. Consequently, his delegation would oppose

the inclusion of any Territory not considered within the context of a comprehensive study of the more general problem of the list of the Territories to which resolution 1514 (XV) applied. His delegation therefore supported the United States proposal.

220. The representative of Poland said that his delegation's position with respect to the status of Puerto Rico had been fully explained at the eighth session of the General Assembly and remained unchanged. Despite some changes in the political status of the Territory, there had been no justification for removing Puerto Rico from the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories, as Puerto Rico had not yet attained the stage of full self-government and independence within the meaning of the United Nations Charter. The United States Congress reserved the right to pass legislation on economic, social and educational matters affecting Puerto Rico, while the Puerto Rico legislature could enact such legislation only within considerable limitations. The people of Puerto Rico could not at its will change the constitutional status of the Territory; under the Federal Relations Act, the prior agreement of the United States Congress was required. Moreover, the United States Congress could at any time amend the Puerto Rico Federal Relations Act. On the basis of those facts, his delegation had opposed the adoption of resolution 748 (VIII), which had in any case been adopted only by a very slim majority.

221. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) stipulated quite clearly that the colonial system should be abolished in all Territories, irrespective of whether or not a given Territory strictly fell into one of the two categories of a Non-Self-Governing or a Trust Territory. It should not be so interpreted as to delay the process of decolonization or to deny the enjoyment of "complete independence and freedom". The people of Puerto Rico did not yet enjoy "complete independence and freedom" and, consequently, the question of Puerto Rico still came under the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) and, as such, could and should be discussed by the Special Committee.

222. United Nations work in similar cases had shown that the Organization had endeavoured to elaborate basic principles to ensure that what had happened in the case of Puerto Rico should not apply in the case of other Territories. That was exemplified by General Assembly resolution 2064 (XX) on the question of the Cook

Islands. Although elections had been held in the Cook Islands under United Nations supervision and the Constitution guaranteed the people a right to withdraw unilaterally from its association with New Zealand, the General Assembly had considered itself in duty bound to include in its resolution operative paragraph 6 in which it "reaffirms the responsibility of the United Nations, under General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), to assist the people of Cook Islands in the eventual achievement of full independence, if they so wish, at a future date". That resolution proved that United Nations responsibility in colonial cases did not cease automatically when the administering Power was absolved of its obligation to transmit information under Article 73 e of the Charter. Even though the United States Government had been absolved from that obligation in respect of Puerto Rico, the process of self-determination had not been completed in that Territory, and the United Nations still had responsibilities towards the Territory and its people. 223. The Special Committee had been instructed by the General Assembly to seek the best means for the immediate and full application of resolution 1514 (XV) to all Territories which had not yet attained independence. It was therefore the duty of the Committee to discuss the request contained in the Declaration adopted by the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, circulated as document A/5763, and the request contained in the letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba (A/AC.109/144) that the question of Puerto Rico and that of the Comoro Islands be included in the agenda of the Special Committee. His delegation also shared the view expressed by the representatives of the Soviet Union, Tanzania and Bulgaria that the Special Committee had already received a specific mandate from the General Assembly to study the problem of the inclusion of Puerto Rico in the list of Territories to which the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) were applicable, inasmuch as the General Assembly at its twenty-first session had approved the report of the Special Committee covering its work in 1966, which explicitly stated that the Committee intended to study that question.

224. Guided by the principles of anti-colonialism and the rights of all colonial and non-self-governing peoples to complete independence and freedom, his delegation firmly supported the inclusion of the question of Puerto Rico and of the Comoro Archipelago in the agenda of the Special Committee.

225. The representative of <u>Australia</u> said that he had been surprised by the discussion of the question of the inclusion of Puerto Rico and of the Comoro Archipelago in the list of Territories to which the Declaration was applicable. He fully agreed with the representative of Uruguay that Member States must be guided in the matter by their obligations under the Charter.

226. Article 73 of the Charter was quite explicit concerning the obligations of Member States with regard to Non-Self-Governing Territories. At the twenty-third meeting of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, the USSR representative had stressed the need to adhere to the provisions of the Charter. The basic obligations of Member States were regulated by the Charter, which could not be changed, especially by extraneous meetings of some Members. The Charter had international treaty status and nothing could countermand its clear provisions. He would point out that his Government had played an instrumental part at the San Francisco Conference in drafting the Charter provisions relating to the rights of dependent peoples to self-government and independence and had also played a responsible role in the decolonization operations of the last twenty years.

227. The resolutions of the General Assembly had great persuasive force, but could not amend the Charter. The present discussion raised the whole issue of the relation of General Assembly resolutions to the Charter. Under Article 73 of the Charter, the United Nations had the obligation to develop self-government in dependent Territories. By resolution 748 (VIII), the General Assembly had recognized that the people of Puerto Rico had expressed their will "in a free and democratic way" and had "effectively exercised their right to self-determination" and that the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter were, therefore, no longer applicable to that Territory. The United Nations function in relation to that Territory had ended with its achievement of self-government. Article 10 of the Charter provided that the General Assembly might discuss any question which came within the scope of the Charter, but the question of the

self-government of Puerto Rico no longer came within the scope of Member States' obligations under the Charter. The contention that General Assembly resolution 748 (VIII) was invalid because it had been adopted fourteen years previously, when the number of Member States was less than at present, was untenable.

228. Again, much had been said about the power of the General Assembly and the sovereign nature of each separate session of the Assembly. That did not affect the fundamental and paramount status of the Charter. Resolutions on selfgovernment differed from others, which might be varied or amended. A resolution accepting that certain provisions of the Charter had been fulfilled and stating that a particular people had asserted its right to self-determination could not be revoked so that the Territory concerned was demoted again to colonial status. 229. He had noted recently a tendency of certain Member States to wish to force complete independence on States which did not want it. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) declared the right of all peoples freely to determine their political status. For the United Nations to insist on independence as the only solution for all Territories would be limiting the right of peoples to make a free choice. General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) set forth the various options which were open to the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories when exercising that right of free choice. There was a tendency among certain States to regard the alternatives to independence as "second-class" solutions, as had been apparent in the debate on the Caribbean Territories, in whose case principles V, VI and VII of the annex to resolution 1541 (XV) had been applied. 230. The United States had clearly discharged its Charter obligations with regard to Puerto Rico, and that territory was no longer a Non-Self-Governing Territory and subject to consideration by the General Assembly or the Special Committee. He was surprised and perturbed that the question had been raised, and his delegation would definitely support the United States motion. 231. The representative of the United States of America, speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that in view of the number of delegations which wished to speak in the debate, her delegation was willing to postpone the vote on its motion until the Committee's next meeting. In replying to the false allegations which had been made by the USSR representative and others, she would keep her statement on a procedural basis and not go into the substance of the matter, as the USSR representative had inappropriately done.

232. The allegation that the attainment of commonwealth status had made no significant change in Puerto Rico's position and that it was still under the authority of the United States Congress had no basis in fact. Congresswoman Bolton, as the United States delegate to the eighth session of the General Assembly, had stated clearly the full significance of the new status in the Fourth Committee in 1953. Mrs. Bolton had explained that there was now a bilateral contract of association between the United States and Puerto Rico, which had been established by a juridical decision based on the common consent of the Puerto Rican people. Previously, the Territory had been under the full authority of the United States Congress in all government matters, by virtue of an Organic Act which only Congress had the right to change. The new Constitution had been chosen by the people, which alone had the authority to alter it.

233. The USSR representative had questioned the act of self-determination of the people of Puerto Rico. In the elections, the people of the Territory had been given a clear choice between the alternative options: commonwealth status, statehood, and independence. The first option had been chosen by an overwhelming majority of the people, and that choice had been reiterated in a series of free elections since. Moreover, while the number of votes for parties in favour of commonwealth status had steadily increased, the number of votes for those in favour of independence had steadily dwindled, and in 1964, as indicated by the results of the most recent elections, 58.5 per cent of the population had voted for commonwealth status, 34.3 per cent for statehood and only 2.7 per cent for independence.

234. The USSR representative had made frequent reference to the fact that the laws passed by the United States Congress applied in Puerto Rico and that the Federal Government had authority in some areas of Puerto Rican affairs. Those statements showed a failure to understand the nature of the relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico. As Congresswoman Bolton had said at the eighth session of the General Assembly, Puerto Rico had agreed under its contract of association with the United States that the United States Government should have in respect of Puerto Rico the same functions that it had in respect of the states of the Union. That in no way detracted from the status of full self-government. The Resident Commissioner for Puerto Rico had said in his statement at the

348th meeting of the Fourth Committee in October 1953 that, as in the case of the forty-eight states of the Union, the United States Congress had no power to enact legislation relating to the domestic affairs of Puerto Rico, but only on matters relating to external policy. The authority of Congress in respect of Puerto Rico was subject to the same constitutional restrictions as in the case of the federal states.

235. Moreover, the Puerto Rican people could change its present status whenever it wished. The senior United States representative at the eighth session of the General Assembly had stated at the 459th plenary meeting on 27 November 1953 that he had been authorized to say on behalf of the President of the United States that if, at any time the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico adopted a resolution in favour of more complete or even absolute independence, he would immediately recommend to Congress that such independence should be granted. The Puerto Rican people was thus free to choose its own status, and repeated elections had shown that the majority of the people in the Territory were in favour of commonwealth status or statehood, while the independence party had received little support. 236. In conclusion, she stressed that, since the General Assembly had recognized, in 1953, that the Puerto Rican people had exercised its right to self-determination and achieved self-government, the Territory was no longer a matter for consideration by the Committee.

237. The representative of the <u>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</u>, speaking in exercise of the right of reply, recalled the United States representative's statement that the allegation that the attainment of commonwealth status had made no significant change in Puerto Rico's position had no basis in fact. She had referred to a statement made by Congresswoman Bolton at the eighth session of the General Assembly to the effect that there was a bilateral contract of association between the United States and Puerto Rico, which could not be altered except by mutual consent. The Soviet delegation had adduced facts to show that there had been virtually no change of any significance in the structure of Puerto Rico. Those facts had not been refuted by the United States representative.

238. The USSR delegation had said that Public Law 600, adopted by the United States Congress on 3 July 1950, had not repealed the Organic Act of 2 March 1917 and that the former colonial régime had continued in force. Although the new colonial structure was described in the so-called Constitution as an "Associated Free State" or "Commonwealth", in reality Puerto Rico was not a politically independent State.

It was not free and the association itself was based on unequal conditions. Puerto Rico continued to be a colonial dependency of the United States. Section 4 of Public Law 600 stated:

"Except as provided in section 5 of this Act, the Act... approved 2 March 1917, as amended, is hereby continued in force and effect and may hereafter be cited as the 'Puerto Rican Federal Relations Act'."

Section 5 provided for the repeal of many sections of the earlier act but all of them related to local administration. The powers of the so-called Constitutional Convention authorized by Public Law 600 had thus been limited by that Law, which had fully maintained in force the Organic Act of 1917 and on the basis of which the United States Congress retained complete control over Puerto Rico. Furthermore, under the so-called Federal Relations Act, Puerto Rico was regarded as a "possession" of the United States. The first paragraph of that act stated that its provisions applied to Puerto Rico and the neighbouring islands, which belonged to the United States.

239. In addition, Public Law 600, like the "Constitution" of Puerto Rico, could be amended, suspended or repealed by the United States Congress. Those facts fully refuted the statement of Congresswoman Bolton. It was clear that, since the United States Congress had acted unilaterally, the United States and Puerto Rico had never entered into a mutually agreed association. In no provision of Public Law 600 did the United States Congress renounce sovereignty over Puerto Rico or recognize Puerto Rican sovereignty. From the moment of the establishment of the colonial regime by the United States, there had never been any negotiations between the United States and Puerto Rico as a sovereign State. When Public Law 600 had been adopted, the United States House and Senate Committees on Territorial and Insular Affairs had emphasized that the existing political, economic and social relations between the United States and Puerto Rico would remain unchanged. That showed that Puerto Rico continued to be a United States colony, that the United States had not renounced its sovereignty over Puerto Rico, that the United States could unilaterally alter the present structure of government in Puerto Rico and that Public Law 600 had not granted the Territory a full measure of self-government.

