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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)

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CHAPTER XIV

MAURITIUS, SEYCHELLES AND ST. HELENA

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
I. ACTION PREVIOUSLY TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY	1 - 5	2
II. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORIES	6 - 121	4
A. Mauritius	6 - 55	4
B. Seychelles	56 - 106	17
C. St. Helena	107 - 121	29
III. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE	122 - 169	33
Introduction	122	33
A. Written petitions and hearings	123 - 141	33
B. General statements	142 - 169	34
IV. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE	170 - 194	46
ANNEX: REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE I ON MAURITIUS, SEYCHELLES AND ST. HELENA		

* This document contains chapter XIV of the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly. The general introductory chapter will be issued subsequently under the symbol A/6700 (Part I). Other chapters of the report are being reproduced as addenda.

I. ACTION PREVIOUSLY TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
AND BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

1. In 1964, the Special Committee adopted conclusions and recommendations concerning Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena.^{1/} The three Territories were considered at two meetings in 1966 by the Special Committee, which also had before it the report of Sub-Committee I concerning these Territories.^{2/} At the second of the two meetings, the Special Committee adopted the report without objection and endorsed the conclusions and recommendations contained therein.
2. In these conclusions and recommendations, the Sub-Committee stated that the administering Power had failed to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and expressed regret at the slow pace of political development in the three Territories. In particular, it noted that the complicated electoral arrangements devised for Mauritius had apparently been the subject of great controversy between the various groups and political parties, and that the people of Seychelles were still deprived of the right of universal adult suffrage. The Sub-Committee therefore recommended that the Special Committee should reaffirm the inalienable right of the peoples of the three Territories to self-determination and independence; that they should be allowed to exercise their right of self-determination without delay; that any constitutional changes should be left to these peoples themselves; and that free elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage should be conducted in these Territories as soon as possible with a view to the formation of responsible governments to which all power could be transferred.
3. Taking into account the creation of the British Indian Ocean Territory, composed of islands detached from Mauritius and Seychelles, and the reported activation of a plan to establish military bases in the three Territories, the Sub-Committee recommended that the administering Power should be called upon to respect the territorial integrity of Mauritius and Seychelles and to refrain from using all three Territories for military purposes, in fulfilment of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. The Sub-Committee further recommended that

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

^{2/} A/6300/Add.9, chapter XIV, annex.

the Special Committee should urge the Assembly to state categorically that any bilateral agreements concluded between the administering Power and other Powers affecting the sovereignty and fundamental rights of these Territories should not be recognized as valid.

4. Concluding that the economies of the Territories were characterized by diminishing revenue, increasing unemployment and consequently a declining standard of living, and that foreign companies continued to exploit the Territories without regard to their true interests, the Sub-Committee recommended that the administering Power should be called upon to preserve the right of the indigenous inhabitants to dispose of their national wealth and resources, as well as to take effective measures for diversifying the economies of the Territories.

5. At its twentieth session, the General Assembly adopted two resolutions, one concerning Mauritius (resolution 2066 (XX) of 16 December 1965) and the other concerning twenty-six Territories, including Seychelles and St. Helena (resolution 2069 (XX) of 16 December 1965). At its twenty-first session, it adopted resolution 2232 (XXI) on 20 December 1966 concerning twenty-five Territories, including Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena. The resolution called upon the administering Powers to implement without delay the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. It reiterated the Assembly's declaration that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of colonial Territories and the establishment of military bases and installations in these Territories was incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It urged the administering Powers to allow visiting missions to visit the Territories and to extend to them full co-operation and assistance. It decided that the United Nations should render all help to the peoples of the Territories in their efforts freely to decide their future status. Finally, it requested the Special Committee to pay special attention to the Territories and to report on the implementation of the present resolution to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session.

II. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORIES^{3/}

A. MAURITIUS

General

6. The Territory of Mauritius consists of the island of Mauritius and its dependencies, Rodrigues, Agalega and the Cargados Carajos. The island of Mauritius lies in the western Indian Ocean, about 500 miles east of Madagascar. Rodrigues, the main dependency, lies a further 350 miles to the east, the Cargados Carajos 250 miles and Agalega 850 miles to the north. Situated 1,200 miles north-east of Mauritius is the Chagos Archipelago, which according to the administering Power, is no longer part of Mauritius and is included in the "British Indian Ocean Territory".

7. The island of Mauritius is of volcanic origin; its total area is approximately 720 square miles. The northern part of the island is a flat plain rising to a fertile central plateau. There are several small chains of mountains, the principal peaks reaching about 2,700 feet. There are numerous short, swift rivers with waterfalls, some of them used to generate hydro-electric power. Rodrigues, a mountainous island of volcanic origin, covers an area of about 40 square miles. All the islands of Agalega and the Cargados Carajos are coral islands with an area of approximately 27.5 square miles.

8. The estimated population of Mauritius at the end of 1965, excluding the dependencies, was 751,421 (compared with 733,605 at the end of 1964) divided into a general population comprising Europeans, mainly French, Africans and persons of mixed origin, 220,093; Indo-Mauritians, made up of immigrants from the Indian sub-continent and their descendants, 506,552 (of whom 383,542 were Hindus and 123,010 Muslims); and Chinese consisting of immigrants from China and their descendants, 24,776. Latest estimates (January 1967) are that the population will rise to about 800,000 by the end of 1967.

^{3/} Section II of this working paper is based on: (a) information collected by the Secretariat from published sources; and (b) information transmitted under Article 73 e by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for the year ending 31 December 1965.

9. The Territory, which is already very densely populated, is beset with a rapid growth of population resulting in a reduction of living standards among certain sections of the people and an increasing level of unemployment.

Constitution and Government

10. Under the Mauritius (Constitution) Order, 1964, the Government of the Colony of Mauritius is vested in a Governor, with a Council of Ministers and a Legislative Assembly. The Council of Ministers consists of the Premier and Minister of Finance, the Chief Secretary and not less than ten and not more than thirteen other ministers appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Premier from among the elected or nominated members of the Legislative Assembly. The Governor appoints to the office of Premier the member of the Legislative Assembly who appears to him likely to command the support of the majority of members. The Council is the principal instrument of policy and, with certain exceptions, the Governor is obliged to consult it in the exercise of his functions. The Legislative Assembly consists of the Chief Secretary, forty elected members and up to fifteen other members nominated by the Governor.

11. The status of the political parties in the Legislative Assembly has remained the same since October 1963 general elections: Mauritius Labour Party (MLP), which represents mainly the Indo-Mauritian and Creole (Afro-European) communities, 19; Parti Mauricien Social Démocrate (PMSD), which traditionally represented the Franco-Mauritian land-owning class and the Creole middle class, and which now claims to draw support from all communities, 8; Independent Forward Bloc (IFB), which is to the left of the MLP, 7; Muslim Committee of Action (MCA), which has the support of a substantial proportion of Muslims, 4; and independent, 2.

12. The Government formed by Sir Seenoosagur Ramgoolam, leader of the MLP, is a coalition composed of all the parties represented in the Assembly, with the exception of the PMSD.

Recent constitutional developments

13. As previously noted by the Special Committee,^{4/} a Constitutional Conference attended by representatives of all the parties in the Mauritius Legislature was

^{4/} A/6300/Add.9, chapter XIV.

held in London from 7 to 24 September 1965. The main point at issue was whether the Territory should aim at independence or association with the United Kingdom. The MLP and the IFB advocated independence, and the MCA was also prepared to support independence, subject to certain electoral safeguards for the Muslim community. On the other hand, the PMSD favoured a continuing link with the United Kingdom. At the end of the conference, the Secretary of State for the Colonies announced the decision that Mauritius should go forward to full independence subject to an affirmative resolution passed by a simple majority of the new Assembly after elections and a period of six months' full internal self-government. He also hoped that the necessary processes could be completed before the end of 1966.

14. In January 1966, an electoral commission, with Sir Harold Banwell as chairman, visited Mauritius to formulate an electoral system and the method of allocating seats in the Legislature. The report^{5/} was published on 13 June 1966 and accepted by the parties participating in the present Government and the Opposition PMSD after certain amendments to the recommendations of the report had been made, following the visit of Mr. John Stonehouse, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, to Mauritius between 16 June and 4 July 1966.

15. Under the electoral arrangements now accepted by the four main parties, sixty members will be returned for the island of Mauritius by block voting (each elector being obliged to cast three votes) in twenty three-member constituencies, and two members returned for Rodrigues (the principal dependency of Mauritius) by block voting in a single constituency. The members elected for Rodrigues will also represent the interests of the two lesser dependencies, namely, Cargados Carajos and Agalega.

16. In addition, eight specially elected members will be returned from among unsuccessful candidates who have made the best showing in the elections. The first four of these seats will go, irrespective of party, to the "best losers" of whichever communities are under-represented in the Legislative Assembly after the constituency elections. The remaining four seats will be allocated on the basis of party and community. Parties or party alliances will be permitted to qualify

5/ Report of the Banwell Commission on the Electoral System, Colonial No. 362, HMSO, 1966.

for the "best loser" seats if registered with the Electoral Commissioner before nomination day.

17. The Constitution of Mauritius set out in the Mauritius Constitution Order, 1966, which was made on 21 December 1966, incorporated the proposals agreed upon at the 1965 constitutional conference, as well as the subsequent agreement on electoral arrangements. The Order in Council provides that the new Constitution will come into effect on a date to be appointed by the Governor. It also provides that the provision for the appointment of an ombudsman may be brought into effect at a later date from the generality of the other constitutional proposals.

Election arrangements

18. Subject to certain exceptions, such as convicted criminals and the insane, all Commonwealth citizens satisfying a two-year residence requirement who have attained the age of 21 years are qualified to register as electors. New registers of electors were prepared in 1966. They were published on 23 January 1967 and brought into force the following day. The total numbers on the new registers are 307,908 for Mauritius plus 7,876 in Rodrigues, making a combined total of 315,784. Four Commonwealth observers (with Sir Colin MacGregor of Jamaica as chairman) were appointed to observe the various processes involved in compiling the new registers. Three of the members arrived in Mauritius on 5 September 1966 and one or more member was present from then until 28 November.

19. Discussions took place in London in December 1966 between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Premier of Mauritius about the date for the forthcoming general elections in the Territory. In a statement published on 21 December 1966, the Commonwealth Office said that the United Kingdom Government's view presented during the discussions was that it was most desirable that elections should be held at the earliest practicable time, bearing in mind that at the 1965 Constitutional Conference, the then Secretary of State had hoped that Mauritius could become independent before the end of 1966. Neither the United Kingdom Government nor the Government of Mauritius could avoid the subsequent delays, but the completion of the register of electors in the relatively near future would enable elections to be held in 1967.

20. The Commonwealth Office also said that the Secretary of State had expressed the hope that the Premier would share his wish to see early elections and that the Premier had confirmed that he would wish elections to be held in 1967.

Recent political developments

21. Following the issuance of the report of the Banwell Commission, the three parties participating in the present Government organized a common front, the Pro-Independence Front, under the leadership of the Premier in protest against the Commission's proposals for electoral arrangements. Subsequently, the Front was reported to have been maintained for the forthcoming general elections.

22. On 5 September 1966, Mr. G. Duval, who later became the leader of the Opposition PMSD, was reported to have said that two important election issues were the constitutional future of the Territory and the inability of the Government to put the economy on a sound basis or to look after the destitute.

23. On the same day, Mr. Duval started a movement of passive resistance in Mauritius. Following the reported refusal by the Government to pay them the same amount of relief aid allocated to certain other categories of unemployed workers, some 200 unemployed licensees of the urban administration demonstrated in Curepipe and were arrested for the obstruction of traffic. Later, the Government took action to settle the issue in dispute.

24. At the end of October 1966, over 100 unemployed persons rejected an offer of work on sugar estates, alleging political discrimination. They demonstrated at various places between Mahébourg and Curepipe, culminating in the arrest of 105 persons on 29 October for obstructing the highway. On 4 November, they were tried and found guilty, but were discharged from prison after having received a warning from the Court of Curepipe.

External relations

25. During a visit to the United States of America early in December 1966, the Premier of Mauritius said that his Government was seeking to improve relations between the two countries, to raise the price of the two principal products of Mauritius, sugar and tea, as well as to secure aid for creating secondary industries, increasing the production of foodstuffs, notably rice and flour,

establishing a new aerial link with Africa, Europe and the United States, reducing population pressure and unemployment, and setting up a university. After discussions with the representatives of the United States Government and various private organizations, he expressed the hope that they would help Mauritius in finding solutions to many of its problems.

"British Indian Ocean Territory"

26. Reference is made in the last report of the Special Committee^{6/} to the "British Indian Ocean Territory" which comprises certain islands formerly administered by the Governments of Mauritius and Seychelles, and which was created in 1965 for the construction of defence facilities by the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States. As compensation for the transfer of these islands to the new Colony, the United Kingdom Government paid £3 million to Mauritius in March 1966 with no conditions attached, and will build an international airfield for Seychelles. On 16 November 1966, the Secretary of State for Defence stated in reply to a question in the United Kingdom House of Commons that no plan had been made for the creation of military bases in the "British Indian Ocean Territory". Thus he could not give any figure for the cost of such a scheme.

Economic conditions

27. Mauritius is primarily an agricultural country. In 1960, it suffered a severe economic setback brought about by two disastrous cyclones. Subsequently, the economy made a good recovery, reaching a peak in 1963, which saw a bumper sugar crop combined with higher sugar prices. If these two years are not taken into account, the gross national product showed a steady growth, from Rs.681 million^{7/} in 1959 to Rs.799 million in 1965. During this period, the population increased from 637,000 to 751,000. There was a slight downward trend in per capita income and a rise in the level of unemployment.

28. In 1965, sugar was still the mainstay of the economy. Tea had become the second most important export product. In acres, the total area of land under

6/ A/6300/Add.9, chapter XIV.

7/ One Mauritius rupee is equivalent to 1s. 6d. sterling.

cultivation comprised: sugar, 214,400; tea, 6,600; tobacco, 1,000; aloe fibre, 900; foodcrops, vegetables and fruits, 10,000.

29. In September 1966, the Chamber of Agriculture of Mauritius estimated sugar output for the full year at about 575,000 metric tons, representing a considerable decrease from 1965, when a total of 665,000 metric tons had been produced. Cyclone "Denise" and drought accounted for the decline in output.

30. Sugar is disposed of primarily in accordance with the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement, which has been renewed until 1974. Under the Agreement, Mauritius exports a quota (380,000 tons per annum) to the United Kingdom at a negotiated price (£47.10s a ton in 1966-68). In addition, Mauritius may export to Commonwealth preferential markets (in fact the United Kingdom and Canada) a further agreed quota each year. The remainder of the sugar production is sold to non-Commonwealth countries at the world free market price, which in 1966 was substantially below the negotiated price. Exports of sugar to the United Kingdom, the Territory's principal customer, in the first ten months of the year totalled 307,786 tons (Rs.208.6 million), an increase of 59,350 tons (Rs.42.5 million) over the 1965 period. However, it was estimated that the gross income of the sugar industry might be moderately lower in 1966 than in the preceding year, when 569,400 tons of sugar (Rs.290.3 million) were exported.

31. Manufacturing is the second largest sector of the economy. The United Kingdom Central Office of Information reported in October 1966 that since 1963, nearly fifty new secondary industries had been introduced on a small scale in the Territory. As previously noted,^{8/} the number of such industries established in the years 1963 to 1965 was eight, eleven and twenty-five respectively.

32. Between the first and second quarter of 1966, imports increased from Rs.80.4 million to Rs.82.9 million, while exports decreased from Rs.56.7 million to Rs.6.3 million. No significant changes occurred in the structure of imports, but exports of sugar in the first quarter were Rs.47.3 million and in the second quarter Rs.0.5 million. The third quarter figure was Rs.134.6 million, making a total for the first nine months of Rs.182.4 million. As in the past, trade was

8/ A/6300/Add.9, chapter XIV.

conducted mainly with the United Kingdom, which received 73 per cent of the Territory's exports and provided 23 per cent of its imports in the first half of 1966.

33. In July 1966, the Government decided to increase both direct and indirect taxes in order to balance its budget.

34. Capital expenditure under the 1966-70 Development Programme will be Rs.340 million and the fund will be allocated as follows: agriculture and industry, Rs.130 million; infra-structure, Rs.99 million; social services, Rs.82 million; administration, Rs.28 million; Rodrigues, Rs.1 million.

35. Premier Ramgoolam said in a recent address that an important economic problem for the Territory was that the price of sugar could not be stabilized at a remunerative level.

36. The Premier said that progress in the diversification of the Territory's economy had been slow. The Territory was putting 1,000 acres under tea annually, and it was the intention of the Government to extend this by a further 15,000 acres. The sugar industry had undertaken to provide capital out of its surplus for the erection of seven more tea factories. Businessmen were being encouraged to invest in Mauritius, and in recent years a number of light industries had been established. Industrial expansion had been facilitated by the setting up of the Development Bank of Mauritius, the advisory National Development Council and a marketing board. An East African Economic Community was under discussion, and if this were to materialize it would give further encouragement to many smaller industries.

37. While aware that conditions such as the rapid rise in population, the scarcity of local capital and the paucity of technological know-how had limited economic growth, the Premier nevertheless asserted that the Territory enjoyed a stability and prosperity unknown before in its history through a better distribution of the national income. This was being achieved by a planned economy and a regulated fiscal policy. Recurrent and developmental annual expenditures totalled approximately over £22 million. The sum of £6 million was spent annually on the development programme alone, and 48 per cent of this was financed from local resources. Mauritius was a viable country, which had never needed a grant-in-aid to balance its budget.

38. In December 1966 the Premier made a visit to the United States, the main purpose of which was to seek aid to tackle the economic and social problems confronting the Territory (see paragraph 25 above).

39. On 20 December 1966, Mr. John Stonehouse, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, stated in reply to a question in the United Kingdom House of Commons that during the period 1961-66, the United Kingdom had provided Mauritius with financial aid totalling £8.1 million, in addition to the compensation of £3 million paid for the inclusion of certain of its islands in the "British Indian Ocean Territory", and to a £2 million loan raised by the Government of Mauritius on the London market. For the period 1965-68, total Colonial Development and Welfare grants and loan assistance given or envisaged amounted to £4.4 million. Aid to Mauritius after 31 March 1968 would depend on the total resources the United Kingdom could make available for overseas aid at the time and the Territory's needs in relation to those of other recipients of British aid.

40. In response to another question, Mr. Stonehouse stated that in order to combat chronic, widespread unemployment in Mauritius, his Government was examining various ways by which the Territory's economy could be diversified. But he added that the economy was almost completely dependent on sugar and that there were problems in arranging for any new industrial development. These questions were being studied.