240. The United States representative had also referred to a statement by the senior United States representative at the eighth session of the General Assembly to the effect that if, at any time, the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico adopted a

resolution in favour of more complete or even absolute independence, such a request would be favourably considered by the United States Congress. But that promise had not been kept. In 1959, the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico had adopted a joint resolution requesting the United States Congress to grant the Territory a greater measure of self-government. The Congress had refused to consider that request. Again, in November 1962, the Puerto Rican Assembly had adopted resolution No. 1 requesting the United States to settle the final political status of Puerto Rico on the basis of giving the island the right to sovereignty. That request, too, had been ignored by the United States Congress. At present, the United States was attempting to force a colonial plebiscite on the Puerto Rican people with a view to avoiding its international responsibility and postponing a definitive decision on the question of sovereignty.

241. The United States representative had referred to elections that had been held in the Territory in 1948, but the Soviet delegation's point was that the people of Puerto Rico had not been given the right to choose, an opportunity to decide on the future political status of the Territory.

242. He read out the text of a letter he had just received that had been addressed to the United States representative by members of the Popular Democratic Party of Puerto Rico, the Government party, expressing shock at the inaccurate statements which that representative had made in the Special Committee and which were a complete distortion of historical facts. The members went on to say that they had voted for the Popular Democratic Party on the assurance that local elections were not of a plebiscitary character and that their votes could never be interpreted as precluding further examination by the United Nations of the Territory's political problem. They added that their votes had been cast to foster the struggle for recognition of Puerto Rican sovereignty and to elaborate a true association with the United States. The obstinacy of the United States had made such an association impossible since that Government sought to maintain a colonial relationship. They urged the United States delegation, in the name of United States prestige and the moral force which the United Nations represented, to withdraw its opposition to the inclusion of the question of Puerto Rico in the Special Committee's agenda.

243. In his statement, the Australian representative had presented himself in the role of defender of the interests of the colonial peoples and had boasted about the part played by Australia in the drafting of the United Nations Charter at

San Francisco. The Soviet delegation would point out, however, that the fact that the word "independence" was associated with the word "self-government" in the definition of the Trusteeship System was not due to the efforts of the Australian delegation. The word "independence" and some other progressive provisions had been included in the Charter at the demand of the Soviet delegation. If the Australian representative's statements concerning his delegation's role in the drafting of the Charter were true, the Soviet delegation wondered why, twenty years after the adoption of the Charter and the establishment of the Trusteeship System, Australia had not granted independence to its Trust Territories and refused to fix the date for the granting of such independence. Like other colonial Powers, Australia adopted a reactionary policy in the Committee with regard to matters concerning decolonization and voted against all progressive decisions in the United Nations. With regard to the slanderous attacks made by the Australian representative against the Soviet Union's policy, he would point out that the Soviet Union did not have the experience of repressing and persecuting people struggling for independence that the colonialists, including the Australian colonialists, had. The shameful participation of Australia in the Viet-Numese war, which had been unleashed by United States aggressors, was an example of the Australian Government's policy towards people who were defending their right to self-determination and independence.

244. In his view, the colonialists were presenting themselves as the champions of the self-determination and independence of peoples. However, whenever the peoples waged a struggle to defend their right to be free and independent, the colonialists always used the most modern weapons, tanks, aircraft and the like to suppress the desires of the peoples for freedom and independence, to deprive them of their right to self-determination, and to prevent them from deciding their own future. The sole purpose of the Australian representative's statement was to divert the Committee from considering the pressing political problem of Puerto Rico, which called for immediate solution.

245. The representative of the <u>United States of America</u>, said that the statement of the Soviet representative had reiterated a large number of the quite baseless allegations which he had made in the past. She had already submitted detailed figures showing the genuine nature of Puerto Rico's self-determination. The United States delegation was not ready to take advice on the subject from the Soviet Union, and she thought it might be interesting for the Committee to investigate the extent

to which the various nations and peoples of the Soviet Union had expressed their desires at any point regarding their association with the USSR, and the extent to which they were free, as the people of Puerto Rico were free, to dissolve the association.

246. The representative of <u>Iraq</u> said that his delegation regarded the question under consideration from two aspects: whether General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was applicable in the case of Puerto Rico and whether the Special Committee was competent to include the question of Puerto Rico in its agenda. With regard to the first aspect, the Iraqi delegation continued to believe that resolution 1514 (XV) was applicable, since that resolution spoke of three kinds of Territories: Non-Self-Governing Territories, Trust Territories, and Territories which had not yet attained independence. No one claimed that Puerto Rico was an independent State. The General Assembly had adopted resolution 1514 (XV) many years after resolution 748 (VIII) and he was sure that the sponsors of resolution 1514 (XV) had been aware of previous resolutions, such as resolution 748 (VIII), concerning Territories not yet independent.

247. As to the second aspect, it had been pointed out in the Committee that in adopting resolution 2189 (XXI) the previous year, the General Assembly had approved the "action taken and envisaged by the Special Committee with respect to the list of Territories to which the Declaration applies" and had also approved the Committee's report containing a reference to the Working Group's twenty-fifth report, in which it had expressed the view that the question of the inclusion of certain Territories, including Puerto Rico, required further study, and that such study should take place early in the 1967 session. Nevertheless, he did not think that the General Assembly had taken a clear-cut position on the Special Committee's competence to consider the matter. In his delegation's opinion, it was not for the Special Committee to take any decision whether or not the item should be included in its agenda.

248. In those circumstances, he wondered why the United States representative was proposing that a decision should be taken by the Committee excluding the discussion of Puerto Rico.

249. The representative of <u>Venezuela</u> observed that his delegation had already expressed its position on the question in the Working Group and that it had stated

its opposition to the inclusion of the item in the agenda. It was not for the Special Committee to consider the question of Puerto Rico. That was a matter which fell within the competence of the General Assembly itself and that body had already taken a decision on the question by adopting resolution 748 (VIII), which the Special Committee could not disregard.

- 250. The representative of <u>Australia</u> said that, despite the Soviet Union representative's assertions regarding his country's position as the defender of the interests of colonial peoples, the fact was that, of all the major Powers, the Soviet Union alone had declined to submit information on Territories in some cases previously independent nations which it had acquired following the Second World War.
- 251. The Soviet Union representative had referred to "peoples struggling for their independence". He recalled that Australia had gone to the assistance of Poland when it had been the victim of aggression in 1939; Australia had had no pact with the aggressor. Later, his country had gone to the assistance of the Federation of Malaya.
- 252. He only wished to state since the Soviet Union representative had raised the question of Viet-Nam that Australia believed that, in supporting the people of Viet-Nam in resisting aggression, it was acting in a manner fully in accord with the principles of the United Nations.
- 253. The representative of <u>Syria</u> proposed that the debate on the question of the inclusion of Puerto Rico in the list of Territories to which resolution 1514 (XV) was applicable should be adjourned <u>sine die</u>.
- 254. The representative of the <u>United Republic of Tanzania</u> supported the Syrian motion. Although his delegation was convinced that Puerto Rico was a colonial Territory for the purposes of resolution 1514 (XV), since it was neither an independent State nor part of another State as had been confirmed by a ruling of the United States Supreme Court he believed that further consultations were required before the Committee took a decision.
- 255. The representative of the <u>United States of America</u> opposed the Syrian motion. She thought that the procedural motion submitted at the previous meeting by her delegation had been adequately discussed and that delegations had had time to reach a position on it. In any event, if the Committee decided to adjourn the debate,

her delegation would interpret such a decision as indicating that it was the Committee's will that Puerto Rico should not be considered by it. It would be her understanding that the adoption of a motion to adjourn the debate <u>sine die</u> would preclude further consideration of the issue.

256. The representative of <u>Australia</u> also opposed the motion for adjournment of the debate. The question at issue was clear and had been fully discussed; moreover, in view of its possible implications, the Committee had a duty to take a position on it as soon as possible.

VIII. IMPLEMENTATION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS 2151 (XXI), 2184 (XXI), 2189 (XXI) AND 2248 (S-V) AND PERTINENT RESOLUTIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE: REQUESTS ADDRESSED TO SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

257. At the 569th meeting, on 30 October 1967, the Chairman drew the attention of the Special Committee to a decision taken by the General Assembly at its 1583rd plenary meeting, on 6 October 1967, to include the following item in the agenda of the twenty-second session and to allocate it to the Fourth Committee for consideration and report:

"97. 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."

258. The Chairman also drew attention to a note by the Secretariat (A/AC.109/276) concerning the action taken by the specialized agencies and international institutions in response to the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 2151 (XXI), 2184 (XXI), 2189 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V) and pertinent resolutions of the Special Committee. In that note reference was made to another note by the Secretariat (A/AC.109/L.417) relating to the measures taken to extend material and other assistance to refugees from Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the specialized agencies concerned and other international relief organizations in response to the resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 22 June 1966 (A/6300 (part II), para. 619) and General Assembly resolution 2184 (XXI). Reference was also made to the report by the Secretary-General on his consultations with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (A/6825) pursuant to paragraph 10 of General Assembly resolution 2184 (XXI) of 12 December 1966. Also of relevance to this question was the statement made at the 487th meeting, on 15 February 1967, by the director in charge of the UNESCO office in New York concerning the implementation by that organization of pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Special Committee (A/AC.109/SR.487).

259. At the 570th meeting, the Special Committee decided to draw the attention of the General Assembly, in connexion with its consideration of the item referred to above, to the information contained in the relevant report of the Secretary-General (A/6825) and the notes by the Secretariat (A/AC.109/276 and A/AC.109/L.417).  $\frac{11}{11}$ 

The note by the Secretariat concerning the assistance to refugees from the Portuguese Territories mentioned above is appended as Annex I to chapter V of the present report (A/6700/Add.3/Corr.1). The note by the Secretariat concerning the action taken by the specialized agencies and international institutions is appended as Annex III of the present chapter.

#### IX. CONSIDERATION OF OTHER MATTERS

Implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) with regard to colonial Territories considered by the Special Committee during its meetings away from Headquarters (1967)

260. At its 541st meeting, held in Dar es Salaam on 20 June 1967, the Special Committee adopted a resolution relating to the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) with regard to colonial Territories considered by the Special Committee during its meetings away from Headquarters (1967) (A/AC.109/252). Details of the Special Committee's consideration of this item are contained in chapter II of the present report.

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

- 261. The Special Committee during its 1967 session maintained close co-operation with the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States. During the Committee's meetings in Dar es Salaam, the Organization of African Unity was represented by an official of its Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, who at the 531st meeting made a statement on behalf of that Organization. 262. At its 543rd meeting, the Special Committee decided to circulate a communication dated 23 June 1967, concerning the question of Aden, addressed to the Secretary-General from the permanent observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations (A/AC.109/256).
- 263. In a letter dated 13 June 1967, the Chairman of the Special Committee, having regard to operative paragraphs 11 and 13 thereof, transmitted the text of a resolution concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia (A/AC.109/248), adopted by the Special Committee at its 528th meeting, to the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity. Further, in another letter dated 20 June 1967, the Chairman, having regard to operative paragraph 11 thereof, transmitted to him the text of a resolution concerning the Territories under Portuguese administration (A/AC.109/251).

### <u>Information on Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e</u> of the Charter

264. In accordance and its mandate as set out in General Assembly resolution 1970 (XVIII) of 16 December 1963, the Special Committee considered, at its 557th to 559th meetings, on 12 and 13 September 1967, the question of information on Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter. Details of the Special Committee's consideration of this item are contained in chapter XXIV of the present report.

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, South West Africa and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination

265. Having regard to the decision taken by the General Assembly in operative paragraph 20 of its resolution 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966, the Special Committee decided to undertake a 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, South West Africa and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination.

266. At its 488th meeting, the Special Committee referred this item to Sub-Committee I for consideration and report. Sub-Committee I, accordingly, submitted its report to the Special Committee on 29 September 1967 (A/AC.109/L.434). The Special Committee's report to the General Assembly on this question is contained in document A/6868 and Add.1.

# Military activities and arrangements by the colonial Powers, which may be impeding the implementation of the Declaration in Territories under their administration

267. The Special Committee decided at its 488th meeting to undertake a study of the role of the military activities and arrangements by the colonial Powers, which may be impeding the implementation of the Declaration in Territories under their administration. It also decided to refer this item to Sub-Committee I for consideration.

268. In paragraph 14 of its report to the Special Committee (See Annex IV) Sub-Committee I stated that "Owing to the refusal of the administering Powers to co-operate and in view of the lack of time and information available, the Sub-Committee decided to continue its consideration of this item at its next session."