Social conditions

41. Labour. In recent years, the economy has not expanded fast enough to provide work for all the new entrants into the labour force. Between mid-1962 and mid-1965, the annual increase in the working-age population and unemployment was estimated at about 6,500 and over 4,000 respectively. During the period, the number registered as unemployed rose by 4,700 and that on relief work by 9,050, making a total of 13,750.

42. On 28 April 1966, the Government published the first of its bi-annual surveys of employment and earnings in large establishments.^{9/} The main purpose of these surveys was not to find out figures of total employment but to provide a continuous

^{9/} Colony of Mauritius: A Survey of Employment and Earnings in Large Establishments (No. 1), 28 April 1966.

series of comparable data which would show changes in employment from year to year, from one part of the year to another and between the various sectors of the economy. The survey covered 822 establishments, which in April 1966 employed 119,270 workers (including 34,210 on monthly rates of pay and 85,060 on daily rates of pay). Agriculture accounted for 55,200 (including 51,870 employed by the sugar industry), services 45,850, manufacturing 6,850, transport, storage and communications 4,100, commerce 2,960, construction 2,730, electricity 1,310, mining and quarrying 160, and others, 110. The average monthly rates of pay ranged from Rs. 273 for agricultural workers to Rs. 500 for electricians. The average daily rates of pay ranged from Rs. 3.2 for miners to Rs. 8.8 for those engaged in miscellaneous activities.

43. In 1965, there were seventy-nine associations of employees (one more than in 1964), with a membership of 48,349 (120 more than in 1964). There were ten trade disputes involving 1,660 workers and resulting in a loss of 3,860 man-days. The main cause of these disputes was dissatisfaction with conditions of employment.

44. Labour relations in the sugar industry formed a subject of discussion in the Legislative Assembly on 29 November 1966. A member of the Assembly, Mr. J.N. Roy, introduced a motion which would have the Assembly express the view that the widespread and defiant opposition to Indo-Mauritian workers in the sugar industry, if not checked by legislation, threatened to wreck the industry.

45. Commenting on the motion, another member of the Assembly, Mr. Jomadar, who was formerly the Minister of Labour, stated that it was very opportune and that a section of workers in the sugar industry was the victim of injustice. Having made an appeal for eliminating all forms of discrimination and injustice, he proposed an amendment to the motion, which was then adopted unanimously.

46. Under this amendment, the Assembly would express the view that a tripartite standing committee be set up by the Government in co-operation with employers and employees in the sugar industry for the discussion of all matters of concern either to employers or employees or which could adversely affect the good relations between them or the efficiency of the industry. These would include steps to ensure equality of opportunity in recruitment and promotion, and especially the discussion and disposal of possible complaints of discrimination against any category of workers or employees for suspected political affiliation or for any other cause.

47. The Premier of Mauritius said in a recent address that the main problems confronting the Territory today were the rapid rise in population and widespread

unemployment. For many years, the government machinery had been geared to tackle these problems at many levels of administration. However, time had been lost in the beginning because some people had opposed population control on religious grounds, but a change of attitude had come about. With the assistance of the Government and the International Planned Parenthood Federation, two voluntary associations were performing good work both in the urban and rural areas. Mauritius had also been promised considerable aid from the Swedish Government.

48. As to unemployment, the Premier stated, the Government was engaged actively in long-term development of the Territory and pursued a rationalized policy of emigration. It hoped to mobilize all local resources for the creation of more work and wealth. It had also decided not to place an embargo on the export of capital in order to attract foreign investors to Mauritius. But any Mauritian emigrating overseas was only allowed to remove his capital from the country over a number of years. At present, certain labour-intensive projects including tea, textiles and edible oils were being undertaken, which would provide employment for a large number of people. By 1970, it was hoped to provide work for most of the labour force.

49. Public health. There are three systems of providing medical services in Mauritius, of which the largest is the government medical services, administered by the Ministry of Health. Other medical services are provided by the sugar estates for their employees, as required by the Labour Ordinance, while maternity and child welfare services are provided partly by the Government and partly by a voluntary body - the Maternity and Child Welfare Society.

50. Recently, some important changes have occurred in these systems. Government expenditure on medical and health services in the financial year 1964-65 was Rs. 19.7 million (an increase of Rs. 0.5 million over the previous year), or about 9.6 per cent of the Territory's total expenditure. In 1965, there were 137 government and 74 private physicians (compared with 118 and 65 respectively in the previous year). There was, thus, one physician for every 3,400 persons. A total of twenty-four hospitals was maintained by the sugar estates, representing a reduction of one from the previous year. The number of beds available for in-patients in the Territory decreased by fifteen to 3,339 and that of general beds by forty-five to 2,706, amounting to a proportion of one general bed per 361 persons.

51. During 1966, the Government began to construct a 600-bed hospital at Pamplémousses, the total cost of which was estimated at £2.1 million. On 25 November 1966, the United Kingdom Ministry of Overseas Development announced that Colonial Development and Welfare allocations totalling £1.4 million had been made available towards this project. Early in 1967 the Ministry provided a gynaecologist to give instruction to medical, nursing and other staff in family planning work and a medical administrator to work in the Mauritius Ministry of Health. The Ministry is also supplying equipment to the value of approximately £4,000 for thirteen clinics. On 20 December 1966, Mr. Stonehouse said in reply to a question in the United Kingdom House of Commons that in Mauritius, the number of family planning clinics had recently been increased from 98 to 124 and that the programme was very successful.

Educational conditions

52. Enrolment in primary, secondary, teacher training and vocational training schools in 1965 was as follows:

	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Enrolment</u>	<u>Teachers</u>
Primary education	331 ^{a/}	134,534 ^{b/}	4,015
Secondary education	135 ^{c/}	34,121	1,484
Teacher training	1 ^{d/}	424	26
Vocational training	4 ^{d/}	234	19

a/ Comprising 160 government, 55 aided and 116 private schools.

b/ Representing over 88 per cent of all children of primary school age (5-6 to 11-12 years).

c/ Comprising 4 government, 13 aided and 118 private schools.

d/ Government schools.

53. In 1965, the Government opened seven new primary schools, extended one secondary school and established the John Kennedy College. This college provides full-time training in technical and commercial subjects and also a variety of part-time and evening courses. Full-time, post-secondary education is provided by the Teachers' Training College and the College of Agriculture. The latter is managed by the Department of Agriculture and most of its diplomats enter the sugar industry.

During the year, there were over 1,200 students following full-time courses in institutions of higher education overseas.

54. In December 1965, the University of Mauritius (Provisional Council) Ordinance became law. The United Kingdom Government has made an initial pledge of Rs. 3 million from Colonial Development and Welfare funds to finance a development plan for the University. Dr. S.J. Hale of the University of Edinburgh has been appointed Vice-Chancellor. The Premier of Mauritius said in a recent address that steps were being taken towards the establishment of the University where students would be taught and trained in technology and science.

55. Government expenditure on education in the financial year 1964-65 totalled Rs. 28.9 million (an increase of Rs. 0.6 million over the previous year), of which Rs. 26 million was recurrent and Rs. 2.9 million capital expenditure. Education accounted for 12.7 per cent of the Territory's total recurrent expenditure.

B. SEYCHELLES

General

56. As from 8 November 1965, when three of its islands were included in the "British Indian Ocean Territory", the Territory of Seychelles has comprised eighty-nine islands situated in the western Indian Ocean approximately 1,000 miles east of the Kenya coast. The islands, with a land area of some eighty-nine square miles, fall into two groups of entirely different geological formation, thirty-two being granite and the rest coral. The granite islands are predominantly mountainous. In some of them and particularly in Mahé, the largest island, which has an area of about 55.5 square miles, a narrow coastal belt of level land surrounds the granitic mountain massif, which rises steeply to an elevation, at Morne Seychellois, the highest peak, of almost 3,000 feet. The coral islands are flat, elevated coral reefs at different stages of formation.

57. Most of the inhabitants of the Seychelles are descended from the early French and African settlers. Early in 1966, the population of Seychelles was estimated to be about 48,000 (compared with 47,400 at the end of June 1965), nearly all of whom lived in the granitic island group. Three quarters of the Territory's population lives on Mahé, and most of the remainder on Praslin, La Digue and Silhouette. There are very few permanent residents on the coral islands.

58. The present population is increasing at a rate believed to be in excess of 3 per cent per annum. If this rate is maintained, the population will double in less than twenty-three years. The rapid growth of population has slowed down the rise in living standards among certain sections of the people, and reduced employment opportunities.

Constitution and Government

59. The Government of the Colony of Seychelles consists of a Governor, a Legislative Council and an Executive Council. The Governor is empowered to enact laws with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council, subject to the retention by the Crown of the power to disallow or refuse consent.

60. Under a 1960 Order in Council, the Legislative Council consists of the Governor, as president, four ex officio members (the Colonial Secretary, Attorney-General, Administrative Secretary and Financial Secretary), five elected and three nominated members, of whom at least one must be an unofficial member. General elections, on a broad franchise based on a simple literacy test, must take place every four years. The last elections were held in July 1963.

61. The Executive Council consists of the Governor, who presides, four ex officio members and such other persons, at least one of whom must be an unofficial member, as the Governor may from time to time appoint. The composition of the present Executive Council is identical with that of the Legislative Council.

Recent political and constitutional developments

62. At the 1963 elections, all except one of the five elected seats in the Legislative Council were contested to some extent on party lines between candidates broadly supported either by the long-established Seychelles Taxpayers and Producers Association, representing European planters' interests, or the newly formed Seychelles Islands United Party, drawing its support mainly from the middle and working classes. Both parties were able to claim two seats, and the remaining seat went to an independent candidate claiming support from both.

63. In 1964, the Seychelles Islands United Party faded out and two new parties emerged, namely, the Seychelles Democratic Party (SDP) led by Mr. J.R. Mancham and the Seychelles People's United Party (SPUP) led by Mr. F.A. René. About the same time the Seychelles Taxpayers and Producers Association was reorganized into an ostensibly non-political Seychelles Farmers' Association designed to promote and defend the interests of the agricultural community.

64. The main differences between the two parties were reported by Sir Colville Deverell (see below) to be in the accent they placed on the speed of constitutional evolution, and the nature of the ultimate status of Seychelles after a period of self-government. Mr. Mancham, the leader of SDP, advocated a cautious advance and an ultimate relationship with the United Kingdom as close as possible to integration, while Mr. René, the leader of SPUP, initially advocated a rapid, if not immediate, advance to self-government and the early attainment of a status of complete independence.

65. As previously noted by the Special Committee,^{10/} Sir Colville Deverell was sent to the Seychelles in February 1966 by the United Kingdom Secretary of State for the Colonies to serve as constitutional adviser in the examination of the various paths of constitutional evolution open to the Territory, taking into account the wishes of the people and the realities of the local situation. The report prepared by Sir Colville,^{11/} together with a covering dispatch from the Secretary of State to the Governor of Seychelles,^{12/} was published on 14 October 1966. Following is a summary of Sir Colville's main observations and recommendations.

Problems of the Seychelles

66. Sir Colville stated in his report that the salient feature of the Seychelles was the relative poverty of its resources, and the magnitude of the task of providing an acceptable minimum standard of living for a too rapidly increasing population. The problem could only be overcome by a reorientation of agricultural practice, the encouragement of alternative sources of wealth, such as tourism and selective settlement, the continuance of emigration and a voluntary slowing down of the population growth rate.

Ultimate status

67. Sir Colville considered that in the particular circumstances of the Seychelles, only three alternatives for the ultimate status of the Territory were possible after a viable form of internal self-government had been established: (a) nominal independence guaranteed by treaty relations with some suitable power; (b) some form of free association with the United Kingdom; and (c) some form of close association or integration with the United Kingdom. However, he did not attempt to assess the merits of the various solutions which appeared to him open to the Seychelles.

^{10/} A/6300/Add.9, chapter XIV.

^{11/} Report on Constitutional Developments in Seychelles, C.O./664/66.

^{12/} United Kingdom Commonwealth Office: Despatch No. 305 of 13 October 1966 to the Governor of Seychelles.

Steps towards internal self-government

68. Extension of the franchise. Sir Colville recommended that immediate steps should be taken towards introducing universal adult suffrage. He observed that this extension of the franchise would not materially alter the present situation and was generally favoured by the people of the Seychelles.

69. Form of representative government. Sir Colville recommended the continuation of the present single council situation in which the Executive and Legislative Councils were identically composed. He felt that there would be great advantage if the Territory's development programme did not become the subject of unnecessary and largely artificial party conflict, necessitated by the requirements of a constitutional obligation to oppose. He also felt that at this time it would be a disservice to the Territory to introduce a system of government which would put a premium on party divisions, when the number of persons with experience in public affairs was very limited, and the main issues not in dispute.

70. Sir Colville emphasized that it was wise to create an unofficial majority in the legislature immediately following the introduction of universal adult suffrage, and that the single council should be small enough to carry out its policy-making functions as a committee of the whole. He therefore recommended that the number of elected members of the Legislative Council should be increased from five to eight before the next election, and that in the case of the two constituencies of Praslin and La Digue, the elected member should possess residential qualifications, a restriction which he thought to be desirable as a special measure for areas which might otherwise be neglected. He further recommended that the Legislative Council should continue to include four ex officio members and that the Governor should have the power to nominate not more than three other members, official and unofficial, if he deemed it to be necessary in the light of the results of the election.

71. After the new Executive Council had been constituted with a membership identical with that of the Legislative Council, Sir Colville recommended that the Governor should charge three of the unofficial members, who might be chairmen of appropriate council sub-committees, with responsibility for the administration of

- groups of departments designated by him, and that the Governor should retain responsibility for the remaining subjects which would include external affairs, law and order, the public service and, at least initially, finance.
72. Sir Colville also recommended the creation of new constituencies and unofficial policy advisory committees with unofficial chairmen. Finally he envisaged that in subsequent stages leading to full internal self-government, some or all of the ex officio members of the single council would be replaced by unofficial members and the Governor by a Seychellois head of state.
73. In a dispatch of 13 October 1966, addressed to the Governor of the Seychelles, the United Kingdom Secretary of State said that, broadly speaking, he accepted the recommendations contained in Sir Colville's report, but that he had made a number of modifications to and elaborations of these recommendations.
74. The Secretary of State agreed with the analysis of the economic and political scene which Sir Colville had given in his report. In particular, great importance was attached to his conclusion that there could be relatively little dispute and consequently no real basis for political division and rivalry about the steps needed to tackle the economic and social problems confronting the Territory. It was hoped that the wisdom of this approach would be widely recognized in the Seychelles.
75. The Secretary of State also agreed that for the present it was more important to concentrate on the progressive establishment of constitutional machinery which would eventually permit fully informed and representative discussion of all matters of serious concern to the Seychelles, including the question of ultimate status.
76. The Secretary of State supported certain specific constitutional measures which Sir Colville had recommended. These included an immediate move towards the adoption of universal adult suffrage, the continuation of the single council system, an unofficial majority in the legislature, and the entrusting of responsibilities for the conduct of government business to unofficial members.
77. While recognizing that there was no need for a substantial increase in the number of elected members of the Legislative Council, the Secretary of State suggested that no restriction should be imposed on the selection of candidates for election to the Council. He also suggested a slightly different form of government representation in the Council, to consist of three ex officio and four nominated members.

78. The most important proposal of the Secretary of State, representing a considerable development and elaboration of Sir Colville's recommendations, concerned the introduction in the Seychelles of the committee system of government. Noting the suggestion by Sir Colville that the three unofficial members responsible for the administration of groups of departments might be chairmen of appropriate council sub-committees, the Secretary of State considered that this concept might usefully be further extended. He therefore proposed that an attempt might be made to ensure the participation by all the unofficial members of the Council in the executive function of government through membership of council committees which would themselves have the responsibility, under the Governor and Council, for groups of departments.

79. The Secretary of State said that before this particular formula could be adopted, it had to be considered and accepted locally. He hoped that during his visit to the Seychelles, scheduled for October 1966, Mr. John Stonehouse, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, could discuss with the Governor and members of the Executive Council the recommendations contained in Sir Colville's report and the supplementary suggestions made in the present dispatch. He suggested that both documents should be published as soon as possible and the widest possible publicity given to their contents.

80. Mr. Stonehouse arrived in Seychelles on 20 October 1966 for an eight-day visit. Before his departure from the Territory, he stated that he had found on all sides general acceptance of the new constitutional proposals for the Seychelles. These proposals would be implemented within the next year. There were certain details still to be settled, e.g., the delimitation of the new constituency boundaries, but this was the pattern for the future constitution for Seychelles. The formal agreement of the Government of Seychelles for the new proposals was communicated to the Secretary of State by the Governor in his dispatch No. 232 of 1966 and drafting of the new Constitution is now under way.

Economic conditions

81. The economy of Seychelles is almost entirely dependent on its agriculture, most of which is based on the plantation system. Production is predominantly for export. The most important single product is copra, accounting for over 60 per cent of the Territory's exports. Next in importance is cinnamon, followed by vanilla. Almost everything else must be imported, the largest item being foodstuffs.

82. The concentration of production for export has arisen largely from the distribution of land in relatively large holdings. For many years, the arable land under coconut palms has remained at 23,000 acres, representing most of the total area under cultivation, while cinnamon and vanilla have occupied approximately 14,000 and 700 acres respectively.

83. In 1965, copra continued to dominate the export sector of the economy, but its exports totalled Rs.6.1 million,^{13/} down from Rs.6.6 million in the previous year. The average price of copra, the most important factor governing the economic life of the Territory, rose by Rs.159 to Rs.1,093 per ton during this period. In view of this high price, no subsidies were paid from the Copra Price Stabilization Fund, which has in recent years ensured a minimum return of Rs.800 per ton to planters.

84. Cinnamon is the second most important export from Seychelles. Export of oil distilled from its leaves decreased from Rs.728,000 in 1964 to Rs.510,000 in 1965, while that of bark increased from Rs.834,000 to Rs.2,242,000 (a record figure) during these years. Cinnamon quills and quillings were also exported, their value being Rs.39,000 in 1964 and Rs.72,000 in 1965.

85. Although the production of vanilla is no longer of such importance to the economy as it once was, it is still the third and only other major export crop of the Territory. Exports of vanilla in 1965, which were the lowest for four years, earned Rs.48,000.

86. Faced with a rising population and a declining level of employment, the Government has endeavoured to modify the Territory's agricultural pattern so as to provide more opportunity for intensive production on small holdings in suitable areas. To this end, a land settlement scheme has been undertaken since 1961. The settlers, numbering 185 in 1965 as against 150 in the previous year, lease from the Government a small plot of land of between 3.5 and 10 acres. They grow export crops such as coconut and cinnamon, cash crops such as sugar-cane, tobacco and patchouli and food crops such as sweet potatoes, yams and vegetables. They also keep one or two head of cattle.

87. Furthermore, the Government has promoted the development of the tea industry. The Seychelles Tea Company, organized in 1962 by a group of people from Kenya, has already started production. The company has leased 300 acres of Crown land to

^{13/} The Seychelles rupee is valued at 1s. 6d. sterling.

plant and is also engaged in planting a further 150 acres of Crown land, on an agency basis, which it is hoped to lease to small holders eventually. By the end of 1965, a total of 225 acres of tea had been planted.

86. In his report, Sir Colville Deverell expressed the view that in order to obtain land for growing foodstuffs for local consumption and for other new crops, notably tea, it would be necessary to persuade or induce land owners to concentrate coconut growing more on the lower plateau areas of the granite islands, and in the coral islands, so as to permit the more intensive use of the lower granitic island slopes for other crops.

89. Certain other agricultural projects have been in operation during recent years. Four new small schemes were initiated in 1965, designed to stimulate fishery development in the Territory, which is believed to be well endowed with marine resources. Of these, three were financed by the United Kingdom Committee of the Freedom From Hunger Campaign and the remaining one by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. A fisheries expert from the United Kingdom visited the Seychelles between September and November 1965 to study local fishing methods and to conduct a preliminary investigation into the possibility of establishing commercial fisheries in the Territory.

90. Efforts have also been made towards the expansion of non-farming sectors of the economy, especially the tourist industry. Full development of this industry (which is estimated to have earned Rs.745,000 in 1965) has been impeded by the worsening of already inadequate shipping links and the absence of an international airfield. With this in mind, it was announced in November 1965 that the Territory was to have such an airfield and that the cost of this project would be entirely met by the United Kingdom as compensation for the inclusion of three islands of the Seychelles in the newly established "British Indian Ocean Territory".

91. Until 1958 Seychelles was able to balance its budget, though it received little external aid. Since then the combination of static agricultural production coupled with the marked acceleration of the population growth has changed the situation. For the period 1960-65, the Territory was in receipt of a grant-in-aid averaging some 13 per cent of its total expenditure. In 1965, recurrent revenue amounted to Rs.8.9 million and expenditure to Rs.9.9 million, thus giving rise to a deficit of Rs.10 million, which was met by a grant-in-aid.

92. During 1965, Colonial Development and Welfare grants for development totalled Rs.5.2 million in addition to loan expenditure of Rs.1.6 million. A development plan for 1966-69 envisages an annual expenditure of nearly Rs. 10 million (excluding international and technical assistance of various kinds), of which over 85 per cent will be financed by Colonial Development and Welfare funds. The main objects of the plan are to promote fishery development on a large scale, to expand land settlement and to accelerate the development of the tea industry. Proposals have also been made for the encouragement of tourism and the expansion and improvement of the road system, power plants and social services. A detailed survey of a suitable site for the airfield to be built by the United Kingdom in Mahé is expected to be completed early in 1967.

93. In his report, Sir Colville stated that continued and considerable annual financial aid would be needed from abroad to support the Seychelles' budget for a long time to come. Because of the relatively low agricultural potential of the Territory and its remoteness, a modest degree of prosperity was the best that could be hoped. While in general agreement with this view, Mr. Stonehouse said during his recent visit to the Seychelles that the Territory's economy perhaps could make good progress by maintaining political stability and industrial peace and by improving the communications system.

Social conditions

94. Labour. The majority of the working population are engaged in farming, the Territory's main economic activity. But the efficient production of plantation crops requires relatively little labour, and while the population increases and tends to do so more and more rapidly, employment in agriculture shows a tendency to decrease. Unemployment in the Territory stood at 8 per cent of the working age group in 1960, the last year for which labour statistics are available. In recent years, there has been no large-scale emigration. During 1965, about 350 Seychellois found employment overseas, mostly fishermen and labourers who are recruited each year for work on contract in two dependencies of Mauritius. The number of persons employed in the United Kingdom indicated a substantial decrease, from 79 in 1964 to 35 in 1965. This decrease was attributed to the introduction of the quota system for emigrants to that country.

95. During 1964 and 1965, there were thirteen registered trade unions in the Territory. On 6 August 1966, the Seychelles Trade Union Congress, which was an affiliation of three unions was established.

96. In 1965, upward adjustments were made in the statutory minimum wages for agricultural labourers of both sexes, resulting in an increase of some 20 per cent over those prevailing in 1961. As previously noted by the Special Committee, the Secretary of State for the Colonies stated on 18 November 1965 that despite this recent increase, the normal level of agricultural wages in Seychelles remained extremely low. Therefore, he urged the general adoption of a 45-hour week in due course. He also proposed to raise the rates for government labourers as the first step towards improving the living standard of other workers earning very low wages.

97. In May 1966, the Government provisionally increased the wages of male labourers from Rs.72 to Rs.80 per month and those of female labourers from Rs.45 to Rs.50 per month for a 45-hour week. Subsequently, four other employers followed suit. A strike involving some 3,250 workers employed mainly by the Government occurred at Victoria, the capital, on 13 June 1966, following the rejection by their union representatives of the provisional pay increase of 11 per cent as inadequate to make up for the recent rise of 100 per cent in the cost of living. These workers returned to work on 20 June 1966, after two British naval parties had landed in the Territory to help preserve public security there and after an agreement in principle between the Government and the principal unions involved that the final pay award would be backdated to 1 May 1966. The final pay award was announced in December 1966. This award has raised the basic monthly wage for unskilled male labourers to Rs.92 and for female labourers to Rs.58.

98. On 7 January 1967, the United Kingdom Ministry of Overseas Development appointed Sir Richard Ramage as Salaries Commissioner for the Territory. He was asked to examine the terms and conditions of public service in the Territory with particular reference to the need to adjust salaries. His report was completed but had not been published by the middle of March 1967.

99. Public health. Government expenditure on medical services in 1965 was Rs.1,274,760 (compared with Rs.1,235,640 in the previous year), or 12.8 per cent of the Territory's total recurrent expenditure.

100. According to the information transmitted by the United Kingdom, the main islands are reasonably well provided with hospitals and clinics, but there are no medical facilities for some 1,500 persons on the outlying islands. In 1964 and

1965, there were four hospitals with a total of 218 beds, the main one being located in Victoria with 155 beds. The ratios of medical officers and hospital beds to the population were 1 to 3,006 and 1 to 213 persons respectively.

101. Instruction in locally acceptable family planning methods, which was started in 1964, has continued at the main hospital in Victoria. Similar instruction is being planned for rural health centres. In addition, the International Planned Parenthood Federation has opened two clinics.

102. Although within the tropics, the Seychelles has few of the diseases usually associated with tropical climates. Intestinal infestations are a serious problem, however, owing mainly to poor conditions of sanitation and increased overcrowding. There has been no progress in the programme for improving sanitation in Victoria which is the most crowded area. There is a high incidence of venereal diseases with a marked rise in recent years of early syphilis. A VD clinic under the Medical Officer of Health has been in operation and it was hoped to start a World Health Organization (WHO) programme in 1967 to eradicate the disease.

Educational conditions

103. A new school system was established in 1965 to provide education for all children up to the age of 15 years. Hitherto secondary schooling was available to a limited number of pupils at the end of their six years of free primary education. Under the new system, which gives all primary school leavers the opportunity of attending school for at least two more years, secondary schooling is divided into junior secondary and secondary grammar schools. The former provide three years of post-primary education for pupils not entering secondary grammar schools. The latter provide a five-year education up to and including the General Certificate of Education (Advanced level) standard. Some of those completing their first two years in the junior secondary schools are able to follow special courses in teaching, nursing, domestic science, secretarial work, agriculture and certain trades. Post-secondary education continues to include teacher, technical and vocational training.

104. During 1965, educational facilities were expanded by the addition of forty-two primary and six junior secondary classrooms. There were 352 classes (364 in 1964) in all schools with 8,809 pupils (8,516 in 1964) and 390 teachers (same as in 1964).

The 8,809 pupils were distributed as follows: primary, 7,341; junior secondary, 889; secondary grammar, 359; special courses, 134 and post-secondary, 86. In addition, thirty-nine Seychellois (twenty-four in 1964) were undergoing courses of higher study overseas, most of which were financed by the United Kingdom. 105. Of the 390 teachers, 190 were certificated or trained and the rest untrained. There is a serious shortage of trained teachers in the primary schools. The junior secondary schools are beginning to recruit new staff from the teacher-training college. The college produced seven trained teachers in 1964 and eighteen in 1965, but it will be some years before an adequate body of trained teaching staff can be formed.

106. In 1965, the sum of Rs.1,595,969 (compared with Rs.1,396,341 in the previous year), or 17.7 per cent of the Territory's total recurrent expenditure, was spent on education. Funds allocated under Colonial Development and Welfare schemes for education amounted to Rs.573,008 (compared with Rs.584,466 in the previous year).

C. ST. HELENA

General

107. The population of St. Helena is largely descended from settlers of British origin and persons of Asian and African blood who were introduced by the East India Company. At the end of 1965, the estimated population of St. Helena was 4,702, compared with 4,676 in 1964. The population of Tristan de Cunha was 285. The population of Ascension Island at the end of 1964 was 581 of whom 401 were St. Helenians and 86 West Indians.

Constitution and Government

108. In November 1966, a new Constitution for St. Helena and its Dependencies was adopted, which replaced the Constitution of 1956. The new Constitution came into operation on 1 January 1967. Its main provisions are set out below

109. Governor. The Governor is the head of the administration of the Territory and Commander-in-Chief of St. Helena and its Dependencies.

110. Executive Council. The Executive Council has been reconstituted. It now consists of two ex officio members (the Government Secretary of St. Helena and the Treasurer) and several unofficial members (the chairman of the council committees of the Legislative Council). The number of unofficial members depends on the number of the council committees, which is determined by the Governor. Under the chairmanship of the Governor, the functions of the Executive Council are to advise the Governor in the exercise of his powers. Under the Constitution of 1956 the Executive Council consisted of three civil servants (Government Secretary, Treasurer and Education Officer) and three non-official members, who were local residents.

111. Legislative Council. Under the new Constitution the existing Advisory Council has been renamed the Legislative Council. It consists now of the Governor, two ex officio members (the Government Secretary and the Treasurer), two official and four unofficial members appointed by the Governor and eight elected members. In a year's time the Legislative Council will be reconstituted and will consist of the Governor, two ex officio members and twelve elected members. The Governor will preside at meetings of the Legislative Council. There will be at least one

session of the Council every year. The Governor will dissolve the Council at the expiration of four years. However, the Governor may at any time prorogue or dissolve the Council. There will be a general election within three months after every dissolution of the Council.

Political parties

112. There are no political parties in the Territory.

Economic conditions

113. Until 1965 the Territory's economy depended mainly on the production of flax (phormium tenax), the most important foreign exchange earner, to which 3,350 acres of the total area of land under cultivation (3,990 acres) were devoted. From 1965 the major single source of income was employment in communication stations on Ascension Island. The principal crops are common and sweet potatoes and vegetables. Fish of many kinds are plentiful in the waters around St. Helena, but the catch is usually insufficient to meet the demand. In 1965, the only industry was the manufacture of hemp fibre, tow, rope and twine. Five flax mills were in operation in 1965 but their operation ceased under pressure from falling demand and scarcity and cost of labour. Almost all local requirements are met by imported goods.

114. Between 1964 and 1965, production of hemp fibre declined from 953 to 804 tons and that of tow from 455 to 251 tons, while that of rope and twine advanced from 2 to 39 tons. The production figures for other main crops (potatoes and vegetables) showed a moderate increase, from 820 to 920 tons, the difference being accounted for by the rise of 100 tons in the output of common potatoes.

115. Measures have been taken to control range animals and to protect pastures. In 1965, all pasture areas (seven square miles) were fenced and sub-divided, and brought under a system of grazing control. The Government has continued to encourage the breeding of pigs and poultry.

116. The number of trees planted rose from 10,500 in 1964 to 27,419 in 1965.

117. Exports were valued at £105,347 in 1964 and £74,341 in 1965. Imports totalled £309,974 in 1964 and £285,176 in 1965.

118. Estimated revenue for 1965 amounted to £309,673 (including a United Kingdom grant-in-aid of £137,363 and a Colonial Development and Welfare grant of £55,000), while expenditure amounted to £327,060. The 1964 estimates showed that revenue and expenditure each totalled £277,771.

Social conditions

119. Labour. During 1965, the principal categories of wage earners were: flax workers, 298; skilled and general labourers, 250; agricultural labourers, 182; and building tradesmen and apprentices, 53. A total of 342 St. Helenians (as against 323 in 1964) worked on Ascension Island. Of this total, 150 were employed by British Cable and Wireless Limited, 124 by United States construction companies at the guided missile range, and 68 by the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works for the construction of a British Broadcasting Corporation relay station. There has been a certain amount of unemployment in St. Helena, alleviated by the provision of relief work, but with the opportunities for employment on Ascension Island, which have existed since 1965, there has been no unemployment among able-bodied men. During 1965 there were ninety-one men on unemployment relief (compared with 145 in 1964). The standard minimum wage is now £8 a week and, in consequence, the daily rates of wages for general labourers employed by the Government rose to between 16s.8d. and 19s.2d (from 10s.6d. in 1964), and those by commercial firms to 16s.8d. (from 8s.4d. in 1964). There is one general trade union.

120. Public health. Government expenditure on medical and health services in 1965 was estimated at £27,363 (compared with £27,762 in the previous year), or 9 per cent of the Territory's total expenditure. In recent years, the Territory has been served by one general hospital with sixty beds and two medical officers (three since 1966). The ratios of medical officers and general beds to the population in 1965 were 1 to 2,350 and 1 to 78 respectively.

Educational conditions

121. Education is free and compulsory for all children between the ages of five and fifteen years. The average number of children attending school rose from 1,184 in 1964 to 1,208 in 1965. During this period, the Territory had eight primary

schools, two of which provided all-age education, three secondary schools and one selective secondary school. In 1965, there were sixty full-time (fifty-eight in 1964) and six part-time (three in 1964) teachers. Selected young teachers are sent to the United Kingdom to follow a three-year course leading to a certificate in education conferred by the Ministry of Education. More experienced teachers are also sent there for further training. In 1965, a senior teacher departed for a year's course. The expenditure on educational services during the year was estimated at £24,561 (an increase of £1,666 over the previous year), or 10.6 per cent of the Territory's total expenditure.

III. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE^{14/}

Introduction

122. The Special Committee considered Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena at its 535th to 539th meetings held away from Headquarters, between 15 and 19 June 1967. The Special Committee had before it the report of Sub-Committee I concerning these Territories (A/AC.109/L.398), which is annexed hereto.

A. Written petitions and hearings

123. The Special Committee had before it a written petition concerning Mauritius from Mr. A.H. Dorghoty, Second Secretary, Mauritius People's Progressive Party (MPPP) (A/AC.109/PET.689). It heard a petitioner concerning that Territory, Mr. T. Siburun, Secretary-General, MPPP, accompanied by Mr. Dorghoty.

124. Mr. Siburun (MPPP) recalled that more than fourteen months had elapsed since the Special Committee's meeting at which certain resolutions and recommendations had been adopted and it had been decided that the inalienable right of the peoples of Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena to self-determination, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, should be reaffirmed. The most important of the recommendations were those to the effect that the administering Power should be urged to allow the population of the three Territories to exercise their right of self-determination without delay, constitutional changes being left to the people of the Territories themselves who alone had the right to decide on the form of government they wished to adopt; that free elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage should be conducted as soon as possible; and that the administering Power should be called upon to respect the islands' territorial integrity and ensure that they were not used for military bases.

125. The United Kingdom Government had not made the slightest effort to accede to the people's demands. In March 1966, he had stressed to the Special Committee the

^{14/} This section includes those portions of the statements made on Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena in the Special Committee which relate to the question in general; those portions which refer specifically to the draft resolution are included in section IV. It should be noted that additional comments on the question of Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena were contained in the statements made at the opening of the Special Committee's meetings at Kinshasa, Kitwe and Dar es Salaam. These statements are included in Chapter II of the Special Committee's report (A/6700 (Part II)).

prevalence of bribery and corruption by the imperialists during the pre-election period. Under Mauritian law, a candidate was allowed to spend up to about Rs.5,000 on his electoral campaign but in most cases vast sums were lavished on canvassing votes, and he had pointed out that the Government should take steps to ensure that the law was respected. The general election was to be held in September 1967 and nothing had yet been done by the Government to enforce such a law. History was obviously repeating itself and the poor people who were asking for nothing more than their rudimentary rights were being exploited.

126. He had asked at the same time that supervisors from African and Asian countries should be sent to conduct the general election but, in September 1966, before the United Nations had had time to appoint them, the United Kingdom had dispatched observers from Commonwealth countries to supervise the registration of voters and the general election. It was evident that they would only be able to observe and could not investigate the true situation.

127. At the International Conference against War Danger, Military Pacts and Bases, Atomic Weapons and Colonialism, resolutions had been adopted calling for immediate and unconditional independence for Mauritius, with an immediate general election and moral, material, technical and financial support for a major propaganda campaign to rid Chagos Island of the nuclear military bases installed by the United Kingdom and the United States.

128. In February 1967, at its eighth session, the Council of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization, meeting at Nicosia, had adopted a resolution on Mauritius asking that supervisors should be sent to conduct the general election which would lead to complete and unconditional independence for the island, that the United Kingdom and United States system of direct telecommunications, which had been transferred from Trincomalee to Vacoas, should be dismantled, and that moral support, and material, technical and financial aid should be provided in order to remove the United Kingdom and United States base on Chagos Island.

129. He had intended to ask the United Kingdom representative certain questions, but unfortunately he was not there to reply. It would have been interesting to know why the United Kingdom had decided to buy, without the consent of the Mauritian people, what it considered to be its own territory; why the reactionary Government had connived with the United Kingdom to deprive Mauritius of one of its dependencies; why the United Kingdom had always rejected, without explanation,

all petitions for the holding of a referendum on the military bases. It was obvious that the United Kingdom wanted to grant the island independence, while maintaining a nuclear base on Mauritian soil. The Mauritians had always been a peace-loving people, had never been involved in any world war and did not want their innocent country blasted by a nuclear bomb. In the event of a third world war, Mauritius wished to remain neutral. No country could be truly independent if it remained linked with the great Powers, and the independence obtained years before by their African, Arab and Hindu brothers would also turn out to be illusory. He hoped the world would not witness such injustice without reacting against it,

130. The imperialists presented themselves as champions of human rights and democracy, yet challenged their subject peoples' rights to social, political and economic justice. The colonial countries would not flinch before the imperialists' impressive might and would demand their rudimentary rights.

131. The Special Committee should exercise its power and compel the United Kingdom and the United States to respect its decisions and resolutions. The nuclear base was a direct threat to Africa, Asia and the Middle East and to world peace. United Kingdom and United States experts were already in Mauritius putting the finishing touches to the Chagos Island base. Time was short; the general election was to be held on 17 September 1967 and he hoped the other countries would not turn a deaf ear to Mauritius' justified pleas.