269. At its 568th meeting, the Special Committee endorsed this decision and agreed that, subject to any decision which the General Assembly might take at its twenty-second session, it would continue consideration of the item at its next session, it being understood that the reservations expressed by some members would be reflected in the records. These reservations are set out below. 270. The representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland said that his Government's views, which were fully set out in paragraph 11 of the report, made it necessary for his delegation to reserve its position on the adoption of the report.

271. The representative of the United States of America said that her delegation had expressed certain reservations on the question under discussion and wished to reserve its position.

272. The representative of Italy said that his delegation wished to express reservations on both the substance and the method of the report. The Italian delegation had already stated that a broad consensus had never been achieved on the highly controversial question of military bases: for example, forty-six Member States had not supported General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI). That question was only a part of the general problem of disarmament and almost all Member States were in agreement that it must be considered in conjunction with other disarmament problems, as was clear from their adoption of General Assembly resolution 2165 (XXI), in which the Assembly had referred the question to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. It would be inappropriate for the Committee to formulate conclusions on the matter while the Eighteen-Nation Committee was considering the problem. The procedure whereby the Sub-Committee felt justified in proceeding to a general condemnation of Member States on the inadequate basis of an exchange of letters with a few Member States could serve only to cast doubt on the seriousness of its work. The Italian delegation was unable to support the report. It thought that paragraph 13 should be deleted,

as should the words "owing to the refusal of the administering Powers to co-operate" in paragraph 14, but it would not make a formal proposal to that effect.

- 273. The representative of Australia reaffirmed his delegation's strong reservations, which appeared in the report.
- 274. The representative of Finland recalled that his delegation had reserved its position on paragraph 13 in Sub-Committee I, since it considered that the question of military bases was a matter of conflict between the great Powers. That reservation, which had been made in accordance with Finland's policy of neutrality, was still valid.
- 275. The representative of Madagascar maintained the reservations which his delegation had expressed in the Committee and elsewhere.
- 276. The representative of the Ivory Coast recalled that his delegation had entered formal reservations on the question of military bases during the Committee's meetings in Africa, since his Government considered that the question was a domestic problem and that it was for colonial Territories themselves to negotiate the maintenance or withdrawal of military bases with the administering Power as they approached independence. The Ivory Coast also felt that the Committee was not the appropriate forum for a final decision on the question of military bases. These reservations remained valid.
- 277. The representative of Uruguay said that his delegation, which had already stated its position on the question of military bases, would abstain in the vote on the relevant paragraph.
- 278. The representative of Venezuela said that his delegation would not enter any reservations on the report, since it contained no specific conclusions or recommendations regarding the military activities of colonial Powers in the Territories under their administration. That did not mean, however, that his delegation had in any way altered its position.
- 279. The representative of Iran reaffirmed his delegation's view that the question of military bases was distinct from the question of colonialism and must be decided by the people of the Territory concerned.

### International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa

280. On 21 February the Secretary-General requested the advice of the Special Committee concerning the various aspects of the organization of the international conference or seminar envisaged in operative paragraph 6 (a) of General Assembly resolution 2202 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966 on the problems of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa. In a letter dated 20 April 1967, the Chairman of the Special Committee, in response to that request, transmitted a report containing proposals concerning the organization of the international conference or seminar which the Special Committee had, by consensus, agreed to adopt at its 509th meeting, on 17 April 1967 (A/AC.109/236; A/6667 and Add.1-4).

281. Following an invitation by the Government of the Republic of Zambia, the Secretary-General organized the International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa, which took place from 25 July to 4 August 1967 in Kitwe, Zambia. The Chairman of the Special Committee,

Mr. John W.S. Malecela (United Republic of Tanzania) presided the International Seminar as its Chairman.

282. On 29 September 1967, the Secretary-General transmitted to the General Assembly the report of the International Seminar in pursuance of the above-mentioned resolution (A/6818).

### Dissemination of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and publicity for the work of the Special Committee

283. In operative paragraph 18 of resolution 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966, the General Assembly requested "the Secretary-General to promote, through the various organs and agencies of the United Nations, the continuous and large-scale publicizing of the Declaration and of the work of the Special Committee, in order that world opinion may be sufficiently aware of the situation in the colonial Territories and of the continuing struggle fcr liberation waged by the colonial peoples". In operative paragraph 13 of its resolution of 20 June 1967 (A/AC.109/252), the Special Committee requested "the Secretary-General to promote the continuous and large-scale publicizing of the Declaration and of the work of the Special Committee, including in particular, the preparation, in consultation with the Special Committee, of publications covering the work of the Committee at its current session away from Headquarters, in order that world opinion may be sufficiently aware of the situation in colonial Territories and of the continuing struggle for liberation waged by colonial peoples".

284. At the 569th meeting, on 23 October 1967, the Chairman of the Special Committee conveyed to the Committee information which he had received from the Secretariat, relating to the measures taken and envisaged by the Office of Public Information to promote the publicizing of the Declaration and of the work of the Special Committee.

285. At the 570th meeting, on 30 October, following statements made by the representatives of Finland, the USSR, Bulgaria, Venezuela, Syria, India and Yugoslavia, the Chairman undertook to convey the views expressed and the suggestions offered by members concerning this matter to the Office of Public Information.

#### Matters relating to the small Territories

286. In operative paragraph 16 of its resolution 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966, the General Assembly invited "the Special Committee to pay particular attention to the small Territories and to recommend to the General Assembly the most appropriate methods and also the steps to be taken, to enable the population of those Territories to exercise fully the right to self-determination and independence".

287. In requesting its Sub-Committees I, II and III to carry out the tasks assigned to them, the Special Committee called their attention to the above-mentioned provision of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI). Further, in arriving at its conclusions and recommendations concerning the small Territories, details of which are contained in the relevant chapters of the present report, the Special Committee took that provision into consideration.
288. In this connexion, the Special Committee decided to defer consideration of a proposal contained in paragraph 286 of the report of Sub-Committee III, to the effect that the Secretary-General should be asked to initiate a study of the feasibility of arrangements under which small territories which may wish to be fully self-governing might be enabled to have available to them the status of a sovereign entity associated with the United Nations. Reservations concerning that proposal were expressed by the representatives of Madagascar, the United Kingdom and the United States.

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

289. In operative paragraph 15 of its resolution 2189 (XXI), the General Assembly invited "the Special Committee, whenever it considers it proper and appropriate, to recommend a deadline for the accession to independence of each Territory in accordance with the wishes of the people and the provisions of the Declaration". 290. In requesting its Sub-Committees I, II and III to carry out the tasks assigned to them, the Special Committee called their attention to the above-mentioned provision of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI). Further in its consideration of specific territories, the Special Committee took that provision into consideration.

#### Pattern of conferences

291. By its resolution 2116 (XX) concerning the pattern of conferences, the General Assembly decided, inter alia, "that a fixed pattern of conferences to govern the places and dates of the meetings of the United Nations bodies shall come into force on 1 January 1966 for a further period of three years". By the same resolution, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General "to submit to the General Assembly each year a basic programme of conferences for the following year, established in conformity with the present pattern and after consultation, as appropriate, with the organs concerned". It also urged "all organs of the United Nations ... to review their working methods and frequency and length of sessions in the light of the present resolution, the growing volume of meetings, the resulting strain on available resources and the difficulty of ensuring the effective participation of members". 292. In operative paragraph 5 of its resolution 2239 (XXI) on the same subject, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General "to ... draw up in August of each year, for submission to the General Assembly ... the provisional calendar of meetings and conferences planned by the entire United Nations family of organizations for the two following calendar years". In operative paragraph 9 of this resolution, the Assembly recommended that "all competent organs of the United Nations, including subsidiary organs of the General Assembly, should bear in mind that proposals involving new meetings and conferences would be subject to the recommendations of the Committee on Conferences and to final approval by the Assembly". /...

293. By adopting the 33rd report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.432/Rev.1), the Special Committee at its 564th meeting, on 27 September, decided, subject to any decision which the General Assembly might take at its twenty-second session, to hold two sessions in 1968, the first from the second week of February to the end of June and the second from Thursday, 1 August to Friday, 30 August. This programme would not preclude the holding of extra-sessional meetings on an emergency basis if developments in any dependent Territory so warranted. Further, the first session would include such meetings away from Headquarters as the Special Committee may decide to hold in 1968. During its second session, the Special Committee would take up the reports of any visiting groups it may dispatch to Territories.

294. As regards the provisional calendar of meetings in 1969, the Special Committee decided to adopt, on a tentative basis, the same programme as that planned for 1968.

#### X. RELATIONS WITH OTHER UNITED NATIONS BODIES

#### Security Council

295. The General Assembly, in operative paragraph 14 of its resolution 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966, requested "the Special Committee to apprise the Security Council of developments in any Territory examined by the Committee which may threaten international peace and security and to make any concrete suggestions which may assist the Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations".

#### (a) Southern Rhodesia

296. In paragraph 1 of its consensus of 6 June 1967, concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia adopted at its 523rd meeting held in Kitwe, Zambia, the Special Committee decided "to transmit to the President of the Security Council the records of its debates on the question of Southern Rhodesia, including the testimony submitted by the petitioners, following the conclusion of its consideration of that question". The text of the consensus, together with the records of the debate on the question in the Special Committee, was transmitted to the President of the Security Council on 16 June 1967 (S/8006).

297. By operative paragraph 12 of its resolution of 9 June 1967 (A/AC.109/248), the Special Committee recommended to the Security Council, "in accordance with its decision contained in resolution 232 (1966) of 16 December 1966, and, in particular, paragraph 1 thereof to take the necessary measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations". The text of this resolution was transmitted to the President of the Security Council on 13 June 1967 (S/8005).

#### (b) Territories under Portuguese administration

298. In operative paragraph 7 of its resolution of 20 June 1967 (A/AC.109/251), the Special Committee drew "the urgent attention of the Security Council to the continued deterioration of the situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination as well as to the consequences of the aggressive acts committed by Portugal against the independent African States that border its colonies". In operative paragraph 8 of the same resolution, the Special Committee urgently

recommended that "the Security Council take the necessary measures to make mandatory the provisions of its resolutions concerning this question, particularly resolution 218 (1965) of 23 November 1965 and those of General Assembly resolution 2184 (XXI) of 12 December 1966". The text of this resolution was transmitted to the President of the Security Council on 20 June 1967 (S/8023).

### (c) Colonial Territories considered by the Special Committee during its meetings away from Headquarters (1967)

299. In operative paragraph 4 of its resolution of 20 June 1967 (A/AC.109/252), the Special Committee recommended "once again that the Security Council make obligatory the measures provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations against Portugal, South Africa and the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia". The text of this resolution was transmitted to the President of the Security Council on 20 June 1967 (S/8024).

#### Trusteeship Council

300. In accordance with paragraph 8 of General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) which requested the Trusteeship Council to assist the Special Committee in its work, the President of the Trusteeship Council, by letter dated 30 June 1967 (A/AC.109/255) addressed to the Chairman, informed the Special Committee that the Council at its thirty-fourth session examined conditions in the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands, Nauru and New Guinea. The letter stated that the conclusions and recommendations of the Trusteeship Council, as well as the observations of the members of the Trusteeship Council, representing their individual opinions only, were contained in its report to the Security Council on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (S/8020) and in its report to the General Assembly on Nauru and New Guinea. 12/

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

301. The Bureau of the Special Committee maintained close contact with the Bureau of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa as regards matters of common interest relating to the

 $<sup>\</sup>frac{12}{No. \frac{1}{4}}$  Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Supplement

work of the two Committees. The two Committees co-operated in the formulation of proposals for submission to the Secretary-General regarding the various aspects of the organization of the International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa which took place in Kitwe, Zambia in July/August 1967.

#### Specialized agencies

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

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

Resolution adopted on	Territories concerned	Relevant operative paragraphs
1 June 1967 (consensus)	Territories under Portuguese administration	third paragraph
9 June 1967 (A/AC.109/248)	Southern Rhodesia	operative paragraph 13
20 June 1967 (A/AC.109/251)	Territories under Portuguese administration	operative paragraphs 10, 11, 13
20 June 1967 (A/AC.109/252)	Colonial Territories considered during the meetings away from Headquarters (1967)	ed operative paragraphs 8, 12

304. The text of the consensus and resolutions were transmitted by the Secretary-General to the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) as well as to the international institutions concerned for their attention. The substantive parts of the replies received from these organizations concerning the implementation of the above-mentioned resolutions, were reproduced and made available to the Special Committee in document A/AC.109/276 (see section VIII above), which is appended to the present chapter as annex III.