132. The reactionary Government had done nothing for the country; it had introduced illegal and exorbitant taxes to pay for the extension of Plaisance airport to enable it to accommodate the latest jet aircraft, to enable the Government to pursue its neo-colonialist policy after independence and to erect an imperialist bastion in the Indian Ocean to check the advance of socialism in Africa. It was not surprising, therefore, that without the consent of the people, the same reactionary Government was supporting Israel in its war of aggression against the Arab States. He wondered how long the people of Mauritius were to be ignored.

133. The people had held a grand mass rally on world peace, organized by MPPP, on 11 June 1967, and had urged Prime Minister Wilson to reconsider the question of the Chagos Island base and accede to their demand that a referendum should be held on the matter, pointing out that they wanted to remain neutral in the event of a third world war.

134. In conclusion, he appealed to the Special Committee to ensure that the recommendations of the above-mentioned conferences were implemented.

135. In reply to questions concerning his Party's membership, strength and activities to date, the petitioner stated that MPPP had been formed in 1963 after the last general elections and had been affiliated with the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Committee at the Moshi Conference. The other parties were the Mauritian Social Democratic Party, the Mauritius Labour Party, the Independent Forward Bloc and the Muslim Committee of Action. A new Party, the Hindu Congress, had been formed in 1966. MPPP was the only political party to have its own offices which were open every day, and a register of members. The other parties had no membership lists and only opened their offices for the election campaign. MPPP had about 50,000 supporters out of a total population of 786,000 and sympathizers among the working class. It would present candidates for the first time at the forthcoming elections.

136. Although not represented in Parliament, MPPP had been actively opposing the Government and holding daily meetings throughout the country to explain to the people the gravity of the situation created by the military bases on the island.

137. When invited to London to discuss the new Constitution, the Mauritian Social Democrat Party, which was in favour of association with the United Kingdom, had dissociated itself from the coalition Government because the other parties represented wanted independence, although they were also in favour of retaining the military bases. In 1965, the Government had sold Chagos Island for £3 million to the United Kingdom, which, in conjunction with the United States, was building a military base on it. The United Kingdom now denied buying the island outright, saying that the money had merely been given as compensation.

138. MPPP attended not only the meetings of the Special Committee but also international conferences throughout the world, for instance, the New Delhi Conference on War Danger in November 1966 and the Afro-Asian Council in Cyprus in February 1966. On 11 June 1967, it had asked the Mauritian people to attend a mass rally in favour of peace, especially in Viet-Nam, the dismantling of the military base and unconditional independence for their country.

139. Asked to supply more details concerning the size, number and type of bases and the use made of them, the petitioner regretted that he was unable to state the exact size of the bases. The base at Vacoas was used to house the direct

telecommunications system which had been transferred from Trincomalee. The United States Government was providing funds to enlarge Plaisance airport so that jet aircraft could land there. The United Kingdom had always realized the strategic importance of Mauritius; it had taken the bases from France and had granted independence to the country only on condition that it could continue to use the key bases in the Indian Ocean. During the past year the United States Air Force had been using Plaisance airport continuously. It had also been reported in the newspapers and confirmed by the United Kingdom itself that the United Kingdom and United States navies would continue to use the naval bases in Mauritius.

140. The petitioner was asked whether or not the administering Power was implementing the United Nations decisions, and whether he was in a position to give details regarding the establishment of a base by the United Kingdom and the United States on Mauritius. Replying, he stated that the United Kingdom had not implemented the 1966 resolution any more than it had many others adopted by the United Nations. The construction of the military bases was well advanced under the supervision of experts from the United Kingdom and United States, who were to stay until the completion of the bases.

141. In reply to a further question, the petitioner said that the election was to be held on 17 September 1967. The Prime Minister, fearing trouble in a multiracial country, had asked the United Kingdom to send troops as well as observers to supervise the general election. The opposition was divided into too many small parties and did not present a united front. Although all were in favour of complete independence, some were willing to retain the military bases, whereas MPPP demanded that independence should be unconditional. The Mauritian Social Democrat Party, on the other hand, wanted a continued association with the United Kingdom.

B. General statements

142. At the 536th meeting, the Chairman of Sub-Committee I (the representative of Ethiopia), presenting the Sub-Committee's report on Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena, (see annex) said that the Sub-Committee had considered the situation in these Territories during the period 5 April to 10 May 1967. In accordance with the procedure agreed upon by the Special Committee, the United Kingdom representative had participated in the Sub-Committee's consideration of the three Territories.

143. The Sub-Committee had been guided by paragraph 16 of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966, which requested 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". The Sub-Committee had also taken into account paragraph 15 of the resolution which invited the Special Committee "whenever it considers it appropriate to recommend a deadline for the accession to independence to each Territory in accordance with the wishes of the people and the provisions of the Declaration". Further, the Sub-Committee was aware that, as recognized by the Special Committee in paragraph 322 of chapter I of its 1966 report (A/6300 (Part I)) "their small size and population as well as their limited resources presented peculiar problems". However, the Sub-Committee was firmly of the opinion that the provisions of the Declaration were applicable to those Territories, and had examined the situation there within that context.

144. The report of the Sub-Committee consisted of four chapters. The Chairman drew special attention to the conclusions and recommendations of the report, contained in paragraphs 124 to 129 and paragraphs 130 to 139, respectively. The report had been adopted by the Sub-Committee at its 39th meeting on 10 May 1967. The representative of Finland had stated that since certain parts of the conclusions and the recommendations were not in accord with and did not reflect the views expressed by his delegation, it could not support all the conclusions and recommendations.

145. The representative of India said that the Indian delegation had carefully studied the valuable and instructive report of Sub-Committee I. It unreservedly supported its conclusions and recommendations and congratulated the Sub-Committee.

146. His delegation deeply regretted the slow progress towards the self-determination and independence of the Territories in question. In spite of repeated appeals, the administering Power had not taken steps to expedite decolonization. Progress in the Seychelles and St. Helena had been particularly slow. He hoped that the United Kingdom Government would respect the people's wishes and grant them the political status of their choice without further delay.

147. The United Kingdom Government's policy with regard to Mauritius was to delay independence as much as possible. For several years much had been heard of impending independence, but the United Kingdom Government had found one pretext

or another to postpone the inevitable, giving the impression that it found parting with that rich colony extremely difficult. The Constitutional Conference had been held as early as September 1965, yet the country was not expected to become independent until about the middle of 1968. That long interval seemed totally unjustified. Considerable time had been wasted by the appointment of the Banwell Commission, whose recommendations had been unacceptable to the Mauritian political parties. They had had to be modified substantially following Mr. Stonehouse's visit, thus wasting more than six months. The electoral system under the modified Banwell proposals seemed unduly complicated; if, however, it was acceptable to the political parties in the island, his delegation would respect it, its only desire being that the people of Mauritius should become independent without further delay.

148. The independence of Mauritius was essential not only for the emotional satisfaction of its people but also to enable them to devote their energies to raise their level of living. Without political independence real economic progress was impossible. Colonial Powers were not interested in doing anything for the people of their colonies that would not at the same time be in their own strategic or other interests. Mauritius provided an excellent example of that policy. It had an economy almost wholly dependent on the production and export of sugar. The United Nations had been urging the administering Power since 1964 to take effective measures to diversify the economy, but the United Kingdom Government's only response had been to take some half-hearted and haphazard steps without really trying to work out a well-co-ordinated programme. Its failure to develop other sectors of the economy had resulted in shortage of capital, a downward trend in per capita income and increased unemployment. The little progress that had been achieved had been due mainly to the efforts of the Government of Mauritius headed by Premier Ramgoolam, who was reported to have said that Mauritius was a viable country which had never needed a grant-in-aid to balance its budget. His delegation had no doubt that, once the country achieved its independence, progress in the diversification of its economy would be accelerated.

149. The administering Power in Mauritius, as in other colonies, such as Fiji, had been taking advantage of the differences in the Territory in order to maintain its own dominant position and protect foreign vested economic interests. Fortunately, the different communities had successfully resisted the administering Power's attempt to divide them. They had realized that their common interest lay in

riding themselves first of the colonial administration. His delegation wished Mr. Ramgoolam and his associates all the success they deserved in leading their country to independence as a unified nation.

150. His Government had been greatly perturbed at the reports of the establishment of military installations in the "British Indian Ocean Territory" that had been created artificially by detaching certain islands from Mauritius and Seychelles. That was a clear violation of General Assembly resolutions 2066 (XX) and 2232 (XXI) which asked the administering Power not to take any action that would dismember the Territory or violate its territorial integrity. Such dismemberment was also a clear violation of paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and of the United Nations Charter. The creation of the new colony also ran counter to the declared wishes of the peace-loving peoples of Africa and Asia and must be regarded as contrary to the interests of those peoples in the immediate vicinity of the military installations. In that connexion, he quoted from a statement made by the Indian Minister for Foreign Affairs in Parliament on 6 April 1967, as follows:

"The Indian Government's position has been made clear in the past and there is no change in our stand. We have subscribed to the Bandung Declaration of 1955. We have also signed the Cairo Declaration of 1964 on the subject of establishment of bases in the Indian Ocean and we stand by them.

"We have also subscribed to resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and 2066 (XX) of 20 December 1966 adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, dealing with this subject. Resolution 2066 (XX) 'notes with deep concern that any step by the Administering Power to detach certain islands from the territory of Mauritius for the purpose of establishment of military bases would be in contravention of resolution 1514 (XV)'. It further invited 'the administering Power to take no action which would dismember the territory of Mauritius and violate its territorial integrity'.

"We are opposed to the establishment of military bases in the Indian Ocean area as it might lead to an increase in tensions in this region. We hope that in the largest interest of peace, the British authorities will bear in mind our feelings and feeling of the countries in this region and desist from setting up a military base in this area."

151. The representative of Poland expressed his appreciation of the work of Sub-Committee I and, in particular, of the concise and objective manner in which its report was drafted. He also thanked the Sub-Committee's Chairman for her able presentation of the report.

152. In all three Territories, progress towards the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) had been extremely slow. Though almost seven years had elapsed since the adoption of the Declaration on decolonization, the people of Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena had not yet achieved the objectives sought by the United Nations, and the administering Power was still delaying the transfer of authority to the democratically elected representatives of the peoples of the three Territories.

153. As pointed out in paragraph 125 of the report, the United Kingdom, through the Governor, continued to exercise vast powers, particularly in the constitutional and legislative fields. Contrary to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the administering Power was insisting on an even longer constitutional process in Seychelles than in Mauritius on the pretext that the people lacked political experience. In Mauritius, the elections had still not been held and the United Kingdom Government, though well aware of the people's wishes for independence, was attaching conditions to the granting of it: e.g., that there should be an interval of six months between self-government and independence, and that the demand for complete independence should be reiterated by the vote of a majority elected at the future general elections to be held under complex and controversial electoral arrangements.

154. Furthermore, the United Kingdom was openly violating the principles of the United Nations Charter and the General Assembly resolution by dismembering Mauritius and the Seychelles for military purposes, with the help of the United States. The Polish delegation fully shared the concern expressed by the Special Committee at the establishment in 1965 of a new colony - the "British Indian Ocean Territory" - and at reports that it would be used as a military base. In resolutions 2189 (XXI) and 2232 (XXI), the General Assembly reiterated its earlier declaration that any attempt to disrupt the national unity and territorial integrity of colonial Territories or to establish military bases or installations there was incompatible with the United Nations Charter and with resolution 1514 (XV). Despite the warning of the non-aligned countries at the Cairo Conference in 1964 that such military bases would create tension and would be used to bring pressure against independent States in their vicinity and against national liberation movements, the United Kingdom had refused to give any assurance that the islands detached from Mauritius and Seychelles would not be used under any circumstances

for military purposes. The Polish delegation firmly endorsed paragraphs 126 and 127 of the report of the Sub-Committee and strongly believed that the attitude of the United Kingdom was incompatible with its obligations as the administering Power.

155. The data contained in the Secretariat working paper (see paragraphs 1-121 above) clearly indicated the administering Power's failure to diversify the economies of the three Territories, which were still dependent on a single crop, and, to an increasing extent, on external aid. Mauritius had to import 90 per cent of its needs for essential goods and foodstuffs. It was also clear from the document that unemployment was increasing in Mauritius and Seychelles and that the per capita income in those Territories was tending to fall.

156. In the Polish delegation's opinion, the administering Power should take vigorous measures to assist the peoples of those Territories by grants-in-aid and development programmes to diversify their economy and create employment and opportunities for the growing populations. It should likewise take steps, without further delay, to ensure that the peoples of those Territories achieved independence in the best possible conditions.

157. The representative of Bulgaria said that his delegation had studied the report very carefully and associated itself with the conclusions and recommendations. He expressed his appreciation of the valuable work performed by the Sub-Committee. The administering Power was continuing without restraint to use the Territory for its own requirements, to behave as its undisputed colonial master, to disregard completely the inalienable rights of its population to freedom and independence, to exploit their natural resources, to dismember the Territories and to establish military bases with the participation of another great Power.

158. It was unbelievable that, seven years after the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the colonial Power could show such complete disregard for its provisions and for the United Nations as a whole. Bulgaria shared the concern of the neighbouring nations which considered the military bases established on the Territories to be detrimental to their security and were demanding the dismantling of all military installations and the discontinuance of military activity.

159. The representative of Madagascar said that he had carefully studied the report of Sub-Committee I on Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena. His delegation

like the Sub-Committee, considered that the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) should be speedily implemented in those Territories. Indeed, it had already supported in the Committee many of the ideas and principles set forth in the Sub-Committee's report. Madagascar, in view of its geographical situation, was certainly the country which was closest to Mauritius, a fact which had enabled it to maintain normal and cordial relations with that Territory. His delegation was particularly well placed to speak of the situation now prevailing in that island. It had noted the statements made by the United Kingdom representative in Sub-Committee I and had been pleased to learn that the United Kingdom Government had taken the necessary steps to enable the people of Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. The statements of the United Kingdom representative were in accord with the actual facts in the three Territories concerned. The Malagasy delegation therefore welcomed the attitude of the United Kingdom regarding the islands in the Indian Ocean, and could not support all the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report of Sub-Committee I.

160. The representative of Finland said that, as a member of the Sub-Committee, he had already had the opportunity of expressing his Government's views on Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena. As he had said in the Sub-Committee on 13 April 1967, although the three Territories might have certain elements in common, there were striking differences between them in many important respects and it was difficult to visualize any common pattern for their future. He had added that Mauritius was well on the road towards full independence. That view had been substantiated by the Mauritian Prime Minister's statement of 13 May 1967 that elections would take place at the very latest before the end of September of the current year. The political development of the Seychelles seemed to be somewhat slower and it seemed not unlikely that some form of special constitutional arrangements might be advisable in the interim.

161. He re-emphasized that, whatever future course might be chosen by the three Territories, it was essential that the final choice should be made by the freely elected majority. Although there had been some regrettable delays, it appeared to him that the majority of the people in question had, in fact, the opportunity of deciding the future of their own countries.

162. A number of the conclusions and recommendations contained in the Sub-Committee's report were not in accordance with the views his delegation had expressed in the Sub-Committee, nor did they accurately reflect the progress towards self-determination which had taken place in the Territories in question.

163. The representative of Italy said that his delegation had not only examined with great care the report of Sub-Committee I, but had followed with close attention the political development of the Territories in question. It had noted with great satisfaction that significant steps had been taken to ensure for their populations the right and the means freely to express their preferences concerning their future status. In the case of Mauritius, it was noteworthy that the Prime Minister intended to organize elections not later than the end of September 1967.

164. Italy's chief concern was that the people of the islands should have the right to determine their future status by democratic means, and such appeared to be the case. Under the circumstances, he viewed with some misgivings the conclusions contained in the report which did not seem to coincide with his delegation's assessment of the situation.

165. The representative of Venezuela said that he had studied with interest the report of Sub-Committee I on the question of Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena. Unquestionably, the report gave a very complete account of the political, economic and social conditions prevailing in those three Territories. His delegation was in general agreement with the recommendations and conclusions of the Sub-Committee.

166. He did not, however, share the view expressed in paragraph 127 of the report concerning military bases and installations. There was insufficient proof of the existence of such bases to warrant the claim that they created international tension and aroused concern in neighbouring countries. Nor could it support paragraph 137 of the report, in which the Sub-Committee prejudged the question of future military activities and claimed that they would constitute an act of hostility towards the peoples of Africa and Asia and a threat to international peace and security.

167. The representative of the United States of America said that he wished to comment on the sweeping and unsubstantiated statements made by a petitioner and some representatives with respect to his country. He wished to state categorically that his country had no plans to construct military bases in the British Indian Ocean Territory. In that connexion, he pointed out that a United Kingdom

spokesman had recently given a similar assurance. Although there was an agreement between his country and the United Kingdom to permit the utilization of the British Indian Ocean Territory for refuelling or communications facilities, no decision had been taken to establish any such facilities.

168. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that his delegation had no intention of disputing the statement made by the United States representative. He wished, however, to know whether the statement had the approval of the United Kingdom also. Had it in fact been made on behalf of that country?

169. The representative of the United States of America replied that he had made no statement on behalf of the United Kingdom; he had simply referred to a similar statement made by a United Kingdom spokesman.

IV. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

170. The representative of Ethiopia introduced a draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.411/Rev.1) on the three Territories co-sponsored by Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia.

171. The draft resolution was based on the report of Sub-Committee I (see annex) and expressed the serious concern felt by the co-sponsors at the fact that, as stated in paragraph 124 of the report, the administering Power had still not implemented General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions concerning Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena. The co-sponsors urged the administering Power to expedite the process of decolonization in those Territories.

172. The representative of Iraq said that he seconded the draft resolution and urged all members of the Special Committee to vote for it. He drew attention to the operative paragraph concerning military bases which the administering Power, in co-operation with the United States, was proposing to establish in Mauritius and Seychelles which constituted a serious threat to the area, to the peace and security of Africa, Asia and the Middle East and to the national liberation movements operating in those areas.

173. The representative of Poland said that while his delegation supported the draft resolution in general, it regretted that the preambular paragraphs contained no reference to the Sub-Committee's concern that the administering Power was continuing to violate the territorial integrity of the Territories and to defy General Assembly resolutions 2066 (XX) and 2232 (XXI) and that the steps it was taking in the economic and social sectors to safeguard the interests of the peoples of the Territories were inadequate.

174. At the next meeting, the representative of Ethiopia submitted on behalf of the co-sponsors, an oral revision to the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.411/Rev.1), in which in operative paragraph 7, the phrase "to dismantle such military installations" was replaced by the phrase "to desist from establishing such military installations". The co-sponsors considered that the revision (A/AC.109/L.411/Rev.2) would make it quite clear that the resolution also applied to existing military bases.

175. The representative of Bulgaria said that the draft resolution submitted by the African and Asian countries and Yugoslavia reflected the main recommendations of the Sub-Committee's report and contained the necessary requests to the administering Power to implement fully the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Bulgarian delegation had hoped that the original draft resolution would contain a reference such as that included in the Sub-Committee's report to the activities of the United Kingdom and to the demands addressed to it by the United Nations. It was therefore pleased that the sponsors had accepted the amendment proposed by the Polish delegation to include a new introductory paragraph to express the Special Committee's deep regret that the administering Power had failed to implement resolution 1514 (XV). The General Assembly should pay particular attention to that matter and his delegation thought that, before the opening of the twenty-second session, the Special Committee should have another opportunity to examine the attitude of the administering Power. That had probably also been the sponsors' reason for drafting paragraph 8, requesting the United Kingdom to report to the Special Committee on the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV).

176. The representative of the Ivory Coast said that he would have preferred, as a representative of an African country, not to make any comment on a draft resolution submitted by the Afro-Asian group, which regarded colonialism as a kind of cancerous tumour in the centre of Africa. His delegation was ready to give its full support to the Special Committee's efforts to deal with the last vestiges of the crumbling colonial system. The climate in the Special Committee must be such that all representatives without exception, and particularly the members of the Afro-Asian group, could associate themselves with the Committee's decisions, decisions which, in a general way, expressed the desire of all to help the peoples of the remaining dependent territories. Such a spirit of co-operation and understanding was the vital factor which would enable the Committee to obtain the results expected of it.

177. His delegation would therefore have liked to be among the sponsors of the draft resolution, which, as a whole, reflected the aspirations of the international community as expressed in the basic resolution of the General Assembly,

resolution 1514 (XV), on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Regrettably, however, it had been unable to join the sponsors because its request for a compromise on operative paragraph 7 relating to military installations had been rejected. The statement appearing in that paragraph was not necessarily in accordance with the facts. Moreover, even if bases existed in certain dependent countries, it was for those countries, when they obtained independence, to negotiate the removal of the bases with the former administering Power, as had happened in all the African countries which had become independent. The question was within the exclusive competence of the countries concerned. The Ivory Coast, which had subscribed to the doctrine of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, could not go back on the principles which it had endorsed and to which it intended to remain loyal.

178. There should be no misunderstanding of the significance of that reservation, for the Ivory Coast, which had fought against colonialism for many long years and would continue to do so, remained faithful to the principles of decolonization. It was aware that military activities created tensions in the world. It understood the concern of certain delegations and respected their position. The purpose of the Special Committee, however, was to promote decolonization, and it should make sure that its decisions could be applied. It should seek the most objective way of bringing the countries under foreign domination to self-determination and independence and not choose courses which, on the contrary, would tend to harden positions and delay the solution of the problem of decolonization. The Ivory Coast delegation, while expressing reservations on operative paragraph 7, supported the other provisions of the draft resolution and would vote for it.

179. The representative of Italy said that operative paragraph 7 of the draft resolution was extraneous to the colonial issue and involved considerations outside the Special Committee's purview. His delegation would, therefore, abstain from voting.

180. The representative of Venezuela noted with regret that the draft resolution did not take into account the recommendation of Sub-Committee I that the General Assembly should set a time-limit for the granting of independence to Mauritius and accelerate the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) in respect of Seychelles and St. Helena. There was no reference either to the recommendation concerning the

sending of a visiting mission to the Territories to ascertain the extent of the progress made in the direction of self-determination and independence. Although his delegation would have preferred a text which took greater account of realities, it would nevertheless vote for the draft resolution.

181. The representative of Chile said that he approved of the general lines of the draft resolution despite certain doubts about the wording. Although the language was somewhat exaggerated, his delegation was, nevertheless, able to support the draft resolution as a whole, in line with its constant policy of supporting any measures designed to further the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), irrespective of the size of the Territory concerned or its distance from world markets. The latter considerations could not, however, be entirely overlooked.

182. The representative of the United States of America said that he intended to vote against the draft resolution which did not constitute a realistic and balanced appraisal of the situation in the Territories in question. The issue of Mauritian independence would be decided in the coming elections to be held this fall. If the population desired independence, it was possible that the Territory would become independent in early 1968. The Seychelles were also moving steadily and impressively in the direction of self-determination. Despite, therefore, his delegation's full approval of operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution, he was unable to accept later operative paragraphs which were not consistent with the actual situation. It also had reservations concerning the Sub-Committee's report.

183. At its 539th meeting the Special Committee adopted the draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.411/Rev.2) as orally revised, by a roll call vote of 17 to 2 with 3 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Chile, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Mali, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, United States of America.

Abstaining: Finland, Italy, Madagascar.

184. The representative of Australia said, in explanation of his vote, that the normal approach in such a matter would have been to ask the administering Power to explain anything that was not readily apparent in current developments. Not

only had no such approach been made, but a statement by a representative of the administering Power had been completely ignored as had the many practical steps which had been taken in the direction of independence for the Territories in question. Self-determination meant that a Territory was perfectly entitled to decide, by a majority vote, whether or not it desired independence. Operative paragraph 7 was completely unacceptable, especially in view of the statements that had been made by representatives of the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States that there was no intention of establishing military installations on the island. Appeals had been launched to the administering Power to grant immediate independence to the Territories on the principle of "Heads I win; tails you lose". If immediate independence were granted, without proper preparation, the administering Power would be blamed. That gambling attitude was not one which should be adopted where the future of nations and populations was at stake. Under the circumstances, his delegation had had no alternative but to vote against the draft resolution.

185. The representative of India remarked he had been both surprised and disappointed that the delegations of Australia and the United States had voted against the draft resolution. He failed to realize what they had found in the text so obnoxious that they were forced to vote against it. It had reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of those Territories to self-determination, freedom and independence; it had urged the administering Power to hold free elections and to grant to the Territories whatever political status their peoples should freely choose. It had deplored any dismemberment of the Territories and had declared that the establishment of military installations would be a violation of General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI). He failed to understand that anything in those provisions could cause a freedom-loving country to vote against the resolution.

186. He particularly regretted the unfortunate "gambling" analogy used by the representative of Australia. The sponsors of the draft resolution had made a serious appraisal of the problems facing those Territories and he deplored the fact that the attitude of responsible representatives of responsible Governments should be described as "gambling".

187. The Chairman added that he was deeply disappointed that the Australian representative should have used such an analogy, after all the work that Sub-Committee I had put into its report. It was regrettable that the administering Power had seen fit to be absent from the Special Committee's deliberations, but that did not justify the use of such intemperate language.

188. The representative of the United States of America said he had made a statement explaining his vote and had been very much surprised by the unprecedented request of India for further explanation. He considered that the statement he had already made fully explained the position of his delegation and Government.

189. The representative of Yugoslavia said that some representatives had explained their abstentions on or opposition to the draft resolution on the grounds of operative paragraph 7. It was denied that either the United States or the United Kingdom had any intention of establishing such bases. In that connexion, he pointed out that The New York Times had reported a story to the effect that the United Kingdom was in the final stages of negotiations to purchase three islands in the Indian Ocean for defence purposes. Another paper had stated that the United States and the United Kingdom were planning to build an airstrip on one of those islands. Those two articles constituted sufficient proof for his delegation that the two Powers in question were intending to construct a military base and that operative paragraph 7 was fully justified.

190. The representative of Mali thanked all who had voted for the draft resolution which was directed towards speeding the process of decolonization in a particularly sensitive region of the world. He regretted that cold war considerations should have been introduced and he associated himself with the statements of the Chairman and the representatives of India and Yugoslavia. He was surprised that colonial Powers which claimed to support the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should change their attitude when it came to taking concrete measures to give effect to that Declaration. He was particularly astonished by the words of the representative of Australia, a country which had exterminated its indigenous inhabitants and was sending troops to Viet-Nam to prevent the people of that country from enjoying their most elementary rights.

191. The representative of the United States of America said, in reply to the representative of Yugoslavia, that, excellent paper though it was, The New York Times was not an official organ of the United States Government and its reports in no way reflected the policy of his Government.

192. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that the vote against the draft resolution by two delegations had demonstrated, beyond all reasonable doubt, the true position of their countries and their attitude towards the principle of self-determination. In view of the repeated statements by representatives of the United States Government that their country supported the cause of decolonization, that vote had come as a disagreeable surprise. As the representative of the United States had referred to the "British Indian Ocean Territory", he pointed out that the United Nations had refused to recognize that Territory, the establishment of which was no more than a colonialist manoeuvre.

193. The representative of Australia, exercising his right of reply to the representative of Mali, explained that his reference to gambling had been a strictly personal reaction. He had not meant to suggest that the Sub-Committee or the Special Committee approached its work in the spirit of a gambler. The representative of Mali had also referred to the indigenous inhabitants of Australia. That was a matter within the domestic jurisdiction of the Australian Government. Although Australia could not claim that it had no reason for self-reproach, the indigenous inhabitants were not being assassinated as the representative of Mali had stated. He added that the question of Viet-Nam was not within the Special Committee's terms of reference.

194. The text of the resolution on Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena (A/AC.109/249), adopted by the Special Committee at its 539th meeting on 19 June 1967 reads as follows:

"The Special Committee,

"Having examined the question of Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena,

"Having heard the statement of the petitioner,

"Noting with regret the absence of the representatives of the administering Power,

"Noting with deep regret the failure of the administering Power to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,

"Having examined the report of Sub-Committee I concerning these Territories, 15/

"Recalling General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and other relevant resolutions concerning Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena, in particular General Assembly resolutions 2066 (XX) of 16 December 1965 and 2232 (XXI) of 20 December 1966,

"1. Approves the report of Sub-Committee I concerning Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena and endorses the conclusions and recommendations contained therein;

"2. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena to self-determination, freedom and independence, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

"3. Urges the administering Power to hold, without delay, free elections in the Territories on the basis of universal adult suffrage and to transfer all powers to the representative organs elected by the people;

"4. Further urges the administering Power to grant the Territories the political status their peoples freely choose and to refrain from taking any measures incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations and with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

"5. Reaffirms that the right to dispose of the natural resources of the Territories belongs only to the peoples of the Territories;

"6. Deplores the dismemberment of Mauritius and Seychelles by the administering Power which violates their territorial integrity, in contravention of General Assembly resolutions 2066 (XX) and 2232 (XXI), and calls upon the administering Power to return to these Territories the islands detached therefrom;

"7. Declares that the establishment of military installations and any other military activities in the Territories is a violation of General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI), which constitutes a source of tension in Africa, Asia and the Middle East, and calls upon the administering Power to desist from establishing such military installations;

"8. Requests the administering Power to report on the implementation of the present resolution 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;

"9. Decides to maintain the question of Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena on its agenda."

ANNEX*

REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE I

MAURITIUS, SEYCHELLES AND ST. HELENA

Rapporteur: Mr. Rafic JOUEJATI (Syria)

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION	1 - 3	2
CONSIDERATION BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE	4 - 140	2
A. Statements by members	4 - 123	2
B. Conclusions	124 - 129	38
C. Recommendations	130 - 139	39
D. Adoption of report	140	40

* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.398.

INTRODUCTION

1. The Sub-Committee considered Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena at its 35th to 39th meetings held on 5, 13, 18, 20 April and 10 May 1967.
2. The Sub-Committee had before it the working paper prepared by the Secretariat (see sections I and II of the present chapter).
3. In accordance with the procedure agreed upon by the Special Committee, the Chairman invited the representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to participate in the consideration of the three Territories. Accordingly, the representative of the United Kingdom participated in the 35th to 39th meetings of the Sub-Committee.

CONSIDERATION BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE

A. Statements by members

4. The representative of the United Kingdom gave an account of developments which had occurred since the twenty-first session of the General Assembly in the three Territories under consideration.
5. In Mauritius, constitutional discussions between the United Kingdom and representatives of the different political parties in the Territory had already set the stage for independence. At the end of the constitutional conference of September 1965, Mr. Greenwood, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, had announced that Mauritius would achieve independence if a resolution asking for it was passed by a simple majority of the new Assembly resulting from a general election to be held under a new electoral system. In the course of 1966, a special commission had studied the question of the future electoral system and had recommended that the island should be divided into twenty three-member constituencies and one two-member constituency plus five extra "corrective" seats. In that way, the interests of the main sections of the diversified population of Mauritius would be fairly represented. As those recommendations had given rise to disagreements among the political parties, the number of "corrective" seats had been raised to eight and the arrangements for such seats modified to take account of both party and community considerations, and agreement had been reached between all concerned.

6. Thereafter, in September 1966, the preparation of new electoral registers had been initiated in the presence of a team of Commonwealth observations drawn from India, Malta, Jamaica and Canada. The registers had been published in January 1967 and included one-third more voters than previous lists. The matter now rested with the Government of Mauritius and general elections would be held on the basis of universal adult suffrage at a date still to be set. The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies had said in the House of Commons in December 1966 that it was desirable that elections should be held at the earliest practicable time. Since the 1965 Constitutional Conference had agreed on a six-month interval between full internal self-government and independence, it would be possible, if a majority elected at the future general elections favoured such a step, for Mauritius to achieve independence six months after the elections. There were differing views among the political parties about the ultimate status of Mauritius, but it was for the people to express its views by democratic means. As stated in paragraph 21 of the Sub-Committee's report for 1966, a team of observers from Commonwealth countries would observe the elections.
7. With regard to the Seychelles, he recalled that following an initiative by the Legislative Council about the Territory's future relationship with the United Kingdom, a constitutional adviser had recommended the establishment of a single Council of twelve to fifteen members with both executive and legislative functions, elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage, as a major step towards full internal self-government. The next elections were to be held in October 1967, and the legal instruments, including the new Constitution, required to implement the various proposals were being prepared.
8. The labour disputes which had occurred in 1966 had been resolved by a general wage increase of 20 per cent. A Government Labour Officer and a Trade Union Officer had also been appointed with the aim of improving labour relations.
9. Substantial progress had been made in St. Helena. On 1 January 1967, the former Advisory Council had been replaced by a Legislative Council, and a system of committees giving the members of the Legislative Council departmental responsibilities had been established; the Executive Council had also been reformed to include the chairmen of those committees in place of the former official members. Elections to the new Legislative Council would take place, as before, on the basis

of universal adult suffrage, not later than 1 January 1968. The Council would consist of twelve elected members out of a total of fourteen, instead of eight out of a total of sixteen as at present.

10. The three Territories under discussion had certain features in common: they all were small, had limited resources and were far from the main lanes of communication. In other ways they were different: Mauritius had 750,000 inhabitants and St. Helena only 4,600. These differences were bound to be reflected in the type of political institutions the Territories developed and also perhaps in their ultimate status. He emphasized that since the last session of the Special Committee, each of the three Territories had made substantial progress towards self-government and a final decision on their eventual status.

11. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that the situation in the Seychelles recalled the arrangement proposed by the United Kingdom for certain Caribbean Territories: the administering Power was contemplating a procedure which violated the legitimate interests of the population and contradicted the various pertinent General Assembly resolutions, including resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

12. The working paper showed that the colonial Power was reluctant to implement the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: a colonial Governor had been sent to the Territory to advise on the future colonial status of the Seychelles and had recommended three possible courses: (a) that the Territory should achieve only nominal independence guaranteed by treaty relations with a suitable Power; (b) some form of free association with the United Kingdom; and (c) some form of close association or integration with the United Kingdom. In the first case, it was clear that the colonial Power was not prepared to withdraw from the Seychelles and to concede unfettered independence. The second course would constitute a direct violation of the inalienable right of the people to achieve the independence it demanded. Finally, integration would be a violation of the territorial integrity of the Seychelles, as stated in General Assembly resolution 2069 (XX) of 16 December 1965.

13. The economic situation in the Seychelles remained gloomy and was accentuated by the Territory's colonial status. In a Territory in which there had been a continued decline in agriculture and industry, it was highly regrettable that most of the arable land was being given to foreign monopolies in the form of concessions. He recalled that that aspect of the situation was to be the subject of special study by the Sub-Committee.

14. In Mauritius, too, there had been hardly any progress. At the preceding session, the Tanzanian delegation had stated that the United Kingdom Government was endeavouring to delay the attainment of independence and circumvent the wishes of the people. By its resolutions 2069 (XX) and 2066 (XX) of 16 December 1965, the General Assembly had called upon the administering Power to dismantle the existing military bases and refrain from establishing new ones in the Territories under its domination. It had also invited that Government to take no action which would dismember the Territories or violate their territorial integrity. The United Kingdom Government had, however, completely ignored the Organization's decisions. On 25 March 1967, The Times of London had reported the measures adopted by the United Kingdom in its new Indian Ocean colony created in November 1965, which was to be used for military purposes by the United Kingdom and United States Governments.

15. He protested against the creation of the new colony, which constituted a violation of the legitimate interests and inalienable rights of the inhabitants. It also showed how the colonial Powers were trying to impede independence by such devices as the concessions they granted to foreign monopolies. It was through such monopolies that the new colony had been set up and military installations established. The dismemberment of a Territory violated the express provisions of operative paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and those of the United Nations Charter. Moreover, the creation of the new colony and the establishment of military installations also ran counter to the declared wishes of the peace-loving peoples of Africa and Asia. It could be regarded as a hostile act against those peoples, who were in the immediate vicinity of the military installations in the Indian Ocean.

16. It must be recognized that with regard to Mauritius, the Seychelles and St. Helena, the administering Power had maintained a negative attitude and had

refused to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly calling upon it to speed decolonization in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV). Furthermore, the United Kingdom Government was continuing its economic exploitation of the Territories, and more and more foreign monopolies were establishing themselves there, to the detriment of the people's legitimate interests. Lastly, the United Kingdom was openly violating the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the General Assembly by dismembering Mauritius and the Seychelles and building military installations there with the help of the United States.

17. It was not enough to reaffirm the right of peoples to self-determination and independence; immediate measures should be taken to ensure that those rights were respected. The colonial Power should without delay hold elections on the basis of universal suffrage, transfer all powers to the peoples and restore to them the land and natural resources which it had subjected to extensive exploitation. It must also desist from selling to private companies whole islands detached from the Territories and must instead preserve territorial and national entities. The United Kingdom's political manoeuvres to impose upon the peoples the political status it preferred must be condemned, and it must be called upon to refrain from taking any measures incompatible with the Charter and with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Sub-Committee should also recommend the sending of a visiting mission, especially to the Seychelles.

18. The representative of Syria said that the administering Power's statements had failed to answer a number of very important questions. Had the United Kingdom implemented without delay the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly in Mauritius, the Seychelles and St. Helena, as it had been called upon to do by resolution 2232 (XXI) of 20 December 1966? If not, why not? The Sub-Committee must also know whether the administering Power had changed its attitude with regard to the sending of a visiting mission and whether it was prepared to co-operate with the Sub-Committee in the matter.

19. The General Assembly had expressed some concern regarding the preservation of the territorial integrity of colonial Territories. Did the administering Power still harbour its intentions, and did it realize that the establishment of military bases ran counter to the resolutions of the General Assembly and could not but create international tension and conflict?