#### United Nations Special Mission on Aden

305. In a note dated 23 February 1967 (A/6636), the Secretary-General announced that following consultations with the Special Committee and the administering Power pursuant to General Assembly resolution 2183 (XXI), he had appointed the United Nations Special Mission on Aden with the following composition:

Mr. Manuel Perez Guerrero of Venezuela, Chairman; Mr. Abdussattar Shalizi of Afghanistan, and Mr. Moussa Leo Keita of Mali.

306. At the 567th meeting of the Special Committee, on 13 October, the Chairman drew attention to a letter dated 12 October 1967 addressed to him by the Secretary-General, appended to which was a letter of the same date from the Chairman of the United Nations Special Mission on Aden (A/AC.109/277) indicating when the Mission expected to submit its report.

307. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the report of the Mission is contained in chapter VI of the present report.

#### United Nations Council for South West Africa

308. Having regard to its own mandate, the Special Committee has closely followed the work of the United Nations Council for South West Africa. By letter dated 12 September 1967, the Chairman of the Special Committee transmitted to the President of the Council for South West Africa the text of a resolution on the question of South West Africa (A/C.109/271) adopted by the Committee at its 557th meeting on the same date.

### XI. REVIEW OF WORK 13/

309. In its resolution 2189 (XXI), the General Assembly requested the Special Committee to continue to perform its tasks and to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration in all Territories which have not yet attained independence. The Assembly also requested the Committee to pay particular attention to the small Territories, to recommend whenever it considered it proper and appropriate, a deadline for the accession to independence of each Territory, and to make any concrete suggestions which might assist the Security Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter regarding developments in the colonial Territories which may threaten international peace and security. 310. At the outset of its work during 1967 the Special Committee was aware that some constitutional progress had taken place in a few of the colonial territories to which the Declaration applies, and that Bechuanaland (Botswana), Basutoland (Lesotho) and Barbados, to which it had given close consideration in previous years, had acceded to independence during the latter part of 1966. However, many members observed that these developments served only to intensify their regret at the continued delay in the complete and effective implementation of the Declaration. They noted that although more than six years had passed since the adoption of that Declaration, many Territories remained under colonial rule, some of them with little prospect of emancipation in the near future. Indeed in disregard of the pertinent United Nations resolutions the administering Powers had persisted in their denial of the right of the people of these Territories to self-determination and had in some instances extended the application of their harshly repressive policies. Many Members viewed this state of affairs as a serious threat to international peace and security. In this connexion special concern was expressed regarding the situation in the colonial Territories in southern Africa where the authorities concerned, acting in collaboration with one another and supported by foreign economic and other interests, continued flagrantly to stifle the legitimate aspirations of the indigenous inhabitants to freedom and independence.

<sup>13/</sup> The views or reservations of individual members on matters reviewed in this section are set out in the relevant chapters of the present report (see chapters II to XXIII).

311. It was in this context that the Special Committee engaged in the discharge of its mandate during 1967. In the course of its work it re-examined the implementation of the Declaration and of General Assembly resolutions relating to the various colonial Territories and in the light of developments formulated recommendations for the application of further measures as appropriate. In addition to carrying out a number of specific tasks assigned to it by the General Assembly or arising from its own previous decisions, the Committee also undertook a study of the activities of foreign economic and other interests in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and Territories under Portuguese administration and in all other Territories under colonial administration, on the basis of which it submitted conclusions and recommendations to the General Assembly. Moreover, having regard to the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 2189 (XXI), 2160 (XXI), and 2232 (XXI), the Committee initiated a study of military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration.

312. This programme of work proved to be strenuous; adding to its weight was the necessity of keeping the situation in certain of the colonial Territories under continuous review. What was more, many of the problems which the Special Committee was called upon to examine had increased both in difficulty and in gravity. Nevertheless by holding meetings continuously from February and November, except for one short recess, the Committee was able to give adequate consideration to all but a few items on its agenda.

313. As envisaged in its last report to the General Assembly the Special Committee held a further series of meetings away from Headquarters during May and June this year. These meetings took place at Kinshasa, Kitwe and Dar es Salaam, at the invitation of the Governments of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania respectively. The Committee also accepted in principle similar invitations extended by five other Member Governments but it agreed to take advantage of them at a future date. As was anticipated by several Members the session away from Headquarters once again facilitated the appearance before it of representatives of national liberation movements wishing to express their views and to acquaint the Committee with the progress of their struggle. Further, the Committee was enabled to acquire more direct knowledge than would

otherwise have been available to it of the realities of the situation in several colonial Territories, particularly those in southern Africa, and thus to strengthen its own capacity to assist the people in their efforts to achieve freedom and independence. The Committee was also enabled to assess the extent to which the provisions of previous United Nations resolutions had been implemented and to recommend such additional measures as were necessary for the attainment of the desired objectives.

314. The Special Committee devoted considerable attention to the question of Southern Rhodesia recent developments regarding which had given cause for general and increasing concern. Following its unsuccessful talks with the illegal racist minority régime in December 1966, the United Kingdom Government had indicated that it was withdrawing all previous proposals for a constitutional settlement and that it would not submit to the United Kingdom Parliament any settlement involving independence before majority rule. However most members urged that any future consultations concerning the future of the Territory should be carried out with the representatives of the African political parties and not with the illegal The majority of members also expressed the conviction that in order to succeed in bringing about the downfall of the illegal régime, the sanctions currently in force must be made comprehensive and mandatory, and must be backed by the use of force on the part of the administering Power. The Committee accordingly called upon the United Kingdom to take immediately all the necessary measures to this end and to transfer power to the people of the Territory without delay, in accordance with the Declaration, and on the basis of elections conducted on the one man one vote principle. The Committee also condemned the policies of the Governments of South Africa and Portugal in continuing to support the illegal régime, and recommended to the Security Council to take the necessary measures under Chapter VII of the Charter for the implementation of its own previous decisions. Finally the Committee requested all States to give moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements of Southern Rhodesia and appealed to the specialized agencies to extend assistance to the refugees from the Territory.

315. With regard to South West Africa, the Special Committee noted that following the termination of South Africa's mandate by the General Assembly in its resolution 2145 (XXI), the question had been under consideration by the Ad Hoc Committee established under that resolution. The Special Committee also noted that having

examined the report of the Ad Hoc Committee, the General Assembly by resolution 2248 (S-V) set up a United Nations Council for South West Africa with the responsibility inter alia of administering the Territory until it attains independence as envisaged by June 1968. At the same time, the question remained the concern of the Special Committee within the context of the implementation of the Declaration, and accordingly received its attention. Meanwhile the South African Government not only repudiated the validity of the above-mentioned resolutions, but also took measures to alter the status of Ovamboland, an integral part of South West Africa, by the establishment of so-called self-government aimed at consolidating the system of apartheid and fragmenting the Territory in furtherance of South African domination. Having reviewed these developments the Committee condemned as illegal, and contrary to the relevant General Assembly resolutions, as well as a flagrant defiance of the authority of the United Nations, the measures taken and proposed by the South African Government with respect to Ovamboland and reaffirmed the territorial integrity of South West Africa, as also the inalienable right of the people to freedom and independence in accordance with the Declaration. Subsequently the Committee also condemned the illegal arrest by the South African authorities of thirty-seven Africans from South West Africa in flagrant violation of its international status, demanded their immediate release, and called upon those authorities to cease all illegal acts in the Territory. 316. As regards the Territories under Portuguese administration, the administering Power continued to deny the people the right to self-determination on the pretext of the legal fiction that these Territories were overseas provinces of metropolitan Portugal. Continuing to avail itself of military and other assistance from some States, it intensified its repressive activities and military operations against the African population of the Territories. In addition Portugal continued to violate the economic and political rights of the indigenous population by the settlement of foreign immigrants in the Territories and the export of African workers to South Africa. At the same time the Special Committee received information, which it noted with satisfaction, regarding the progress of the struggle of the national liberation movements in these Territories and about their efforts to rehabilitate the liberated areas and to promote the material and social welfare of the people. The great and urgent need of these movements for

assistance, particularly in the field of education and health was the subject of a request by the Committee to the specialized agencies and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The Committee also appealed to all States to grant the peoples of the Territories the moral and material assistance necessary for the restoration of their inalienable rights. Further the Committee recommended that the Security Council take the necessary measures to make mandatory the provisions of its resolutions as well as those of the General Assembly concerning this question. Finally it addressed an urgent appeal to all States and to the specialized agencies to refrain from extending assistance to Portugal as long as it continued its present policies in the Territories.

317. As a result of the special study it undertook concerning the activities of foreign economic and other interests in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination, the Special Committee noted the dominant and increasing role played in the economic life of the Territories, particularly those in southern Africa, by international economic and financial interests. In the opinion of the Committee the activities of these interests constitute a serious impediment to the implementation of the Declaration in the above-named and in other colonial Territories. The Committee noted that these interests with the encouragement of the colonial Powers were ruthlessly exploiting the human and natural resources of the Territories for the largest possible profits. The colonial Powers which enjoy a share in these profits were in their turn impelled to devote greater effort to the perpetuation of the existing situation and to the suppression of the indigenous people. The Committee also found that the countries having the largest economic interests in the colonial Territories in southern Africa were those providing moral and material support to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia in its defiance of international sanctions, to the Portuguese Government in the maintenance of its colonial attitudes and to the South African Government in its expansion of apartheid policies throughout southern Africa.

318. In the light of these findings, the Special Committee recommended <u>inter alia</u> that the administering Powers concerned should be condemned for depriving the colonial peoples of their inalienable right to the ownership and enjoyment of the natural resources of the Territories. Those Powers should also be condemned for

their active support of foreign economic and other interests which exploited the human and material resources of the Territories without regard to the welfare of the indigenous peoples or their need for technical economic development. Further the Committee emphasized that, so long as the people were denied full participation in a Government of their own choice, concessions and other discriminatory measures by the colonial Powers in favour of these interests were a violation of Article 73 of the Charter which affirms that the interests of the inhabitants of the Territory are paramount. In addition the Committee expressed grave concern about the assistance given by foreign economic and other interests to the administering Powers which enabled them to continue their colonial domination. Finally the Committee appealed to the Governments whose nationals own and operate enterprises in the colonial Territories, particularly in southern Africa, to put an end to their activities.

319. Another matter which was closely followed by the Special Committee was the question of Aden. During February 1967 the Committee was informed by the Secretary-General that following the necessary consultations he had appointed a special mission in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2183 (XXI) for the purpose of recommending practical steps for the full implementation of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, including the establishment of a central caretaker government in the Territory. While the Committee was awaiting the submission of the report of the special mission, it was announced by the administering Power that the Territory would accede to independence by the end of November 1967. In order to enable the Fourth Committee to consider the report of the special mission, which became available during mid-November 1967, prior to the accession of the Territory to independence, the Committee decided to take note of the report and to transmit it to the General Assembly. At the same time the Chairman on behalf of the Committee expressed the confident hope that the Territory would become independent in conditions of peace and harmony.

320. In addition the Special Committee examined recent developments regarding Swaziland, which was expected to become independent during September 1968. Following this examination, the Committee called upon the administering Power to assure its accession to independence without delay and in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the people. It also requested the administering Power

to take all appropriate action to enable the Territory to enjoy genuine and complete independence and to protect its territorial integrity and sovereignty in the face of the international policies of the racist régime in South Africa. Moreover the Committee requested the administering Power to take the necessary steps to bring about the economic independence of the Territory vis-à-vis South Africa, and in particular to give full effect to the recommendations previously approved by the Assembly to that end.

321. The delay in the implementation of the Declaration in several other Territories was also a matter of concern to the Special Committee. Regarding Equatorial Guinea, it was the desire of the Committee that the Territory should accede to independence as a single territorial entity not later than 1968. Committee however noted that following a regrettable delay the proposed constitutional conference had recently been scheduled to take place during October/November 1967. On Ifni the Committee expressed the hope that the dialogue between the Governments of Spain and Morocco would be pursued in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions. As to Spanish Sahara, the Committee observed that the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2228 (XXI) had not been implemented but owing to lack of time it was unable to give the question the full consideration warranted by its complexity. With regard to French Somaliland the Committee convinced that the inalienable right of the people to self-determination and independence was beyond question and concerned that the process of decolonization should proceed with greater speed and in conditions of peace and harmony, urged that the referendum scheduled to be held during March 1967 should be conducted in a just and democratic manner under a United Nations presence.