20. The United Kingdom had stressed the poverty of Mauritius, the Seychelles and St. Helena and the inadequacy of their resources. But what was it doing to utilize their hydroelectric potential or to remedy the growing unemployment or the balance-of-payments deficit? Had it endeavoured to diversify the economy of Mauritius, as the Prime Minister of Mauritius had repeatedly asked it to do, or was it adhering to the terms of the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement? It was surprising that the United Kingdom, a technologically advanced country and a great source of capital, should permit the Territories under its administration to suffer from shortages of capital and technical skills, as indicated in the Secretariat working paper.

21. The Mauritius Legislative Assembly had called for an end to the discriminatory practices to which the workers in the sugar industry were being subjected. What measures had been taken to protect those workers? He would like particularly to have full information on the role of the Taxpayers and Producers Association.

22. The Sub-Committee should be better informed concerning the new electoral system in Mauritius and the coming elections. Would they be based on universal suffrage, and when would they take place? It was also desirable to know the role of the parties, to determine the extent to which they genuinely represented the people or, on the contrary, represented special interests. Most important of all, the elected representatives of the people should have adequate powers and the Governor should no longer play an unduly large role.

23. In conclusion, he hoped that the United Kingdom would stop giving the impression of wanting above all to safeguard the privileges of the settlers and to serve strategic interests which were of no concern to the people and that it would display a readiness to help the peoples under its administration to free themselves from discrimination and subjection.

24. The representative of the United Kingdom said that he wished to reply at once to some of the questions asked by the Tanzanian and Syrian representatives and that he would comment on other points later.

25. The Tanzanian representative had said, concerning the three courses envisaged in paragraph 28 of the constitutional adviser's report (nominal independence, "free association" and close association or integration), that they would be imposed on the population of the Seychelles and excluded any real independence.

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/...

Page 3 of the document on the Seychelles, however, contained a statement by the Secretary of State for the Colonies noting that the adviser had wished to consider not final solutions but the progressive establishment of constitutional machinery aimed precisely at permitting the people to decide their ultimate status. The adviser himself stated in paragraph 27 that he had concerned himself with immediate measures. As to the elections in Mauritius, he referred the Syrian representative to paragraphs 20 and 21 of the Secretariat working paper, which indicated, inter alia, that in the view of the United Kingdom Government, it was most desirable that the elections should be held at the earliest practicable time and that neither the United Kingdom Government nor the Government of Mauritius had been responsible for the fact that it had been impossible to keep to the time-table originally planned. The completion of the register of electors should in principle make it possible to hold elections in 1967.

26. He would have to consult his Government concerning the sending of a visiting mission if that was in accordance with the Special Committee's views.

27. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that, according to the United Kingdom representative, the proposals in paragraph 28 of the constitutional adviser's report on the Seychelles were not final. Inasmuch as the people of the Seychelles had expressed a wish to achieve independence rapidly, the solutions outlined in that paragraph could only create confusion and were, in fact, an insult to the people of the Territory. As to the "political inexperience" of the electorate and the candidates, which the adviser noted with regret in paragraph 34, he wondered if it was not attributable to the fact that the United Kingdom was preventing the people from exercising their rights. Moreover, paragraph 47 shows clearly that the "free association" formula was regarded as final.

28. The possible solutions envisaged by the United Kingdom revealed the latter's neo-colonialist intentions. The administering Power had never shown any willingness to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and had taken care, in its statement, to make no mention of complete independence.

29. The representative of Syria asked whether the Legislative Assembly to be chosen in the elections which, according to the representative of the administering Power, were to be held in 1967, would really be in a position to decide the future of Mauritius by adopting a constitution and leading the Territory to independence if that was the wish of the population, or whether, on the contrary, it would be a passive body, content to pass minor legislation under the control of the Governor.
30. The representative of the United Kingdom, replying to the Syrian representative, said that the Legislature could lead Mauritius to independence, if the majority of its members so desired, after six months of self-government. The forthcoming elections would therefore be more than a mere formality.
31. The "free association" formula which the Tanzanian representative had criticized could not, in any case, be imposed. It was for the people of the Seychelles, acting through their representatives, to choose their ultimate status. However, it should not be forgotten that the people were divided, some wanting independence, some association, and others integration, and that the Territory's two political parties, the Seychelles Democratic Party (SDP) and the Seychelles People's United Party (SFU), had different programmes in that regard.
32. The representative of Syria said that the current debate was enabling the Sub-Committee to form a clearer idea of the situation. He asked the United Kingdom representative whether, if most of the representatives opted for independence, Mauritius would become independent in 1968. The forthcoming elections were of the greatest importance, and it seemed advisable that United Nations observers should be present.
33. The representation of the United Kingdom confirmed that, under the present arrangements, not more than six months would elapse between the general election and the attainment of independence, if that was what the newly elected legislature wanted. On this basis independence could take place by 1968, subject to the views expressed by a majority of the Legislature after the general election. The Government of Mauritius had agreed to the presence of Commonwealth observers to verify the electoral registers and supervise the voting procedures. If a formal request were made that the Sub-Committee should also send observers, he would have to consult his Government before replying.
34. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania observed that the United Kingdom representative had still not stated definitely whether his Government's policy was one which would permit the Seychelles and Mauritius to

achieve full independence. Study of the documents as well as information available to him indicated that the people wanted full independence at an early date. He also wished to know when the machinery referred to in the documents, the operation of which had already been explained, would be set up. His Government did not wish to be confronted with a fait accompli or to see the administering Power impose a point of view which was at variance with the people's desires. He also noted that the United Kingdom representative had carefully avoided mentioning the dismemberment of Territories, which was a violation of the Charter and of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). A specific reply on that point would enable the Sub-Committee to make definite recommendations to the Special Committee and the General Assembly.

35. The representative of Syria said that if the new elections on Mauritius were to be held in 1967, after which there was to be a six-month delay, the island would presumably attain independence in 1968. As to the question of observers, he hoped that the United Kingdom Government would appreciate the need for a United Nations presence during the elections. Like the Tanzanian representative, he hoped that the United Kingdom delegation would clarify the question of the dismemberment of Territories.

36. The representative of the United Kingdom pointed out to the Tanzanian representative that, as the United Kingdom Government's report indicated, it was for the members of the future legislature of the Seychelles, elected by universal suffrage, to consider the Territory's future, and that there had been no decision as to its ultimate status. As to the content of the new constitutional proposals which were to be implemented in Seychelles, all relevant details were given on page 4 and in chapter V of his Government's report on the recommendations of the constitutional adviser, and in chapter V of the adviser's report. The proposed changes would take effect when the general elections were held, i.e., in October 1967 at the latest.

37. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that his delegation would take note of the United Kingdom representative's explanations. The paramount question of sovereign rights had not, however, been clarified. The documents referred to gave no definite indication as to whether the United Kingdom planned to grant complete independence to the Territories in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). On the contrary, it appeared that the proposals in

chapter IV, paragraph 28 (a), (b) and (c), of the United Kingdom Government's report would be implemented and that a solution involving independence would be discarded, as it had in the case of the Caribbean Territories.

38. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that the discussion of the situation in Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena by the Special Committee in 1966 had clearly shown that the administering Power had not yet implemented the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant General Assembly resolutions, that the political development of the Territories was proceeding very slowly, that the electoral arrangements devised for Mauritius had been the subject of serious controversy among various groups and political parties and that universal suffrage had still not been introduced in the Seychelles. The Special Committee had also expressed concern at the establishment of the new "British Indian Ocean Territory" and the reports that it would be used as a military base, and had called upon the administering Power to respect the territorial integrity of Mauritius and Seychelles and, in keeping with operative paragraph 12 of General Assembly resolution 2105 (XX) of 20 December 1965, to refrain from using the three Territories for military purposes. It had also called upon the administering Power to recognize the right of the indigenous inhabitants to dispose of the natural resources, and to take measures to diversify the economy, of the Territories. Those conclusions and recommendations had been confirmed by the General Assembly at its twenty-first session. In resolution 2232 (XXI) the General Assembly had, inter alia, urged the administering Power to allow visiting missions to go to the Territories to study the situation and make appropriate recommendations, and had reiterated its earlier declaration that any attempt to disrupt the national unity and territorial integrity of colonial Territories or to establish military bases and installations in them was incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations and with resolution 1514 (XV). In resolution 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966 the General Assembly had requested the colonial Powers to dismantle their military bases in colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones.

39. All three Territories were, however, still under United Kingdom domination and United Kingdom Governors still had wide powers: in Mauritius, the Governor still appointed the Premier and most of the ministers, and in the Seychelles and

St. Helena he presided over both the Executive Council and the Legislative Council. The people of Mauritius had long been asking for independence, but it seemed as if the administering Power still intended to delay granting it by imposing certain conditions such as that the people should first gain experience of managing their own affairs. A study of the new "Proposals for Constitutional Advance" in the Seychelles showed that they were not intended to prepare the people for independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), but rather to perpetuate United Kingdom control of the Territory, and that independence was ruled out as a solution. Under the suggested "committee system of government", the Governor, in addition to his general reserved powers, would have direct responsibility for law and order, the public service and external affairs, and it appeared that he would retain the power to appoint the non-elected members of the Legislative Council and to nominate three other members. As the representative of Tanzania had indicated at the previous meeting, the proposed new arrangement would impede the full exercise of the right to self-determination and independence by the population in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV). Of the three possible courses suggested for the Territory, the one recommended was not even "nominal independence", but some form of "free association with the United Kingdom", which indicated that the administering Power did not wish to relinquish control of the Territory. That had been confirmed by the fact that the United Kingdom representative had given no positive reply at the previous meeting to the question of whether it did indeed intend to grant complete independence to the Seychelles. It was thus clear that the administering Power was impeding the political development of the three Territories.

40. As to the economic situation in the Territories, it was still as serious as before, if not worse. They remained a source of primary commodities and cheap labour for the metropolitan country, which prevented them from developing economic relations with other countries. According to the Secretariat working paper, as much as 73 per cent of Mauritius exports went to the United Kingdom, including most of the sugar produced, and, as the Premier of the Territory had said, progress in the diversification of the Territory's economy had been slow. A similar situation prevailed in the Seychelles and St. Helena. All three Territories

depended on a single crop, and that made economic progress very difficult. They also depended increasingly on external aid. After the prolonged domination of foreign capital the people of Mauritius were still without the means of production required to satisfy more than 10 per cent of their needs.

41. The social situation in the three Territories also continued to be distressing. There was chronic unemployment in all three and the Christian Science Monitor of 23 January 1967, described the unemployment problem in Mauritius as "hopeless". The gulf between the planters and the peasants in the Seychelles had even been admitted in the document on the proposals for constitutional advance. Furthermore, there were still no facilities for higher education in the Territories.

42. The explanation for London's constitutional manoeuvres and the delay in granting independence appeared to be that the administering Power intended to turn the Territories into military bases. In spite of the United Kingdom representative's assurances during the twenty-first session of the General Assembly that the "British Indian Ocean Territory" would not be used for military purposes, there was continuing evidence that the United Kingdom and the United States did not wish to abstain from using the new colony as an important link in their "East of Suez" policy, a policy aimed at preserving the position of the British and other foreign monopolies which exploited the natural wealth of the Middle East, southern Africa and other regions. The military installations which the United Kingdom was planning to construct in the "British Indian Ocean Territory" would be a direct threat to the countries of Asia and Africa, as the Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned States had pointed out. The Economist of 14 January 1967 had reported that the immediate aim was to station a mobile striking force in the new Territory. The United States still maintained military personnel to man rocket-tracking stations on Mahé, in the Seychelles, and on Ascension Island, which had gained lamentable notoriety as a base for United States and Belgian intervention in the Congo in 1964. There was also evidence that the United States intended to establish a communications relay station on the island of Diego Garcia.

43. The United States was therefore acting as an accomplice of the United Kingdom in violating the General Assembly resolutions relating to the Territories. The Sub-Committee must condemn the militarist activity of the imperialist Powers, which was delaying independence, and which was clearly the reason for the United Kingdom's refusal to allow a visiting mission to go to the Territories.

44. He strongly supported the proposals made by the representatives of Syria and Tanzania at the previous meeting. Since the administering Power had failed to respond to the repeated appeals of the General Assembly and the Special Committee to grant immediate independence to Mauritius, the Sub-Committee should ask the Special Committee to recommend the General Assembly to set a time-limit for the granting of independence without any conditions or reservations. In view of the continuing use of Mauritius and Seychelles for military purposes and the creation of the "British Indian Ocean Territory" in violation of General Assembly resolutions 2105 (XX), 2189 (XXI) and 2232 (XXI), the Sub-Committee should recommend that a visiting mission be sent to the Territories to study the situation and make recommendations to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session. Lastly, the administering Power should be asked to inform the Special Committee before the opening of the twenty-second session on how the recommendations of the General Assembly and the Special Committee were being implemented, especially those concerning the immediate exercise of the right to self-determination by the population, the prompt holding of elections on the basis of universal suffrage in order to create representative organs in Seychelles and St. Helena, and the safeguarding of the people's right to dispose of their own resources and create a diversified economy. Such action would help the people of the Territories towards self-determination and independence and would show them that they had the moral support of the United Nations.

45. The representative of Yugoslavia said that, once again, the Sub-Committee must take note of the fact that the administering Power had done very little in the direction of allowing the peoples of the three Territories to decide their future status and form of government freely and democratically. The administering Power had shown that it was still not prepared to implement the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and of General Assembly resolutions 2066 (XX), 2069 (XX) and 2232 (XXI).

46. Not only had there been no positive changes in the political and constitutional fields but all three Territories were also characterized by a steadily deteriorating economic situation. The Secretariat working paper spoke of a downward trend in per capita income and a rise in unemployment in Mauritius and Seychelles. The administering Power issued warnings about the deterioration in the economic and social situation but took no measures to remedy it. The chief reasons for the negative economic trends had been noted by the Sub-Committee on previous occasions: the single-crop economy, the large areas of arable land in the hands of a small number of plantation owners, and the concessions that continued to be granted to foreign monopolies under conditions which disregarded the interests of the Territories.

47. Another problem which was of extreme concern to his delegation was the violation of the territorial integrity of the Territories. The establishment of the "British Indian Ocean Territory" was contrary to the basic principles set forth in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and was an indication of neo-colonialist plans mentioned in the Cairo Declaration of non-aligned countries. On 10 November 1965, the Secretary of State for the Colonies had confirmed in the House of Commons that the new Territory was to be used by the United Kingdom and the United States for the erection of defence facilities. The statement on 16 November 1966 by the Secretary of State for Defence that no plan had been made for the creation of military bases in the Territory had done little to remove the apprehensions regarding the future plans of the two Governments concerned. The fact that the reports concerning military bases had not been categorically denied, especially when it was known that certain military installations were already being constructed, was an indication to his delegation of the existence of plans which might have dangerous consequences for the whole area. According to The Baltimore Sun, of 7 April 1967, a spokesman for the Indian Government had stated that that Government was strongly opposed to the establishment of military bases in the Indian Ocean and would raise the matter at the United Nations. The same paper stated that the United Kingdom, in co-operation with the United States, was planning to build an air strip in the Territory in order to assist in the movement of troops and aircraft from Europe to Asia.

48. The establishment of military bases could only be intended to check the process of decolonization and threaten the independence of African and Asian countries. The argument that the Governments of Mauritius and Seychelles had agreed to the transfer of the islands concerned to the new Territory was without substance because Mauritius and Seychelles were still not independent. The fact that the United Kingdom had been in a hurry to detach the Chagos Archipelago from Mauritius prior to the proclamation of independence spoke for itself.

49. With regard to recent constitutional developments in Mauritius and Seychelles, he could not accept the United Kingdom's contention that measures leading to the transfer of powers to democratically elected representatives of the people were being taken. In Mauritius, elections had once again been postponed. The statement published by the Commonwealth Office on 21 December 1966 was clearly intended to give the impression that responsibility for the delay did not rest with the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, it was his view that the administering Power alone was responsible for delaying the process of self-determination and independence.

50. In Seychelles, the situation was even more disturbing. There, the administering Power was insisting on a longer constitutional process on the pretext that the inhabitants lacked political experience. Sir Colville Deverell's proposals for constitutional advance, contained in the document which had been made available to members by the United Kingdom representative, were inconsistent with the provisions of relevant United Nations resolutions. Sir Colville complained that the political parties were primarily preoccupied with the question of the ultimate status of Seychelles rather than with constitutional evolution, but that was quite understandable. Sir Colville also stated that the question of the Territory's status could not be an immediate issue. Why not? Sir Colville went on to suggest three kinds of ultimate status which he said were the only possible kinds for a small, isolated island such as Seychelles. All three proposals involved some form of association or integration with the United Kingdom. In his delegation's view, the advancing of such suggestions was inadmissible in that it prejudged the people's decisions.

51. The United Kingdom apparently wished it to be believed that the measures proposed would significantly improve the constitutional situation. He could not agree with such a contention. It seemed that, under the new system, the ratio of

elected to appointed members of the Executive and Legislative Councils would be eight to seven. That means little, however, in view of the influence exercised by the Governor in the councils. The administering Power was clearly delaying the transfer of power to the democratically elected representatives of the people.

52. The following conclusions could be drawn with regard to the three Territories:

(a) the administering Power had failed to implement the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions; (b) it was endeavouring to delay the transfer of power to elected representatives of the people; (c) it had created a new colony out of islands detached from Mauritius and Seychelles, thus directly violating the principle of territorial integrity; (d) it was putting into effect its plans for the establishment of military bases on the so-called British Indian Ocean Territory; (e) the economic and social situation in the Territories continued to deteriorate and concessions were being granted to foreign monopolies.

53. He believed that the Sub-Committee should, on the basis of these facts, recommend that concrete measures should be taken to guarantee the rights of the peoples of the Territories to self-determination and independence. The sending of a visiting mission should be recommended, particularly to Seychelles, so that the Special Committee would not be faced with the situation it had been confronted with in the case of the British Caribbean islands.

54. The representative of Finland said that, in view of the striking differences between the three Territories under consideration in terms of political development, economic conditions, and the ethnic background and size of population, it was hard to envisage any common pattern for their constitutional advancement. The largest of the Territories, Mauritius, seemed to be well on the road to full independence. Elections were to take place in the relatively near future at a date set by the Government of Mauritius, and if the newly elected Assembly decided in favour of independence, it could be attained after a six months' transitional period. After some regrettable delay, the people of Mauritius would thus be able to express their views regarding the future status of the Territory, and it seemed that, although there were some differences among the political parties, the majority favoured progress to full independence. As it neared independence, Mauritius faced certain

difficult problems. Further action was needed to diversify its economy, and the problems resulting from the rapidly expanding population needed to be tackled, perhaps through an expanded family planning programme.

55. Political development in Seychelles seemed to be proceeding more slowly. There had been little demand for full independence and, in view of the smallness of the Territory in size and population and of its economic situation, some special constitutional arrangement might be called for, perhaps as an interim solution. He noted with satisfaction that elections were soon to be held on the basis of universal adult suffrage and that a new constitution was being prepared. It was important, however, that plans for constitutional advance should not in any way exclude the possibility of full independence. Economic development was a problem also for Seychelles and it was obvious that the Territory needed outside help.

56. Whatever future course might be chosen by the three Territories, it was essential that the choice should rest with the freely elected representatives of the people. It was equally important that the people should retain the right in the future to choose an alternative political status.

57. The representative of the United Kingdom said that the Sub-Committee had heard many familiar assertions from the representatives of the USSR and Yugoslavia, and his delegation had had to reply to them on past occasions. They ranged from the inaccurate to the fantastic. Since the general debate was not yet concluded, however, his delegation would prefer to defer its comments on the various statements which had been made to a later meeting.

58. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that his delegation had always given close attention to factual material supplied by the administering Power and derived from other sources. If the United Kingdom representative wished, he could produce the sources on which he had based his statement; they consisted mainly of United Kingdom newspapers, such as The Times and The Observer. The United Kingdom representative would find that the Soviet delegation's statements were confirmed by dispatches in such newspapers.

59. The representative of Yugoslavia said that, if his assertions were "familiar", the reason was that the colonial Power had repeatedly postponed the accession of the people to self-determination and independence. As long as that remained the case, his delegation would be obliged to repeat its arguments.

60. The representative of Tunisia pointed out that, although General Assembly resolution 2066 (XX) concerning Mauritius had invited the administering Power to take steps to implement resolution 1514 (XV), to take no action to violate the territorial integrity of Mauritius and to report to the Special Committee and the General Assembly on the implementation of resolution 2066 (XX), and although General Assembly resolution 2069 (XX) concerning a number of Territories, including Seychelles and St. Helena, had called upon the administering Power to implement the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and to allow visiting missions to visit the Territories with its full co-operation and assistance, it appeared from the information provided by the United Kingdom representative that no progress along those lines had been made in the three Territories under consideration. He had asserted that the changes which had taken place or which were planned were such as to hasten the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV), but that was open to question since the administering Power had not complied with the General Assembly's request to allow visiting missions to visit the Territories. The colonial period was still too fresh in the minds of many representatives for them to believe everything an administering Power said about the administration of Territories under its control. If the United Kingdom believed that it had fulfilled the obligations imposed on it by the international community, why did it refuse to allow representatives of the United Nations to visit the Territories and ascertain the truth of its statements? It was necessary for the United Kingdom to permit visiting missions if the present deadlock was to be broken. Everything that had been said during the current debate, including the statements of the administering Power, had already been said in previous years. All that the Sub-Committee could do, therefore, was to recommend the adoption of another resolution, reaffirm the inalienable right of the people of the Territories to self-determination and independence and request the administering Power once again to comply with United Nations resolutions. That represented no progress and it was the administering Power which was to blame. If United Nations representatives were allowed to ascertain conditions in the Territories, it would perhaps be easier to achieve a just and equitable solution of their complex problems.

61. The representative of the United Kingdom, replying to questions which had been raised during the debate, said with regard to the problem of unemployment in Mauritius and the need to diversify the country's economy that it was the policy of the Mauritius Government to do everything possible to encourage the establishment of new industries and to that end a number of incentives had been provided in the shape of tariff concessions and financial assistance by the Government Development Bank. A number of new industries had already been established, or were being considered, including factories for the production of soap, margarine and edible oil, textiles and fertilizers, for the manufacture of stationery and watches, and for the processing of synthetic jewels. Discussions had been held with representatives of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) on strengthening the local machinery for industrial production. In agriculture, the United Nations Special Fund and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) were conducting a joint survey of land and water resources and were expected to recommend various projects which should lead to the improvement and greater diversification of agricultural production. An Agricultural Marketing Board had been in operation for the preceding three years and the Mauritius Government had just approved a number of new schemes for agricultural co-operative credit. It was clear, therefore, that the Mauritius Government was determined to do everything possible to diversify the economy of the Territory and reduce its dependence on the production of primary commodities.

62. Inevitably, the Mauritius Government, like most other developing countries, had sought, in promoting local industrialization, to attract foreign capital. It was unrealistic to regard such policies as continued concessions to foreign monopolies. His delegation knew of no arrangements for foreign investment in the Territory which were intended to operate on a monopolistic basis or in a manner contrary to the interests of the people of Mauritius.

63. The representative of Syria had referred to allegations of discrimination in the sugar industry and had asked about steps being taken to protect the workers. Conditions of employment in the sugar industry were regulated by wage councils appointed by the Mauritius Ministry of Labour and there was no discrimination

among workers in any form of employment. As to the matter of hydroelectric installations, there were at present eight hydroelectric power stations operated by the Central Electricity Board of Mauritius and a ninth was to be completed by 1969. With regard to the Seychelles Taxpayers and Producers Association, he said that that organization, as indicated in paragraph 64 of the Secretariat working paper, had for some time ceased to exist.

64. The representative of Finland had invited attention to the problems of a rapidly expanding population and the desirability of an expanded family planning programme. There was now a much wider acceptance among all shades of religious opinion and communities in the Territory of the need for family planning and, with government support, certain voluntary agencies had already made a start.

65. With regard to the so-called dismemberment of Mauritius and Seychelles resulting from the establishment of the British Indian Ocean Territory, as alleged by the representatives of Syria and the United Republic of Tanzania, the new Territory was made up of a number of small scattered islands separated from both Mauritius and Seychelles by many hundreds of miles. The Chagos Archipelago, for instance, although previously administered as part of Mauritius, was geographically much nearer to the Seychelles. For nearly 100 years, all the islands, including Mauritius and Seychelles, had formed a single dependency, and thereafter, beginning about sixty years previously, the islands forming the new British Indian Ocean Territory had been attached either to Mauritius or Seychelles purely as a matter of administrative convenience. They could not be considered as a homogeneous part of either of those Territories in ethnic, geographical, economic or any other terms. The islands had no indigenous population, since they had been uninhabited when originally acquired by the United Kingdom Government and virtually all persons now living there were migrant workers. The administrative rearrangements which had been worked out freely with the Governments and elected representatives of the people of Mauritius and Seychelles and with their full agreement, in no sense, therefore, constituted a breach in the natural territorial and ethnic integrity of those Territories.

66. Some representatives, including the representative of the USSR, had implied that there was a conspiracy to delay independence and impede political development in the Territories in order to turn them into military bases. The clear assurances

given by the United Kingdom Government concerning independence for Mauritius and the information provided on constitutional progress in the Seychelles spoke for themselves. The steady progress towards full self-government and decolonization was irrefutable evidence against such allegations.

67. Some delegations had also made familiar allegations that the United Kingdom Government was planning to establish bases in the British Indian Ocean Territory. The allegations had been based exclusively on press reports, which were often highly speculative, since the role of the Press in the United Kingdom was not restricted to that of a subservient reflection of government policies. Those delegations should ignore such speculative comment and accept the clear statement made by the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Defence on 16 November 1966 that his Government had no programme for creating bases in the British Indian Ocean Territory. Although the United Kingdom Government had announced as long ago as November 1965 that the islands might provide potential sites for defence purposes such as refuelling or communications facilities, no decision had in fact been taken to establish any such facilities. Such possible uses were very far removed from the bogey of military bases threatening the independence of African and Asian countries which some delegations had sought to raise.

68. On the question raised by the representative of Syria concerning a United Nations presence during the forthcoming elections in Mauritius, his delegation would be prepared to seek instructions on any specific request which the Committee might make, but he pointed out that the Banwell Commission's report had recommended that a team of Commonwealth observers should be present during the elections and that that recommendation had been accepted by all political parties in Mauritius.

69. The representative of Syria had also asked about the need to take special account of the interests of the communities in the electoral arrangements in Mauritius. He pointed out that the Territory's population was of several different ethnic origins, and that among the political groupings and parties there were bodies which claimed to represent the Hindu and Moslem communities. Under the previous system, it had been possible for as many as fifteen out of sixty-five members of the Legislature to be nominated by the Governor in order to protect under-represented sections of the community. Since it had been impossible at the

Constitutional Conference in 1965 so reach agreement on an alternative procedure, the Banwell Commission had been appointed to make recommendations which would ensure that the main sections of the population should have an opportunity to secure fair representation of their interests. It was not the United Kingdom Government which had demanded that such special arrangements should be made, but the local political parties and especially the minority communities. Under the new electoral arrangements, there would be eight "best loser" seats out of a total of seventy. Four of those would be reserved for under-represented communities irrespective of party considerations, and the other four were intended to restore the balance of party representation in so far as it had been disturbed by the previous award of four seats on a purely communal basis. The arrangement was essentially a compromise. The United Kingdom Government had throughout not wished to impose any solution and the arrangements now in operation had been generally accepted by all sides. His Government had, however, while paying every regard to local wishes, sought to discourage political parties in the Territory from appealing exclusively to particular communities. Sixty out of the seventy members in the new Legislature would be elected in three-member constituencies in which each voter was obliged to cast his full three votes and the result of such an arrangement should be to minimize communal influences. There had, of course, been universal adult suffrage in Mauritius since 1958.

70. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that he would like to make some preliminary comments on the United Kingdom representative's statement. The United Kingdom representative, in attempting to justify the dismemberment of Mauritius and Seychelles, had spoken of distances of many hundreds of miles, but it might be pointed out that the islands in question were many thousands of miles from the United Kingdom. That fact showed the extent to which the United Kingdom regarded geographical proximity as a prerequisite for the existence of a nation. At any rate, the islands in question had always been treated as part of Mauritius and Seychelles. If the facts were as the United Kingdom presented them, one could only assume that the United Kingdom had been systematically misleading the United Nations in the information it had been submitting. If that was not the case, the United Kingdom must admit that it was now pursuing a policy incompatible with the United Nations Charter as well as contrary to the wishes of the freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples of Africa and Asia.

71. The United Kingdom representative had said that military bases were not now being built on the Indian Ocean islands, but the Tanzanian delegation would like to hear it stated that the United Kingdom Government did not intend to place any military installations, equipment or personnel on the islands, since any such installations and personnel could only be intended for aggressive purposes. The establishment by the United Kingdom of military installations in the Indian Ocean must be seen as part of the military strategy of imperialism. The installations were undoubtedly intended for use against peoples engaged in the legitimate struggle for liberation. The United Kingdom had refused to use force where it was justified, to oust Ian Smith's régime in Southern Rhodesia, but was using all the military means at its disposal against the struggling peoples of Aden and other areas. He would like to be told whether or not the United Kingdom had any military personnel or installations, including military transportation facilities, on the islands.

72. With regard to the reliability of press reports, the question was whether the United Kingdom Government had denied the reports. The Times of London had reported on 25 March 1967 that the United Kingdom was in the final stages of negotiations to buy three privately owned islands in the area for defence purposes. If the United Kingdom Government did not formally deny such reports, his delegation would assume that they were true.

73. The United Kingdom representative had dwelt at length on the need for the representation of the various communities in Mauritius. The United Kingdom, ever since it had controlled Mauritius, had pursued a systematic policy of isolating one group from another, in accordance with the principle "divide and rule". Now, when the nationalists called for independence, the colonial Power claimed that the people were divided. The electoral system under which each voter would be obliged to cast three votes was one which had been tried in Tanganyika prior to its independence and had since been discarded. Such a system actually amounted to a denial of the right of vote, as he would show in more detail at a subsequent meeting.

74. With regard to Seychelles, the United Kingdom had still not indicated that it would accede to the people's demand for independence. "Decolonization" could mean anything, and the Special Committee had seen how the United Kingdom interpreted that term in the case of six Territories in the Caribbean. He would like to be told that under the policy of the United Kingdom Government the people's demand for independence would be granted.

75. The representative of the United Kingdom, replying to the remarks of the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, said that that representative had claimed that the islands forming the British Indian Ocean Territory were part of Mauritius and Seychelles, but the only evidence he had adduced was that the islands had formerly been treated as part of Mauritius or of Seychelles for administrative purposes. That was true, but, in his view, irrelevant.

76. He formally repudiated the Tanzanian representative's unsubstantiated charge that the United Kingdom had misled the United Nations in the information it had provided on the Territories under discussion. The United Kingdom had never withheld any information relevant to the Special Committee's work, and had indeed gone much further than was strictly required by criteria of relevance. The Tanzanian representative might disbelieve the statements of official United Kingdom spokesmen if he wished, but his counter-assertions had no basis in fact. The matter referred to in The Times report cited by the Tanzanian representative had been dealt with in a statement by the Secretary of State for Defence, on 12 April 1967, who had said that the freehold of the islands in question, which were part of the British Indian Ocean Territory, had been acquired by the Government in order to ensure that they would be available for any facilities, such as refuelling or communications, which the Government might wish to establish there. The United Kingdom had provided full information on the Territories every year from 1964 onwards. There was little purpose in continually furnishing information if it was to be continually ignored.

77. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said that he would like to comment on a number of matters touched on by the United Kingdom representative. That representative had asserted that the administering Power was making efforts to diversify the economy of the Territories under discussion. It was clear, however, that any such efforts had been inadequate. There was chronic unemployment on the islands, and skilled workers were obliged to emigrate to find work. In a survey carried out by Barclays Bank, it had been stated that the United Kingdom had not been vigorous enough in its efforts to help the people of the Territories to help themselves. Basic goods required to meet the essential needs of the people had to be imported.

78. The United Kingdom representative's claim that his Government's military activities in the area were not impeding the progress of the Territories to independence would not bear examination. Preparation for self-determination must include efforts to build up the economy, and the Secretariat paper showed that military activities were impeding economic development. In paragraph 114, for example, it was stated that, from 1965, the major single source of income in St. Helena had been employment in "communication stations" on Ascension Island - i.e., a military base. Five flax mills which had been in operation in 1965 had been closed down, clearly because the labour force had been lured to the bases by advantages offered them and diverted from normal activities essential for economic independence.

79. The administering Power had denied that it was dismembering the Territories of Mauritius and Seychelles. Clearly the United Kingdom was ignoring General Assembly resolution 2232 (XXI), which stated unambiguously that any attempt at the disruption of the territorial integrity of colonial Territories and the establishment of military bases and installations there was incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter and of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

80. The representative of the administering Power had cast doubt on the veracity of reports quoted from the United Kingdom Press. He did not think, however, that the United Kingdom delegation could dispute the fact that, on 15 June 1966, the British Prime Minister had indicated that it was his Government's policy to avoid establishing large bases in populated areas and instead to rely on staging posts such as those available in the Indian Ocean, where there was virtually no local population, so that United Kingdom forces could get speedily to where they were needed at minimum cost. That statement spoke for itself.

81. The assertion that the islands in question had no population of their own was questionable. The United Kingdom Secretary of State for the Colonies had stated in 1965 that there were 1,400 people living on the islands. The inhabitants certainly did not wish to see their islands handed over to the United Kingdom for use as military bases.

82. It was asserted that the United Kingdom's military activities were not slowing progress towards independence, and that the local governments had agreed. But the agreement of governments which were not independent could not be considered valid. Under General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), self-determination must not be subject to any conditions, and no form of pressure must be exercised on the people. Once independent, the new nations could enter into whatever arrangements they wished.

83. The representative of Yugoslavia recalled that his delegation was one of those which had raised the question of the establishment of United Kingdom military bases in the Territories. The United Kingdom representative had once again referred to the statement made on 16 November 1966 by the Secretary of State for Defence that no plan had been made for the creation of military bases in the British Indian Ocean Territory. The Yugoslav delegation did not regard that statement as a categorical denial by the United Kingdom Government, since it left open the possibility of the establishment of such bases in the future. According to the United Kingdom representative, members were basing their views on press reports, which were often highly speculative. He pointed out, however, that when he had said at the Sub-Committee's 36th meeting that the Indian Government was strongly opposed to the establishment of military bases in the Indian Ocean, he had relied on a statement by a spokesman for that Government.

84. He regretted that the United Kingdom representative had not deemed it necessary to discuss the points raised in his statement regarding the preoccupation of the political parties in Seychelles with the question of the ultimate status of the Territory. In his delegation's view, that preoccupation meant that the people of Seychelles were not interested in a prolonged process of constitutional evolution. Furthermore, his delegation considered that the changes in the ratio of elected to appointed members of the Executive and Legislative Councils did not represent a significant improvement in the constitutional situation.

85. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, speaking in exercise of his right of reply, said that the United Kingdom representative's second statement had served to confirm what he himself had said earlier. The United Kingdom representative had informed members that his Government had been providing information on the new colony only since 1964. However, the Sub-Committee had been in existence for some time before that year. What the Tanzanian delegation wished

to call into question, however, was not the transmission of information but the type of information transmitted. If the Territory in question had been a United Kingdom colony, why would that country pay £3 million to Mauritius as compensation for the inclusion of certain of its islands in the "British Indian Ocean Territory"? Colonialism under any guise was a crime against humanity and military aggression was even worse.

86. At a previous meeting the United Kingdom Government had been called upon to indicate whether its policy was to lead the Territories to independence. The United Kingdom Government had ignored the demand of the people of Seychelles for unfettered independence. In his delegation's view, it was important that the United Kingdom Government should co-operate with the Sub-Committee and the Special Committee and agree to the sending of a visiting mission to Mauritius and Seychelles. It was essential that that Government should renounce its colonial policy in those Territories.

87. The representative of Tunisia recalled that a recent resolution of the General Assembly had called upon the administering Power to make it possible for the United Nations to send a visiting mission to the Territories under consideration. He stressed that the question of visiting missions was a matter of primary importance and the United Kingdom representative had not given a satisfactory reply in that regard. It was necessary for members to have a clear idea of the United Kingdom Government's position on the possibility of sending a visiting mission to Mauritius and Seychelles for the purpose of ascertaining the situation in those Territories. With regard to Mauritius, the United Kingdom representative had said that a group of observers from the Commonwealth would be invited to be present during the forthcoming elections. But he had said nothing about the Seychelles or St. Helena. In any event, what was of concern to members was the role of the United Nations.

88. The representative of the United Kingdom pointed out that the statement made in Parliament by the Secretary of State for Defence on 16 November 1966 had been in reply to a question concerning the estimated cost of establishing military bases in the British Indian Ocean Territory. The Secretary had said that as no plan had been made for the creation of such bases, he could not give any figure for the cost of such a scheme. The Soviet Union representative had referred to a statement made by the United Kingdom Prime Minister on 16 June 1966. However, a careful reading

of that statement would not reveal any inconsistency, since the Prime Minister had spoken of the possibility of establishing facilities for refuelling and communications purposes.