322. As regards Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena, the Special Committee urged the administering Power to transfer power to representative organs which should be elected by the people on the basis of universal adult suffrage, to return to Mauritius and Seychelles the islands detached from them in violation of their territorial integrity and to desist from establishing military installations therein. Subsequently it was announced that Mauritius would accede to independence during March 1968. On the question of Fiji, the Special Committee reaffirmed its view that the administering Power should expedite the process of

decolonization by holding elections on the one man one vote principle and by fixing an early date for independence. Concerning Gibraltar, the Committee considered that the referendum envisaged by the administering Power was in contradiction to the relevant General Assembly resolutions and invited the Governments of the United Kingdom and Spain to resume the negotiations called for by these resolutions.

323. As requested by the General Assembly the Special Committee paid particular attention to the small Territories with a view to enabling their populations to exercise fully their right to self-determination and independence. With regard to a large number of the small Territories, the Special Committee recognized that their size and population as well as their geographical location and limited resources presented peculiar problems requiring special attention. At the same time, the Committee was firmly of the opinion that the provisions of the Declaration were fully applicable to them. Accordingly, it requested the administering Powers responsible for these Territories to ensure that the peoples concerned were enabled, in complete freedom and in full knowledge of the possibilities open to them in keeping with the Declaration, to express their wishes without delay concerning the future of their countries. The Committee also stressed the urgent need for measures to strengthen the economic infra-structure of these Territories and to promote their social and economic development for the purpose of fostering federations. In a few of these Territories, the Committee was deeply concerned by reports pointing to preparations for their use for military purposes. 324. The Special Committee once again underlined the indisputable value of sending visiting missions to the small Territories as a means of securing adequate information regarding conditions in these Territories and as to the views, wishes and aspirations of the people. Accordingly the Committee once again requested the administering Powers to extend their full co-operation by permitting access to the Territories under their administration. The Committee noted with regret that the responses of most of the administering Powers concerned to this request were either negative or qualified in character. The Committee, therefore, considered that the General Assembly should again urge them to reconsider their attitudes in view of the vital importance to its work of the sending of visiting missions to the small Territories. In the same connexion the Committee expressed a belief in the desirability of a United Nations presence during the procedures for the exercise by the people concerned of their right to self-determination.

#### XII. FUTURE WORK

325. In view of the large number of Territories remaining under colonial rule the Special Committee believes that the General Assembly will wish it 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. Subject, therefore, to any further directives that the General Assembly might give at its twenty-second session it is the intention of the Committee in 1968 to continue to examine the situation in each of these Territories, including those Territories to which owing to lack of time it was unable to give adequate consideration during 1967, with a view to assisting in the speedy and effective application of the Declaration. In particular, the Committee will review developments concerning each Territory, examine the extent of compliance with the relevant United Nations resolutions, and recommend any additional measures which may be appropriate to achieve the objectives of the Declaration.

326. In this task the Special Committee will continue to be guided by the provisions of operative paragraphs 14, 15 and 16 of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI). In these paragraphs the General Assembly requested the Committee to apprise the Security Council of developments in any Territory examined by the Committee which may threaten international peace and security and to make any concrete suggestions which may assist the Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations. The General Assembly also invited the Committee, whenever it considers it proper and appropriate, to recommend a deadline for the accession to independence of each Territory in accordance with the wishes of the people and the provisions of the Declaration. Further the General Assembly invited the Special Committee to pay particular attention to 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 the right to self-determination and independence.

327. In addition the Special Committee proposes to continue its examination 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, South West Africa and Territories

under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial

domination. The Committee also expects to complete the study which it initiated during 1967 of military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration. Moreover the Committee will continue its consideration of the question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration applies. 328. In the section of this chapter concerning visiting missions and in the chapters of the present report relating to the small Territories, the Special Committee has set out recommendations with regard to the sending of visiting missions, to which it attaches special importance, and the establishment of a United Nations presence in connexion with the exercise by the peoples concerned of the right to self-determination. It is the intention of the Special Committee to pursue these recommendations during 1968 and to continue to seek the co-operation of the administering Powers in that endeavour. In particular the Committee proposes, subject to any decision the General Assembly might take in that regard. to despatch visiting missions to the Territories in the Caribbean, Indian and Pacific Ocean areas, and to certain of the Territories in Africa. 329. In accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2239 (XXI) concerning the pattern of conferences the Special Committee has already approved a tentative programme of meetings for 1968 as well as a provisional time-table for 1969. Further in the context of operative paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) which authorized the Special Committee to meet elsewhere than at United Nations Headquarters whenever and wherever such meetings may be required for the effective discharge of its functions, the Committee may consider during 1968 the question of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters. 330. In order to enable it to carry out the tasks envisaged above the Special Committee suggests that the General Assembly may wish to endorse the foregoing proposals when it concludes its examination of the question of the Implementation of the Declaration at its twenty-second session. In addition the Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly should renew its appeal to the administering Powers to take all necessary steps for the implementation of the Declaration and the relevant United Nations resolutions. The General Assembly should also urge the administering Powers to co-operate with the Committee by facilitating visits

to Territories in accordance with the decisions previously taken by the Special Committee or with any other decisions in that connexion which the Committee may find it appropriate to adopt in 1968. The Assembly should also request the administering Powers to co-operate with the Secretary-General in promoting the large scale dissemination of the Declaration and of information on the work of the United Nations and in particular of the Special Committee in the implementation of the Declaration.

331. Further, the Special Committee recommends that in approving the programme of work outlined above, the Assembly should also make adequate financial provision to cover the activities of the Committee during 1968; the sending of visiting missions as envisaged in paragraph 328 above, will in the estimation of the Committee give rise to expenditure of the order of \$80,000, and a series of meetings away from Headquarters should the Committee decide to hold one as indicated in paragraph 329 above, will result in expenditure of about \$160,000. Finally the Assembly should request the Secretary-General to continue to provide the Special Committee with all the facilities and personnel necessary for the discharge of its mandate.

### XIII. APPROVAL OF THE REPORT

332. The Special Committee approved the present report, as a whole, at its 572nd meeting, on 5 December 1967.

ANNEX I

LIST OF PETITIONERS HEARD BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE IN 1967

<u>Territory</u>	Petitioner	Meeting
British Honduras	Mr. Philip Goldson, Leader of the Opposition in British Honduras (A/AC.109/PET.696)	548
Equatorial Guinea	Mr. Saturnino Ibongo Iyanga and Mr. Rafael Evita, members of the <u>Movimiento Nacional de Liberación de la Guinea Ecuatorial (MONALIGE) (A/AC.109/PET.702/Add.1)</u>	552
French Somaliland	Mr. Abdillahi Wabery, Vice-President of the Partidu Mouvement Populaire (PMP) and Secretary-General of the Central Committee for Deportees from French Somaliland, Mr. Abdulrahman Ahmed Hassan Gabot, Vice-President of the United National Front of French Somaliland and former member of the Territorial Assembly of French Somaliland, and Mr. Abdillahi Youssouf, member of the Central Committee of the PMP and former Secretary of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the PMP and Union democratique Afar (A/AC.109/PET.616/Add.1)	508
	Mr. Abdillahi Wabery and Mr. Abdillahi Youssouf (A/AC.109/PET.691)	537
Grenada	Mr. M.A. Caesar (on behalf of Mr. E. Gairy, Leader of the Opposition in Grenada) (A/AC.109/PET.573)	489
	Mr. M.A. Caesar (A/AC.109/PET.580/Add.2)	493
Mauritius	Mr. Teekaram Sibsurun, Secretary-General, Mauritius People's Progressive Party (MPPP) (A/AC.109/PET.689)	535
South West Africa	Mr. Solomon Mifima, chief representative in Zambia South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) (A/AC.109/PET.587/Add.3)	<b>,</b> 524
	Mr. T.T. Letlaka, member of the National Executive Committee, Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa (PAC) (A/AC.109/PET.680)	524,525,526

<u>Territory</u>	Petitioner	Meeting
South West Africa (cont <sup>†</sup> d)	Mr. Moses M. Garoeb, Director, and Mr. Jacob Kuhangua, Secretary-General, South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) A/AC.109/PET.587/Add.4)	535
	Mr. G.H. Geingob, representative in the United States of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) (A/AC.109/PET.587/Add.5)	554
Southern Rhodesia	Mr. T.G. Silundika, Secretary for Publicity and Information, Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) (A/AC.109/PET.681)	521,522
	Mr. Herbert Chitepo, National Chairman, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) (A/AC.109/PET.596/Add.1)	523
	Rev. Bernard M. Zulu (A/AC.109/PET.687)	523
	Mr. L.P. Chihota, chief representative, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) A/AC.109/PET.596/Add.2)	536
Territories under Portuguese adminis	tration	
Angola	Mr. Holden Roberto, President, Gouvernement révolutionnaire de l'Angola en exil (GRAE), and Mr. Emmanuel Kounzika, Vice-President (A/AC.109/PET.656)	513,514
	Mr. Lara Lucio, Executive Secretary, Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) (A/AC.109/PET.650 and Add.1)	515,516
	Mr. A.P. Matondo, President, <u>Partido Progressista</u> <u>Angolano</u> (PPA) (A/AC.109/PET.651)	516
	Mr. P. Barreiro Lulendo, Acting General Secretary, Liga Geral dos Trabalhadores de Angola (LGTA) (A/AC.109/PET.654)	516
	Mr. Emile Ndongala Mbidi, Assistant General Secretary, <u>União Nacional dos Trabalhadores</u> <u>Angolanos</u> (UNTA) (A/AC.109/PET.652)	517
	Mr. François Lele, General Chairman, Nto-Bako Angola Party (A/AC.109/PET.644/Add.1)	517
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<u>Territory</u>	Petitioner	Meeting
Angola (cont'd)	Mr. Simão Ladeira-Lumona, National President, Confederação Geral dos Trabalhadores de Angola (CGTA) (A/AC.109/PET.653)	517
	Mr. A. Medina, Secretary and Inspector-General, Ngwizani a Kongo (NGWIZAKO) (A/AC.109/PET.655)	517
	Mr. Emmanuel Tulengala, National Secretary, and Mr. Jacob Jacques Zimeni, President, Cartel des Nationalistes angolais (CNA) (A/AC.109/PET.663)	517
	Mr. Gracia Kiala, President, <u>Confédération des Syndicats libres angolais</u> (CSIA) (A/AC.109/PET.664)	518
	Mr. Smart Chata, Acting President, <u>União Nacional</u> para a <u>Independência Total de Angola</u> (UNITA) (A/AC.109/PET.679)	524
	Mr. Agostinho Neto, President, Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) (A/AC.109/PET.650/Add.2)	) 526
Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea	Mr. Benjamin Pinto-Bull, President, <u>Frente de Luta</u> pela Independência Nacional de Guiné dita <u>Portuguesa</u> (FLING) (A/AC.109/PET.662)	518
Mozambique	Mr. P.J. Gumane, President, <u>Comité Revolucionário</u> <u>de Moçambique</u> (COREMO (A/AC.109/PET.686)	526
	Mr. Eduardo Mondlane, President, Mr. Laurenço Mutaca, Secretary of Finance, and Mr. Mariano Matsinhe, Organizing Secretary, Frente de Liberatacão de Moçambique (FRELIMO)	32, 534
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#### ANNEX II

### REPORTS OF SUB-COMMITTEES II AND III: VISITING MISSIONS

A. REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE II\*

Rapporteur: Mr. G.E.O. WILLIAMS (Sierra Leone)

INTRODUCTION

 $\sqrt{p}$ aragraphs 1 to 37

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#### VISITING MISSIONS

### Consideration by the Sub-Committee

- 4. The Sub-Committee considered the question of visiting missions at its 57th to 62nd meetings held on 14, 23 and 29 March, and 5, 14 and 21 April 1967.
- 5. In accordance with a decision taken by the Sub-Committee, the Chairman sent letters to the delegations of Australia, France, New Zealand, the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland asking if their Governments were prepared to receive visiting missions in the Territories under their administration.
- 6. The representative of New Zealand in his reply recalled the terms of the reply tendered the Sub-Committee in answer to the same request eight months ago and affirmed that this remained the view of the New Zealand Government. In that reply he had observed that it had been New Zealand's consistently held view that United Nations visiting missions may often have a constructive role to play in the development of Non-Self-Governing Territories and particularly in verifying, on behalf of the international community, acts of self-determination. He had further noted that the people of the Tokelau Islands and Niue would probably wish to exercise their right to self-determination in the relatively near future.