89. With regard to the question of population, he had pointed out that there was no indigenous population in the British Indian Ocean Territory and that most of the people living there were migrant workers. The Soviet representative had again claimed that military activities in the area impeded constitutional development. He himself did not think that that view would be shared by the inhabitants of Malta or Singapore. In any event, his Government was not conducting any military activities in any of the Territories under consideration. The United Kingdom Government had provided a grant of £3 million to Mauritius and, in the case of the Seychelles, had undertaken to build an international airfield, which would contribute greatly to the economic development of the Territory. The Soviet Union representative had referred to figures in the Secretariat working paper and had claimed that the solution of unemployment in St. Helena was dependent on military activities. The United Kingdom delegation wished to point out that a total of 342 St. Helenians - as against 323 in 1964 - had worked on Ascension Island in 1965 and that of that total, 150 had been employed by British Government Cable and Wireless, Limited and 68 by the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works for the construction of a British Broadcasting Corporation relay station.

90. With regard to the Tanzanian representative's remarks concerning the transmission of information by the United Kingdom delegation, he wished to point out that his delegation had always provided full information on the Territories and that it was his understanding that the Sub-Committee had first begun to consider Mauritius, the Seychelles and St. Helena in 1964. Since then, his delegation had provided information on those Territories to the Sub-Committee and the Fourth Committee in 1965 and 1966.

91. His delegation took note of the comments of the Tunisian representative, and his Government would consider any request made by the Sub-Committee as a whole concerning the sending of visiting missions.

92. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said, with regard to British Government Cable and Wireless, Limited, that its activities were not solely concerned with civilian operations. The United Kingdom newspaper, The Observer, had said that the cable was likely to become the main channel for relaying data back to Cape Kennedy. It was obvious that such data would be of a military nature. With regard to St. Helena and Ascension Island, he noted that the United Kingdom and the Republic of South Africa had recently held negotiations concerning the Simonstown naval base. According to a report in The Times, it had been agreed that the United Kingdom would continue to enjoy the right to fly over South Africa in the event of trouble in the Middle East. It was thus clear that those negotiations had been designed to serve the interests of the United Kingdom and to enable that country to hinder the progress of the peoples of the Middle East towards independence.

93. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said it was obvious that the representative of the United Kingdom and he were not speaking the same language. The representative of the United Kingdom had said that his Government had made a grant to Mauritius. Yet, according to paragraph 40 of the Secretariat working paper, on 20 December 1966, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State had said that the United Kingdom had provided Mauritius with financial aid totalling £8.1 million, in addition to the compensation of £3 million paid for the inclusion of certain groups of its islands in the British Indian Ocean Territory. That showed clearly that the United Kingdom had had to pay for those islands.

94. The representative of Yugoslavia said that his delegation continued to hold the view that the statement made by the Secretary of State for Defence did not constitute a denial of any intention on the part of the United Kingdom to establish military bases in the new colony.

95. The representative of Mali noted that, in his initial statement at the 35th meeting, the United Kingdom representative had said that, in Mauritius, constitutional discussions between the United Kingdom and the representatives of the various political parties had already set the stage for independence - thus implying that there was no need for the Sub-Committee to consider whether General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was being implemented. That was an over-simplification of the situation. Indeed, if one examined the political and economic situation in

Mauritius, as in the other two Territories under discussion, one found that resolution 1514 (XV) was not being implemented and that basic United Nations principles were being disregarded. According to those principles, peoples had a right to self-determination and independence, decisions on constitutional changes must be left in the hands of the peoples themselves, territorial integrity must be respected and - a principle which was vital to genuine independence - the right of peoples to sovereignty over their natural resources must be guaranteed. All those principles were being flouted. In addition, military bases were being established in the Territories, despite the General Assembly decision that the establishment of such bases in colonial territories was incompatible with the United Nations Charter and resolution 1514 (XV).

96. The United Kingdom representative had gone on to say that, at the end of the Constitutional Conference held in 1965, the Secretary of State for the Colonies had announced that Mauritius would achieve independence if a resolution asking for it was passed by a simple majority of the Legislative Assembly resulting from a new general election. He found that condition surprising. He would have thought that a constitutional conference would represent the last step before independence; the requirement for new elections constituted a barrier in the path to independence. It was hard for him to conceive of a people deciding against independence, but apparently the United Kingdom hoped to ensure that the complexion of the new Assembly was favourable to it.

97. With regard to the arrangements for the elections he noted that, according to paragraph 18 of the Secretariat working paper the total electorate was about 340,000, or 48 per cent of the population. Since the rate of population growth was high and the population was predominantly young, the minimum voting age of twenty-one had the effect of excluding a large part of the population, and giving the electorate an unrepresentative character. That illustrated the danger of allowing the United Kingdom to organize the elections to a body which was to vote on the question of independence.

98. Paragraph 16 of the Secretariat paper revealed that a number of seats were to be filled by the "best losers" in the elections. He found such an arrangement extraordinary, since it meant seating people who had been rejected by the electorate and thus reversing the democratic decision of the people.

99. It was clear from the Secretariat paper that there had been no economic progress in any of the Territories and that no attempt was being made to alter the structure of the economy in order to ensure economic progress in the future. Mauritius depended essentially on the production of sugar and coffee. In view of the world market situation with regard to coffee, with severe fluctuations in prices and low price levels, coffee-producing countries were trying hard to redirect their production. It was clear that coffee provided no basis for economic development, and the situation was similar with regard to sugar. As far as employment was concerned, economic growth was not keeping pace with the rapid rise in population and chronic unemployment and underemployment resulted. No real solution to that problem was yet in sight.

100. The representative of Ethiopia said that very little had been accomplished towards implementing the provisions of relevant General Assembly resolutions in Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena. The Special Committee and the General Assembly had repeatedly reaffirmed the right of the people of those Territories to freedom and independence and had invited the administering Power to take effective measures to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Yet the Sub-Committee was obliged to take up the question once again. In September 1966, the United Kingdom delegation had informed the Sub-Committee that registration for the purpose of the new elections had been due to begin on 1 September 1966 but, because of Ramadan, the elections could not be held before February 1967; it had added that Mauritius could thus achieve independence during the summer of 1967.

101. At the 35th meeting, however, in reply to a question from the representative of Syria, the United Kingdom representative had said that independence would probably be obtained in 1968. For certain reasons, the elections due to be held in February 1967 had been postponed. She regretted to have to say that her delegation was not satisfied with the reasons given for the delay. The Ethiopian delegation urged the United Kingdom Government to hold the promised elections at an early date. The people of Mauritius had expressed their wish for independence in 1965 at the London Constitutional Conference, but they were still waiting for the day of independence to arrive. Her delegation appealed to the administering Power to implement fully the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and People.

102. With regard to Seychelles and St. Helena, developments were still very slow; hardly any progress had been made in either the political, economic or social situation. As could be seen from Sir Colville Deverell's report, the situation in Seychelles remained serious. Sir Colville had expressed the opinion that, in view of the political inexperience of the people, constitutional evolution should proceed "with reasonable deliberation", and had complained that the preoccupation of the political parties with the question of the ultimate status of Seychelles was distracting attention from the more immediate matter of the next steps along the path of constitutional evolution. Whatever Sir Colville's views on the people's preoccupation with the question of the Territory's ultimate status might be, her conclusion was that the people of Seychelles were anxiously awaiting full independence. She would therefore like to see the administering Power comply with the people's wishes on the basis of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions.

103. As to economic conditions, Seychelles had been unable to balance its budget without external aid since 1958, unemployment was increasing, the rate of population growth was rising and agricultural production remained static. That was a sad situation in a country soon to become independent, and her delegation urged the United Kingdom Government to take immediate steps to help Seychelles cope with its economic and social problems.

104. She had also noted that very little progress had been made in St. Helena in the economic, social and political fields. Her delegation appealed to the administering Power to implement resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant General Assembly resolutions in respect of St. Helena. Most particularly, as far as all three Territories were concerned, it recommended that the administering Power should do its utmost to solve the educational, social and economic problems with which they were faced.

105. The representative of Syria, referring to the answers given to his questions by the representative of the United Kingdom, thought he was justified in asking what was the potential economic wealth of the Territories and to what extent that potential had been realized for the benefit of the population. There were indications that Mauritius had considerable potential in hydroelectric power, yet,

according to the representative of the administering Power, there were only eight hydroelectric stations now in operation and a ninth under construction. He would be interested to know what the production was in kilowatts, to what use it was put and whether it was helping to raise the economic standard of the population.

106. The representative of the administrative Power had indicated that unemployment was decreasing, but he wondered why there was any unemployment at all in a place which was apparently so rich in natural resources and when a relatively extensive economic development project might absorb all available manpower, and even require more. The United Kingdom had both the capital and technical knowledge for such a project.

107. The representative of the United Kingdom had dwelt on the benign nature of the strategic installations on the islands, claiming that they were only refuelling stations. He wondered whether they had been constructed on Mauritian land with the express free consent of the people. If not, were they not impeding self-determination and independence?

108. He welcomed the assurance given that there was no discrimination in the sugar or other industries, but asked what were the salary scales for Europeans and indigenous employees and whether the latter had access to managerial positions.

109. He urged the administering Power to give replies that provided a comprehensive picture of the islands under its administration, and not merely partial answers. What was important was that the people should freely exercise their right to self-determination, that there should be social, economic and political progress and that the sovereignty of the people and the territorial integrity of their land should be respected. The Sub-Committee should not base its conclusions on the opinion of the administering Power as to what was reasonable.

110. The representative of the United Kingdom, replying to the comments made by the representative of Mali concerning the delay in granting independence to Mauritius following the 1965 Constitutional Conference and the requirement that a new Legislature should approve a request for independence, referred him to the report of that Conference, which had made it very clear that there had by no means been agreement as to whether the issue of independence had been fully considered at

previous general elections and that it had been decided by the parties represented at the Conference that steps should be taken to review the electoral arrangements before new elections were held. Two points of view had been expressed: one had been that there was no need to consult the people regarding the future status of Mauritius since their desire for independence had been demonstrated by their support in three general elections for the parties favouring independence, but that it would be appropriate to hold general elections before independence so that the newly elected Government could lead the country into independence; the opposing argument advanced had been that the question of independence had not been a prominent issue in previous general elections and it was therefore doubtful whether the voters really desired it.

111. Those had been the views not of the United Kingdom Government, but of the parties represented at the Conference. Agreement had therefore been reached on the procedure he had described and, if a majority of the newly elected Legislature so decided, independence could be granted within a period of six months. The reasons why the approval of a majority in the Legislature was required were perfectly clear to anyone familiar with democratic procedures. As he had made clear in earlier statements, the delay in holding general elections had been caused by the process of reviewing the electoral system and the initiative now lay with the Government of Mauritius. In December 1966, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for the Colonies, after discussions with the Prime Minister of Mauritius, had expressed the hope that the latter would share his wish for early elections and the Prime Minister of Mauritius had confirmed that he wished elections to be held in 1967. The United Kingdom could do no more; the initiative for holding elections lay with the Mauritians themselves.

112. On the question of the voting age, which had also been raised by the representative of Mali, the franchise arrangements had been reviewed at the 1965 Constitutional Conference and the leaders of the parties represented had agreed to leave it unchanged. It had therefore been the decision of the Mauritian representatives themselves. There was, moreover, nothing unusual in a minimum voting age of 21; that was the case in many countries.

113. With reference to the salary scale in the sugar industry, he assured the representative of Syria that no sections of the population of Mauritius could be regarded as indigenous in the sense valid in other parts of the world. No distinction was made in the sugar industry between the Europeans and other sections of the population.

114. He repeated that no refuelling facilities had so far been constructed in the British Indian Ocean Territory and no decision had yet been taken to do so.

115. The representative of Mali said that he had been surprised by the United Kingdom representative's answer to his question concerning the delay in granting independence. In paragraph 20 of the Secretariat working paper, it was stated that neither the United Kingdom Government nor the Government of Mauritius could avoid the subsequent delays. Internal political difficulties alone could not be the cause for the delay; one cause appeared to be the requirement that a newly elected Legislature should first approve a resolution asking for independence. He believed that after the 1965 Constitutional Conference the path to independence had been wide open. There was some doubt in his mind as to the United Kingdom's willingness to move towards the emancipation of the Territory.

116. On the question of the minimum voting age, it should be recognized that the population of Mauritius was a somewhat special case because of the age pyramid and the rapid growth of population. To give the franchise only to those over the age of twenty-one would favour the population of mixed and French descent who mainly supported the Parti Mauricien Social Démocrate (PMSD), which was in favour of preserving the links with the administering Power. That indicated what the outcome of the proposed popular consultation would probably be. In many countries the minimum voting age was eighteen. If that were adopted in Mauritius, 75 per cent of the population, instead of 48 per cent, would be entitled to vote and the majority would then consist of young people who did not belong to the land-owning class. The situation presented complex problems which should be studied carefully since the future of a nation was at stake.

117. He was deeply concerned over the strict dependence of Mauritius on coffee and sugar. A country which was about to become independent should not depend on those two products alone. Mauritius, for instance, was entirely dependent on Madagascar for rice. If something could be done to make the Territory less dependent on the

fluctuating prices for coffee and sugar, the United Kingdom should inform the Sub-Committee. It should also diversify agricultural production so that the Territory, which had a rich soil, could satisfy more of its own needs.

118. The representative of the United Kingdom said that the requirement that a request for independence should first be approved by a majority of the newly elected Legislature of Mauritius was no more than a guarantee of the democratic expression of the wishes of the people. It was true that the PMSD did not support full independence, but he pointed out that that party represented not only those of European or mixed descent but also many of African descent who were resident in the Territory. It was hoped, however, that the new electoral arrangements would cut across such communal or racial considerations.

119. In his statement at the Sub-Committee's 37th meeting, he had mentioned the various efforts being made to promote new industry and diversify the economy of Mauritius. Both the United Kingdom Government and the Government of Mauritius fully realized the need for diversification.

120. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agreed with the representative of Mali that the administering Power should give some thought to lowering the minimum voting age, especially since the population of Mauritius did not have a long life-expectancy. The explanation given by the United Kingdom representative was not convincing. What was good for other countries was not necessarily good for Mauritius. Some countries recognized that people already had opinions by the age of eighteen and were in a position to decide how to vote.

121. He had been glad to hear from the representative of the administering Power that there were at present no plans to establish military bases in the Territories, especially in the new colony. That would have been satisfactory if there had not been reports to the contrary. There was considerable concern in Africa and Asia on that point and there had even been discussion in the United Kingdom Parliament. He understood that the United Kingdom representative in New Delhi had been handed a statement pointing out that military preparations in the Indian Ocean were contrary to the spirit of the United Nations Charter, and the spokesman for the Indian Government, to whose statement the Yugoslav representative had referred, was very well informed about the discussions in the Special Committee, and in the United Nations in general, and he was reported to have expressed the hope that the United Kingdom Government would take those discussions into account

and would give up any plans to establish military bases in the Territories. He still did not consider the United Kingdom statement definitive; but if it was, he welcomed it.

122. The representative of the United Kingdom pointed out that it was the elected representatives of the people of Mauritius themselves who had decided to retain a minimum voting age of twenty-one. What was more important was that in Mauritius the voters had a free choice between various political parties and a free choice of candidates.

123. He had noted the USSR representative's comments concerning India's views. No doubt when the question was discussed at a later stage by the plenary Special Committee the Indian representative would make clear his Government's position on the matter.

B. Conclusions

124. The Sub-Committee notes with regret that the administering Power has still not implemented the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) and of other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly concerning Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena, and is still unduly delaying the achievement of independence by these Territories.

125. The Sub-Committee notes with regret the inadequacy of political progress in these Territories. The administering Power, through the Governor, continues to exercise vast powers, particularly in the constitutional and the legislative fields. In Seychelles, the administering Power is insisting on a longer constitutional process under the pretext that the people of the Territory lack political experience. Moreover, the new "proposals for constitutional advance" do not accelerate but, in fact, delay the transfer of power to democratically elected representatives of the people as provided for in resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly.

126. By creating a new territory, "the British Indian Ocean Territory", composed of islands detached from Mauritius and Seychelles, the administering Power continues to violate the territorial integrity of these Non-Self-Governing Territories and to defy resolutions 2066 (XX) and 2232 (XXI) of the General Assembly.

127. The Sub-Committee notes with concern that, notwithstanding the denials by the administering Power, there is still evidence to indicate that the United Kingdom intends to use portions of these territories for military purposes in collaboration with the Government of the United States of America. The Sub-Committee is of the firm

opinion that such military installations create international tension and arouse the concern of the peoples of Africa and Asia, especially those in the vicinity of the installations.

128. The economic situation in Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena remains unsatisfactory. The Territories suffer from shortage of capital and depend entirely on few crops and external aid. Efforts by the administering Power to diversify the economy of the Territories have been inadequate. Concessions to foreign companies continue and the interests of the peoples are not safeguarded.

129. The social situation in the Territories continues to arouse concern. There is a downward trend in per capita income and a rise in unemployment in Mauritius and Seychelles. In Mauritius, the workers in the sugar industry rightly complain of discriminatory practices. There are still no facilities for higher education in the Territories.

C. Recommendations

130. The Sub-Committee recommends that the Special Committee take concrete measures to insure that the right of the peoples of Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, is respected by the administering Power.

131. The Special Committee should urge the administering Power to grant the Territories the political status their peoples freely choose. The administering Power should consequently refrain from taking any measure incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations and with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

132. The Special Committee should once again reaffirm that any constitutional changes must be left to the peoples of the Territories themselves, who alone have the right to decide on the form of government they wish to adopt.

133. The administering Power should without delay hold free elections in the Territories on the basis of universal suffrage and transfer all powers to the representative organs elected by the people.

134. The Special Committee should recommend that the General Assembly set a time limit for the granting of independence to Mauritius and accelerate the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) regarding Seychelles and St. Helena.

135. The Sub-Committee recommends that a visiting mission should be sent to the Territories to ascertain the extent of the progress achieved towards the goal of self-determination and independence.
136. The administering Power should once again be called upon to respect the territorial integrity of Mauritius and Seychelles and to return to these Territories the islands detached from them.
137. The Special Committee should urge the administering Power to refrain from any military activity in the Territories, especially in the islands detached from Mauritius and Seychelles and in Ascension Island. Such activity would constitute an act of hostility against the peoples of Africa and Asia and a threat to international peace and security.
138. The administering Power should once again be called upon to safeguard the right of the peoples of the Territories to dispose of the natural resources of their countries and to undertake effective measures for creation of a diversified economy.
139. The administering Power should be asked to inform the Special Committee before the opening of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly concerning the implementation of the recommendations of the General Assembly and the Special Committee.

D. Adoption of report

140. This report was adopted by the Sub-Committee at its 39th meeting on 10 May 1967. The representative of Finland stated that certain parts of the conclusions and the recommendations were not in accord with and did not reflect the views expressed by his delegation at the Sub-Committee's meeting on 13 April 1967. His delegation therefore could not support all the conclusions and recommendations of the report.