<sup>\*</sup> The complete report of Sub-Committee II appears in A/6700/Add.13.

- 7. The reply went on to say that, since in present circumstances it would seem to be paying undue attention to two of the smallest Non-Self-Governing Territories were a mission to be sent exclusively to these islands, the New Zealand Government felt and this continued to be its view that it would be appropriate for a United Nations mission to visit the Tokelaus and Niue at this stage only if such a visit were to form part of a more comprehensive tour of the area.
- 8. The representative of the <u>United Kingdom</u> in his reply stated that its position remained as set out in Sir Roger Jackling's letter of 26 May 1966 to the Chairman of the Special Committee (A/AC.109/171). The question of visiting missions raised difficult problems of principle for the United Kingdom Government and the representative of the United Kingdom was unable, therefore, to say anything that might encourage the Special Committee to expect any change in his Government's previous attitude to the question, as frequently explained to the Special Committee and its Sub-Committees. The United Kingdom delegation would naturally be prepared to transmit to the United Kingdom Government, and seek instructions on, any specific request or suggestion for a visit to a particular Territory that the Committee might consider it appropriate to put forward. This could not, however, be taken as implying any commitment that the United Kingdom Government would be able to respond to such a request.
- 9. The representative of <u>Australia</u>, in his reply, stated that visiting missions from the Trusteeship Council made an extensive visit to the Australian Territories every three years. In accordance with this practice, a Trusteeship Council mission would visit these Territories early next year. In addition to the information available in the records of the findings of the Trusteeship Council and of its visiting missions, the Australian Government provided supplementary information on the Territories for which it was responsible in accordance with its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. In these circumstances, the Australian Government believed that a visit to the Australian Territories by the Special Committee would not be warranted.
- 10. The representative of the <u>United States of America</u>, in his reply, stated that the position of his Government with regard to visiting missions to the United States Territories on the Sub-Committee's agenda remained as communicated to the

Sub-Committee last year. The United States continued to be of the view that United Nations visiting missions to these Territories were not warranted at the present time, and if such missions were to be proposed for this year, the United States Government would in all likelihood not be in a position to accept such a proposal.

- 11. The representative of <u>Poland</u> noted that, as had been recommended, communications had been sent to the representatives of the administering Powers requesting that a visiting mission be allowed to go to the Territories administered by them. His delegation appreciated the positive reply received by the Chairman from the New Zealand Government and hoped that other administering Powers would follow New Zealand's example, since a visit by a mission was the only means of obtaining first-hand information on developments in the Territories and ascertaining the wishes of the inhabitants.
- 12. The representative of <u>India</u> stated that her own delegation believed that the Sub-Committee should visit the Territories covered by its agenda, in order to obtain first-hand information on the situation there. In that connexion, she appreciated the positive reply of the New Zealand Government to the Sub-Committee's request, although she hoped that it would withdraw the condition it had placed on its agreement to a visiting mission. She also hoped that the other administering Powers would reply favourably at an early date.
- 13. The representative of <u>Iraq</u> said that his delegation, which in 1966 had called for a visiting mission to be sent to the Territories under consideration, urgently reiterated that request. A visit by a mission would also be in the interests of the administering Powers, which should agree to it, as requested in General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI) of 20 December 1966. Unfortunately, the replies received to date from those Powers had been far from satisfactory. The Sub-Committee should not be content with statements that the situation in the Territories was continually improving.
- 14. The representative of <u>Chile</u> said that his delegation had noted with interest the reply of the New Zealand delegation concerning visiting missions. It constituted a first step, and the Chilean delegation welcomed the spirit of co-operation which New Zealand had shown in the matter. It would be encouraging if the other administering Powers concerned would follow that example and so enable

the Sub-Committee to keep abreast of constitutional developments in the Territories under their administration. The Chilean delegation believed that small Territories, precisely because they were small, should be given special attention. No effort should be spared to help them exercise the right of self-determination and accede to independence in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

15. The representative of Afghanistan said that his delegation attached great importance to the sending of visiting missions to Territories under colonial domination, since that was the only way of knowing exactly what was taking place there. His delegation welcomed the spirit of co-operation shown in that regard by New Zealand, but regretted the fact that the United Kingdom was persisting in its negative attitude. He asked the United Kingdom delegation to reconsider its position. It was difficult to understand why an administering Power should fear the dispatch of a mission to a Territory if it was administering that Territory in conformity with the principles laid down by the United Nations. The Afghan delegation also hoped that a satisfactory decision would be received from the administering Power which had not yet given its reply concerning visiting missions. The representative of Sierra Leone regretted that certain administering Powers refused to authorize the dispatch of visiting missions to Territories under their administration. They should realize that such visiting missions were more useful to the population of those Territories and to themselves than to the Special Committee, because direct contacts gave the Committee a better understanding of the situation in the Territories as it was described by the administering Powers in their statements in the United Nations. He therefore hoped that the administering Powers concerned would reconsider their position.

#### Conclusions of the Sub-Committee

17. The Sub-Committee notes that most of the administering Powers continue to maintain their same negative attitude towards the acceptance of visiting missions to the Territories referred to Sub-Committee II.

# Recommendations of the Sub-Committee

18. The Sub-Committee recommends that the Special Committee should strongly urge the administering Powers to receive visiting missions to these Territories at an early date. The detailed recommendations regarding the Territories to be visited and other modalities will be decided upon at a later stage.

### ANNEX II

REPORTS OF SUB-COMMITTEES II AND III: VISITING MISSIONS

B. REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE III\*

Rapporteur: Mr. Gilberto Ignacio CARRASQUERO (Venezuela)

INTRODUCTION

/paragraphs 1 to 77

QUESTION OF VISITING MISSIONS

- 8. The Sub-Committee considered the question of visiting missions at its 62nd and 63rd meetings on 7 and 9 March 1967. The Sub-Committee resumed the consideration of this item at its 87th meeting on 25 August 1967.
- 9. In considering this question, the Sub-Committee noted that it had been authorized by the Special Committee to submit specific recommendations without delay regarding the sending of visiting missions to the Territories with which it was concerned. It also noted that the Special Committee had decided that visiting missions to Territories should, if possible, be sent during the period preceding the fifth special sesion of the General Assembly.
- 10. The Sub-Committee was guided by the decisions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee concerning the desirability of sending visiting missions to the Territories to which the Declaration applies, namely the decisions contained in paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI). It also noted that in 1966, the Special Committee had decided that visiting missions should be sent to the following Territories: United States Virgin Islands, British Virgin Islands, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Bermuda, Bahamas, Turks and Caicos Islands and Cayman Islands.
- 11. The Sub-Committee therefore decided to recommend to the Special Committee that it send visiting missions to all Territories as soon as possible, if necessary spreading the visits over two years. At the same meeting the Sub-Committee

<sup>\*</sup> The complete report of Sub-Committee III appears in A/6700/Add.14.

requested its Chairman to ascertain from the administering Powers whether they would be prepared to receive visiting missions in 1967 to the specific Territories proposed by the Sub-Committee, namely: United States Virgin Islands, British Virgin Islands, Montserrat, the Bahamas, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent.

- 12. At the 74th meeting on 9 May, the Chairman stated that the Permanent Representatives of the United Kingdom and of the United States had replied to his inquiries concerning visiting missions.
- 13. In a letter dated 20 April 1967, addressed to the Chairman, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom stated that he had been instructed to say that "in existing circumstances, visiting missions to Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla and St. Lucia, which now have the status of fully self-governing Associated States, would be inappropriate". He also stated that a reply concerning the Bahamas, the British Virgin Islands and Montserrat would be sent in due course. Subsequently, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom informed the Chairman by letter, dated 7 June 1967, that his Government had considered this request, but had decided that it was unable to agree to the proposals.
- 14. In a letter dated 26 April 1967, addressed to the Chairman, the Permanent Representative of the United States stated that the position of his Government with regard to the proposed visiting mission to the United States Virgin Islands remained as communicated to the Sub-Committee in 1966. He further stated that "the United States Government believes that a United Nations visiting mission to the Virgin Islands would not be warranted at the present time, and regrets that it is therefore unable to concur in the Sub-Committee's recommendations".

### Conclusions and recommendations

- 15. Recalling paragraphs 5 of General Assembly resolutions 2232 (XXI) and 2189 (XXI), the Sub-Committee notes with regret that the administering Powers, namely the United States and the United Kingdom, continue to maintain the same negative attitude towards the acceptance of visiting missions to the Territories referred to Sub-Committee III.
- 16. The Sub-Committee recommends that the Special Committee should strongly urge the administering Powers to receive visiting missions to these Territories at an early date.

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#### ANNEX TIT+

IMPLEMENTATION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS 2151 (XXI), 2184 (XXI), 2189 (XXI) AND 2248 (S-V) AND PERTINENT RESOLUTIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE: REQUESTS ADDRESSED TO SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

### Note by the Secretariat

#### INTRODUCTION

- 1. In the course of the past year, both the General Assembly at its twenty-first session and the Special Committee addressed requests to specialized agencies and international institutions asking them, inter alia, to (a) give assistance, or increase the assistance which they were already giving to refugees from Southern Rhodesia and Territories under Portuguese administration, and (b) withhold assistance of any kind from the Governments of Portugual and South Africa and from the illegal racist régime of Southern Rhodesia until they renounce their policy of racial discrimination and colonial domination.
- 2. In each case, the Secretary-General transmitted the text of the resolution or consensus to a number of specialized agercies and other international institutions concerned, drawing their attention to the relevant operative paragraphs.
- 3. In addition, pursuant to a request contained in operative paragraph 10 of General Assembly resolution 2184 (XXI) of 12 December 1966, the Secretary-General entered into consultation with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the results of which are set forth in a report by the Secretary-General contained in document A/6825.
- 4. In the following sections, the Secretariat has reproduced the texts of the requests addressed to specialized agencies and international institutions and the replies, other than formal acknowledgements, which have been received to date.

<sup>\*</sup> Previously reproduced under the symbol A/AC.109/276.

#### I. REQUESTS BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

## A. Texts of the requests

- At its 1468th plenary meeting, on 22 November 1966, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2151 (XXI) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia, operative paragraph 11 of which read as follows:
  - "11. Requests the specialized agencies concerned and other international assistance organizations to aid and assist the refugees from Zimbabwe and those who are suffering from oppression by the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia."
- 6. At its 1490th plenary meeting, on 12 December 1966, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2184 (XXI) concerning the question of Territories under Portuguese administration, operative paragraphs 9 to 11 of which read as follows:
  - "9. Appeals once again to all the specialized agencies, in particular to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, to refrain from granting Portugal any financial, economic or technical assistance as long as the Government of Portugal fails to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);
  - "10. Requests the Secretary-General to enter into consultation with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in order to secure its compliance with General Assembly resolutions 2105 (XX) of 20 December 1965 and 2107 (XX) of 21 December 1965 and with the present resolution;
  - "ll. Expresses its appreciation to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the specialized agencies concerned and other international relief organizations for the aid they have extended so far, and requests them, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, to increase their assistance to the refugees from the Territories under Portuguese domination and to the people who have suffered and are still suffering owing to military operations."
- 7. At its 1492nd plenary meeting, on 13 December 1966, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2189 (XXI) concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Operative paragraphs 8 and 9 of this resolution read as follows:
  - "8. Requests the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other international relief organizations and the specialized agencies concerned to increase their economic, social and humanitarian assistance to the refugees from those Territories;

- "9. Requests all States, directly and through action in the international institutions of which they are members, including the specialized agencies, to withhold assistance of any kind to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and to the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia until they renounce their policy of racial discrimination and colonial domination;".
- 8. At its 1518th plenary meeting, on 19 May 1967, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2248 (S-V) concerning the question of South West Africa. Operative paragraph 2, part III of the resolution read as follows:
  - "2. Requests the specialized agencies and the appropriate organs of the United Nations to render to South West Africa technical and financial assistance through a co-ordinated emergency programme to meet the exigencies of the situation."

### B. Replies from specialized agencies and international institutions

# (a) Food and Agriculture Organization

9. In letters dated 2 February 1967, the FAO stated that the relevant operative paragraphs of the resolutions adopted at the twenty-first session had been duly noted.

# (b) International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

- 10. With regard to the Bank's response to operative paragraph 9 of General Assembly resolution 2184 (XXI), see paragraph 3 above.
- 11. With regard to resolution 2189 (XXI), the IBRD replied that the resolution would be brought to the attention of the Bank's Executive Directors with particular reference to paragraphs 8 and 9 which were addressed to Member States.

# (c) International Civial Aviation Organization

12. With regard to resolution 2189 (XXI), the reply stated that the Council of ICAO had considered the resolution, particularly paragraph 8, at a meeting on 8 March 1967. As a result of the discussion, the Director-General had been requested to reply that, while ICAO had no resources within its regular budget to provide assistance of the type envisaged, it was willing to render assistance to the refugees by granting scholarships out of the limited funds available to it for regional projects in Africa under the United Nations Development Programme. The

applicants should have the appropriate qualifications to receive training in the different specialized fields of aviation in any of the training institutions established as Special Fund projects and for which ICAO was or is the executing agency; the applicants should also be sponsored by a State as required by UNDP procedures.

13. The information contained in the above letter from ICAO was communicated to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for appropriate action.

## (d) International Committee of the Red Cross

14. With regard to operative paragraph 11 of resolution 2151 (XXI), the reply stated that the International Committee was continuing to extend its assistance to persons detained or restricted in Southern Rhodesia for political reasons.

## (e) International Labour Organisation

15. In letters dated 7 December 1966 and 6 February 1967, the ILO replied that the relevant operative paragraphs of the resolutions had been noted.

# (f) International Telecommunication Union

16. With regard to resolution 2248 (S-V) concerning the question of South West Africa, the ITU, in a letter dated 30 June 1967, transmitted a copy of resolution No. 619 which had been adopted by the Council of the ITU at its twenty-second session in May 1967. In its resolution, the Council, after taking note of resolution 2145 (XXI), whereby the General Assembly of the United Nations had terminated South Africa's mandate in South West Africa, decided that the Government of South Africa no longer had the right to represent South West Africa in the ITU.

# (g) United Nations Educational and Scientific Organization

17. In letters dated 3 January and 25 July 1967, UNESCO stated that resolutions 2151 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V) would be brought to the attention of the Executive Board at its next session. In its letter of 3 January, UNESCO transmitted the text of resolution 11 adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO at its thirty-fifth plenary meeting, on 28 November 1966 concerning "UNESCO's task in the light of the

resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its twentieth session on questions relating to the liquidation of colonialism and racialism". The text of this resolution is as follows:

"The General Conference,

"In accordance with the aims proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations and the Constitution of UNESCO, and with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1960,

"In accordance with the United Nations General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX) of the 'Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples' and with the other resolutions of the twentieth session of the United Nations General Assembly mentioned in the report of the Director-General of UNESCO (14 C/20),

"Taking into consideration that the United Nations General Assembly, at its twentieth session, adopted a number of resolutions designed to promote the earliest possible elimination of all forms of racialism and racial discrimination and, in particular, approved and opened for signature the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; and, at its twenty-first session, proclaimed 21 March as International Day for Elimination of Racial Discrimination,

"Having considered the Director-General's report on the implementation of resolution 6.3 on 'the role of UNESCO in contributing to the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples', adopted by the General Conference at its thirteenth session, and resolution 8.2 on the same subject, adopted by the General Conference at its eleventh and twelfth sessions,

"Noting with deep concern that, six years after the adoption of the Declaration in 1960, many territories are still under colonial domination,

"Affirms its belief that all colonial countries and peoples should be granted independence with all possible speed;

"Roundly condemning all forms and manifestations of colonialism and neo-colonialism,

"Convinced that the continued existence of colonialism and the practice of apartheid and all other forms of racial discrimination constitute a threat to international peace and security and are a crime against humanity,

"Noting that, although UNESCO has made a certain contribution to the attainment and consolidation of independence by former colonial countries and peoples by assisting them to develop education, science and culture, by no means all the opportunities at its disposal in this field have been made use of,

#### "Authorizes the Director-General:

- (a) To pay special attention in the practical execution of UNESCO's programme for 1967-1968, in the work plans and in future programmes, to the implementation of the resolutions of the governing bodies of the United Nations and UNESCO relating to this matter and, in particular, to provide the newly independent countries and peoples and those that have not yet attained independence, with the necessary assistance for the development of education, science and culture;
- (b) To continue, within the framework of UNESCO's programme, to organize meetings and research projects on the harmful effects of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racialism on the social and economic life of countries and on the development of their education, science and culture, with a view to assisting in the application of practical measures to eradicate such after-effects;
- (c) To make more active use of the Organization's information and publications programme and other forms of activities in order to unmask and to help to eradicate, with all possible speed, colonialism, neo-colonialism, the policy and practice of apartheid and racial discrimination, and also to give wide publicity to the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and the UNESCO General Conference;
- (d) In accordance with the decisions of the United Nations General Assembly to withhold assistance from the Governments of Portugal, the Republic of South Africa and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia in matters relating to education, science and culture, and not to invite them to attend conferences or take part in other UNESCO activities, participation in which might be considered as conferring technical assistance, until such time as the Governments of those countries abandon their policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination;
- (e) In consultation with the United Nations Secretary-General, to use UNESCO's information material and publications and other forms of activity for the implementation of resolution 2142 (XXI) of the United Nations General Assembly which proclaimed 21 March as International Day for Elimination of Racial Discrimination;
- (f) To appeal to the Governments of member States of UNESCO which have not yet done so to accede to the 'International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination', adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its twentieth session, and to the 'Convention against Discrimination in Education', adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO at its eleventh session;
- (g) To report to the General Conference of UNESCO, at its fifteenth session, on the implementation of this resolution."

# (h) United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees

- 18. Information concerning the measures taken to increase the assistance to refugees from Territories under Portuguese administration under the High Commissioner's Programme is contained in document A/AC.109/L.417, dated 7 August 1967.
- 19. In letters dated 9 March 1967, it was stated that the High Commissioner had drawn the attention of the League of Red Cross Societies to the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session and had received a reply from the Secretary-General of the League dated 2 March 1967. An excerpt from the reply, which was enclosed, read as follows:

"As we have already pointed out on various occasions to the abovementioned Department, the assistance to people in need - destitute populations,
disaster victims and refugees - is one of the peacetime responsibilities of
the Red Cross. It accomplishes this task within the limits of its
possibilities and in accordance with its basic principles. The League is
prepared to approach its member Societies with a view to assisting these
categories of people provided it is requested to do so by the National Society
of the country in which they are living."

# (i) Universal Postal Union

20. In a letter dated 8 February 1967, it was stated that note had been taken of resolution 2184 (XXI), particularly paragraphs 8 and 9, and that the resolution would be drawn to the attention of the Executive Council of the UPU at its next session in May 1967.

### (j) World Health Organization

21. In letters dated 7 December 1966, 10 March 1967 and 22 July 1967, the Director-General of the World Health Organization stated that note had been taken of the requests contained in the resolutions and that they would be brought to the attention of the Executive Board and of the World Health Assembly. In the letter of 22 July, in reply to the request contained in operative paragraph 2, part III of resolution 2248 (S-V) concerning the question of South West Africa, the Director-General stated as follows: "I wish to assure you of our readiness to co-operate within the constitutional functions and capacities of the Organization in the programme envisaged by the General Assembly when the specific requirements of that programme are known."

### II. REQUESTS ADDRESSED BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

### A. Texts of the requests

- 22. During its 1967 session, the Special Committee has to date adopted one consensus and three resolutions which contained requests addressed to the specialized agencies and international institutions, as follows.
- 23. On 1 June 1967, the Special Committee adopted a consensus concerning the provision of assistance to refugees from Territories under Portuguese administration, the last paragraph of which read as follows:

"The Committee has nonetheless been deeply concerned by the statements of the petitioners concerning the insufficiency of the assistance which they are receiving from the specialized agencies of the United Nations and, particularly of their great and urgent need for direct assistance in the fields of education and health. It accordingly expresses its regret that the specialized agencies have not yet to the knowledge of the Committee responded to the repeated appeals of the Committee and the General Assembly. The Committee therefore appeals to the specialized agencies and invites the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to make every effort urgently to intensify assistance to the above-mentioned refugees in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and through it with the national liberation movements in the Territories under Portuguese domination."

- 24. On 9 June 1967, the Special Committee adopted a resolution (A/AC.109/248) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia, operative paragraph 13 of which read as follows:
  - "13. Appeals to the specialized agencies concerned and other international assistance organizations to aid and assist the refugees from Zimbabwe and those who are suffering from oppression by the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and through it with the national liberation movements in the colonial Territory of Southern Rhodesia."
- 25. On 20 June 1967, the Special Committee adopted a resolution (A/AC.109/251) concerning the question of Territories under Portuguese administration, operative paragraphs 10, 11 and 13 of which read as follows:

- "10. Appeals once again to all the specialized agencies, in particular to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), to refrain from granting Portugal any financial, economic or technical assistance as long as the Government of Portugal fails to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);
- "II. Expresses its appreciation to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the specialized agencies concerned and other international relief organizations for the help they have so far given, and requests them, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and through it with the national liberation movements, to increase their assistance to the refugees from the Territories under Portuguese domination and to those who have suffered and are still suffering from the military operations;

• • •

- "13. Requests the Secretary-General to enter into consultations with the specialized agencies referred to in operative paragraph 10 of the present resolution and report thereon to the Special Committee."
- 26. Finally, on 20 June 1967, the Special Committee adopted a resolution (A/AC.109/252), concerning the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) with regard to those colonial Territories considered by the Committee during its meetings away from Headquarters (1967). Operative paragraphs 8 and 12 of that resolution read as follows:
  - "8. Requests the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the specialized agencies concerned and other international relief organizations to increase, in co-operation with the liberation movements of all the territories under colonial rule, their assistance to the refugees from these Territories;

• • •

- "12. Requests all States, directly and through their action in the international institutions of which they are members, including the specialized agencies, to withhold assistance of any kind to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, and to the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia until they renounce their policy of racial discrimination and colonial domination;".
- B. Replies from specialized agencies and international institutions
- (a) International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
- 27. In a letter dated 12 July 1967, it was stated that note had been taken of the reference to the IBRD contained in operative paragraph 10 of the Special

Committee's resolution (A/AC.109/251) concerning the question of Territories under Portuguese administration and of the references to the specialized agencies in operative paragraphs 11 and 13 of the resolution (see paragraph 3 above).

# (b) International Committee of the Red Cross

28. With regard to the request contained in operative paragraph 13 of the Committee's resolution (A/AC.109/248) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia, it was stated in a letter of 5 July 1967 that the International Committee of the Red Cross had been assisting political detainees in Rhodesia for several years past. At that moment a delegate of the International Committee, Mr. G.C. Senn, was carrying out a series of visits to detention camps and prisons in that country. In keeping with established practice, his observations and any proposals he might make would be communicated to the detaining Power.

# (c) International Labour Organisation

29. In letters dated 7 and 12 July 1967, it was stated that the requests contained in the Special Committee's three resolutions (A/AC.109/248, 251 and 252) had been noted.

# (d) United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

30. In letters dated 19 July 1967, it was stated that the Special Committee's three resolutions (A/AC.109/248, 251 and 252) would be brought to the knowledge of the Executive Board of UNESCO at its seventy-seventh session.

# (e) United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees

31. In letters dated 21 and 26 July 1967, it was stated that copies of the three resolutions (A/AC.109/248, 251 and 252) had been transmitted to the League of Red Cross Societies and to the International Committee of Voluntary Agencies.

# (f) <u>Universal Postal Union</u>

32. In a letter dated 16 August 1967, it was stated that note had been taken of the Committee's resolution (A/AC.109/251) concerning the question of

Territories under Portuguese administration, particularly operative paragraphs 10 and 11.

# (g) World Health Organization

33. In a letter dated 9 August 1967 regarding the consensus adopted by the Special Committee on 1 June 1967 concerning the provision of assistance to refugees from Territories under Portuguese administration, it was stated as follows:

"The Special Committee's reference to the statements of the petitioners concerning the insufficiency of the assistance which they are receiving from the specialized agencies has been noted, as well as the reference to their great and urgent need for direct assistance in the field of education and health. The World Health Organization is ready to respond to requests for assistance from Governments and the competent organs of the United Nations in providing service to refugees. The Special Committee is doubtless aware that the World Health Organization does not provide direct aid to individuals, any assistance which is provided is at the request of or with the agreement of Governments, or the United Nations.

"I would add that the World Health Organization continues to co-operate with the United Nations in the special educational and training programmes for Africans which are now being consolidated in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 2235 (XXI). In particular the World Health Organization has co-operated with the United Nations in making arrangements for post-graduate medical studies by two Fellows from Portuguese Guinea."

34. With regard to the Committee's resolution (A/AC.109/248) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia, a letter dated 14 August 1967 contained the following statement:

"It is noted that in paragraph 13 of this resolution, to which you call attention, the Special Committee has repeated and further elaborated a request made by the General Assembly of the United Nations in paragraph 11 of its resolution 2151 (XXI). As you may recall, that request of the General Assembly has been brought to the attention of the directing organs of the World Health Organization."

35. In a further letter of the same date, it was stated that due note had been taken of the request made by the Special Committee in operative paragraphs 10 and 11 of its resolution (A/AC.109/251) on the question of Territories under

Portuguese administration which repeated requests made by the General Assembly in paragraphs 9 and 10 of its resolutions 2107 (XX) and paragraphs 9 and 11 of 2184 (XXI). Note had also been taken of the requests made by the Special Committee in operative paragraph 8 of its resolution (A/AC.109/252) concerning the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) with regard to colonial Territories considered by the Committee during its meetings away from Headquarters (1967), which repeated the request made by the General Assembly in operative paragraph 8 of its resolution 2189 (XXI). It was recalled that these requests had been brought to the attention of the directing organs of the World Health Organization.

### ANNEX TV\*

# REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE I: MILITARY ACTIVITIES BY COLONIAL POWERS TERRITCRIES UNDER THEIR ADMINISTRATION

#### INTRODUCTION

(paragraph 1)

\* \* \* \*

#### CONSIDERATION BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE

- A. Mauritius, 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, South West Africa and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination

(paragraphs 2 to 8)

\* \* \* \*

- C. Military activities by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration
- 9. In accordance with the request by the Sub-Committee, the Secretariat made available to members in May 1967 seven working papers on this item based on information available to it. These papers cover the following Territories:

  Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa,

  Territories under Portuguese administration, Guam, Papua and New Guinea and the Caribbean Territories.
- 10. On 11 April 1967, the Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories, at the request of the Sub-Committee, sent letters to the Permanent Missions of Australia, France, New Zealand, Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America to the United Nations, requesting these Powers to provide information on military activities and arrangements in the Territories under their administration.

<sup>\*</sup> Previously reproduced in document A/AC.109/L.433.

11. In July and August 1967, the Secretariat received replies from four Permanent Missions to the United Nations. Following are excerpts of their replies:

Letter dated 4 August 1967 from the Australian Mission to the United Nations:

"In reply to your request I am instructed to say that the Australian Government reaffirms its acceptance of its obligations under Article 73 of the United Nations Charter. It has provided on a regular basis a wide range of information, as required of it under that Article of the Charter on 'economic, social and educational conditions'. It has also regularly furnished extensive information on the political developments in these territories. This information has been made available in considerable detail to the General Assembly, and to the relevant committees and sub-committees. Australia has always been willing, in honouring its obligations under the Charter, to assist to the fullest extent the discussions by the General Assembly and its appropriate subsidiary bodies of these reports.

"The Australian Government doubts, however, whether the present request for information comes within the functions and duties of the Special Committee or its sub-committees. It notes that Article 73 (e) of the United Nations Charter makes no reference to military information and states that the information to be submitted by members is 'subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require'. In these circumstances, the Australian Government regrets that it is unable to accede to the request for information that has been made. It wishes to reiterate that the defence arrangements which have been made in the territories for which it is responsible are entirely consistant with its obligations and rights under the Charter, including its obligations to the inhabitants of territories for which it is responsible, and its obligations to assist the cause of international peace and security."

Letter dated 31 July 1967 from the New Zealand Mission to the United Nations.

"In reply to your letter, I am instructed to state that the New Zealand authorities know of no military activities or arrangements in non-self-governing territories for which New Zealand has responsibilities that are relevant to the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)."

Letter dated 7 July 1967 from the United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations.

"In reply to your letter, I am instructed to recall that the United Kingdom Government has consistently fulfilled its obligation under the Charter to transmit to the Secretary-General information relating to economic, social and educational conditions in the territories for which it is responsible. In addition, my Government has gone beyond the obligation imposed upon it by the Charter and has voluntarily supplied to the General Assembly and to the Special Committee information of a political and constitutional character relevant to the work of those two bodies. My Government does not, however, regard the subject of military activities and

arrangements in the Territories for which it is responsible as relevant to the work of the Special Committee, or of the Sub-Committee which has initiated the request for information, conveyed in your letter to my delegation.

"In these circumstances, it is in my Government's view only necessary to affirm that such defence activities and arrangements as may exist in the Non-Self-Governing Territories for which it is responsible are fully consistent with the United Kingdom's rights and obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, and also with the interests of the people of the territories concerned."

Letter dated 26 July 1967 from the United States Mission to the United Nations.

"Reporting obligations of Member States having responsibilities for Non-Self-Governing Territories are contained in Article 73 (e) of the Charter. Under this Article such members have undertaken to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limits as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistics and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social and educational conditions in territories for which they are respectively responsible, other than those territories to which Chapter XII and XIII apply.

"As you are aware the United States Government has co-operated fully in providing the Secretary-General with information on economic, social and educational conditions called for in this Article. In addition, for many years the United States has voluntarily submitted information of a political nature, having in mind its full adherence to the objectives of paragraphs 73 (a) and (b) of the Charter, calling inter alia for political advancement of peoples of territories and for development of self-government and of free political institutions. The United States has also voluntarily co-operated for many years, in examination of such information by the Committee on Non-Self-Governing Territories and subsequently in the Special Committee.

"Bearing in mind the specific Charter recognition in Article 73 (e) that security considerations may legitimately limit transmittal of information even on economic, social and educational conditions, and the fact that there is no obligation to provide other information, the United States regrets it is unable to comply with your request for information on military activities and arrangements in the territories under United States administration. In any event, the United States Government questions the view that data on military activities are required for the performance of the duties of the Special Committee and rejects any implication that such military activities as exist in the United States territories are inconsistent with progress toward the achievement of self-determination, to which we are fully committed.

"In conclusion, allow me to emphasize that in carrying out its obligations to promote to the utmost the political advancement and well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, the United States takes full account, as provided for by the wording of Article 73 of the Charter, of the system of international peace and security which the Charter establishes."

- 12. The Sub-Committee began consideration of the above-mentioned item at its forty-fifth meeting held on 6 September 1967 and the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics made a statement.
- 13. After an exchange of views on the procedure, the Sub-Committee strongly disapproves of the attitude of non-co-operation taken by the administering Powers. a/
  14. Owing to the refusal of the administering Powers to co-operate and in view of the lack of time and information available, the Sub-Committee decided to continue its consideration of this item at its next session.

### D. Adoption of report

15. This report was adopted by the Sub-Committee at its forty-sixth meeting on 27 September 1967.

a/ The representative of Finland reserved the position of his delegation in regard to the wording of this paragraph.

#### ANNEX V

#### LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

AFGHANISTAN

Representative:

Mr. Abdul Samad Ghaus

Alternate Representative:

Mr. Mohammad Mirza Sammah

AUSTRALIA

Representative:

H.E. Mr. Patrick K.H. Shaw, C.B.E.

Alternate Representatives:

Mr. Kenneth Rogers

Mr. B.B. Hickey

BULGARIA

Representatives:

H.E. Mr. Milko Tarabanov

Mr. Dimiter Sabev

CHILE

Representative:

H.E. Mr. José Piñera

Alternate Representative:

Mr. Javier Illanes

Adviser:

Mr. Jorge Huneeus

ETHIOPIA

Chief Representative:

H.E. Lij Endalkachew Makonnen

Representative:

Mr. Kifle Wodajo

Alternate Representative:

Miss Konjit Sinegiorgis

FINLAND

Representatives:

H.E. Mr. Max Jakobson

Mr. Matti Cawén

Mr. Paavo Keisalo

INDIA

Representative:

H.E. Mr. Gopalaswami Parthasarathi

Alternate Representatives:

Mr. B.C. Mishra

Mr. C.R. Gharekhan

Adviser:

Miss Shivaraman

/ • • •

TRAN

Representative: H.E. Mr. Mehdi Vakil

Alternate Representatives: Mr. Mohsen S. Esfandiary

Mr. Farrokh Parsi

Adviser: Mr. Kambiz Ahy (until June)

**IRAQ** 

Representatives: H.E. Mr. Adnan Pachachi (since August)

H.E. Mr. Kadhim Khalaf (until July)

Alternate Representative: Mr. Salim A. Saleem

Advisers: Mr. Burhan M. Nouri

Mr. Riyadh T. Ali

Mr. Abdul Hussein Alisa

ITALY

Representative: H.E. Mr. Piero Vinci

Alternate Representatives: Mr. Lucovico Carducci-Artenisio

Mr. Massimo Castaldo

Mr. Alessandro Grandi

IVORY COAST

Representative: H.E. Mr. Siméon Ake

Alternate Representative: Mr. Kouamé Koffi

MADAGASCAR

Representative: H.E. Mr. Louis Rakotomalala

Alternate Representatives: Mr. Gabriel Rakotoniaina

Mr. Raymond Raoelina

MALT

Representatives: H.E. Mr. Moussa Léo Keita

Mr. Mamadou Moctar Thiam

Mr. Yaya Diakite

Mr. Mamadou Diarra

POLAND

Representatives:

H.E. Mr. Bohdan Tomorowicz

Mr. Jan Slowikowski

Adviser:

Mr. Franciszek Czajkowski

SIERRA LEONE

Representative:

H.E. Mr. Christopher O.E. Cole

Alternate Representatives:

Mr. Gustavus E.O. Williams

Mr. Ambrose P. Genda (until March)

Mr. Malcolm Cole (since September)

Mr. Frank Karefa-Smart

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

Representative:

H.E. Mr. George J. Tomeh

Alternate Representatives:

Mr. Rafic Jouejati

Mr. Adnan Nachabe

Mr. Abdallah El-Attrash

TUNISIA

Representatives:

H.E. Mr. Mahmoud Mestiri

Mr. Ahmed Chtourou

Mr. Mohamed Fourati (since May)

Mr. Hamdane Ben Aissa (until July)

Mr. Hédi Drissi

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Representative:

H.E. Mr. Nikolai Trofimovich Fedorenko

Mr. Pavel Fedorovich Shakhov

Alternate Representative:

Mr. Fedor Denisovich Popov (until May)

Advisers:

Mr. Vladimir Ivanovich Ustinov

Mr. Anatoly Vasilyevich Grodsky (until

July)

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

Representative: H.E. The Rt. Hon. Lord Caradon, G.C.M.G.,

K.C.V.O.

Alternative Representatives: Mr. C.P. Hope, C.M.G., T.D.,

Mr. J.D.B. Shaw, M.V.O.

Adviser: Mr. Brian.L. Barder

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

Representatives: H.E. Mr. John W.S. Malecela

Mr. M.A. Foum

Mr. I.H. Mtingwa (until July)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Representatives: H.E. Mrs. Eugenie M. Anderson

H.E. Mr. Seymour M. Finger (9 February)

H.E. Mr. H. Garcia (5 December)

Alternative Representative:

Advisers: Mr. William R. Brew

Mr. Ernest C. Grigg, III

Mr. Richard Johnson

Mr. Harry Roberts Melone

URUGUAY

Representative: H.E. Mr. Pedro P. Berro

Alternative Representatives: Mr. Mateo Marques Sere (until August)

Mr. Felipo Montero

VENEZUELA

Representatives: H.E. Mr. Manuel Pérez-Guerrero

Mr. German Nava Carrillo

Alternative Representative: Mr. Gilberto I. Carrasquero

YUGOSLAVIA

Representatives: H.E. Mr. Anton Vratuša (from July)

H.E. Mr. Danilo Lekíc (until June)

Alternate Representative: Mr. Dragoslav Pejić

### Specialized Agencies

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)

Mr. Federico Consolo

International Labour Organisation (ILO)

Mr. William James Knight

Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)

Mr. Donald W. Woodward

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

Mr. Al Noor Kassum Miss Ruth Barrett

World Health Organization (WHO)

Mrs. Sylvia Meagher