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REPORT

UNISA COLLECTION

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

VOLUME I

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS: TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION SUPPLEMENT No.23 (A/8423/Rev.1)

(223 p.)



UNITED NATIONS

REPORT

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UNITED NATIONS

New York, 1974

NOTE

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

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

For documents A/7623 and addenda and A/8023 and addenda mentioned in the present report, see: Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), and ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1).

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^{*} The present version of chapters I to V is a consolidation of the following documents as they appeared in provisional form: A/8423 (Part I) of 2 December 1971; A/8423 (Part II) of 24 November 1971; A/8423 (Part III) of 4 November 1971; A/8423 (Part IV) and Add.1, of 12 November and 2 December 1971; and A/8423/Add.1 of 27 September 1971.

<u>/Original: English</u>/

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CHAPTER I

(A/8423 (Part I))

ESTABLISHMENT, ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE CPECIAL COMMITTEE

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

26 November 1971

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith the report to the General Assembly of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2708 (XXV) of 14 December 1970. This report covers the work of the Special Committee during 1971.

The report of the Special Committee concerning "Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa", which was the subject of paragraph 13 of General Assembly resolution 2703 (XXV) of 14 December 1970 has been circulated in document A/8398 and Add.1.

(Signed) Rafic JOUEJATI

Acting Chairman

Special Committee on the Situation with regard
to the Implementation of the Declaration on the

Granting of Independence to Colonial

Countries and Peoples

His Excellency U Thant Secretary-General United Nations New York

CHAPTER I

ESTABLISHMENT, ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

A. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

- 1. The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was established by the General Assembly pursuant to its resolution 1654 (XVI) of 27 November 1961. The Committee was requested to examine the application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of the implementation of the Declaration.
- 2. At its seventeenth session, the General Assembly, following its consideration of the report of the Special Committee, 1/ adopted resolution 1810 (XVII) of 17 December 1962, by which it enlarged the Special Committee by the addition of seven new members. It invited the Special Committee "to continue to seek the most suitable ways and means for the speedy and total application of the Declaration to all Territories which have not yet attained independence".
- 3. At the same session, the General Assembly, in its resolution 1805 (XVII) of 14 December 1962 on the question of South West Africa, requested the Special Committee to discharge <u>mutatis mutandis</u> the tasks assigned to the Special Committee for South West Africa by resolution 1702 (XVI) of 19 December 1961. By resolution 1806 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, the General Assembly decided to dissolve the Special Committee for South West Africa.
- 4. The General Assembly, at its eighteenth session, by resolution 1970 (XVIII) of 16 December 1963, decided to dissolve the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and requested the Special Committee to study the information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations. It also requested the Special Committee to take this information fully into account in examining the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration in each of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and to undertake any special study and prepare any special report it might consider necessary.

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

- 5. At the same session, and at each subsequent session, the General Assembly, after considering the report of the Special Committee, has adopted a resolution reviewing the mandate of the Special Committee. 2/
- 6. Following its consideration of the report of the Special Committee on the item entitled "Special programme of activities in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" 3/ at its twenty-fifth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, which contained a programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration. Paragraph 3 (9) of the resolution reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

...

"3. Adopts the following programme of action to assist in the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples:

. . .

- "(9) The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples shall continue to examine the full compliance of all States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization. The question of territorial size, geographical isolation and limited resources should in no way delay the implementation of the Declaration. Where resolution 1514 (XV) has not been fully implemented with regard to a given Territory, the General Assembly shall continue to bear responsibility for that Territory until such time as the people concerned has had an opportunity to exercise freely its right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration. The Special Committee is hereby directed:
 - "(a) To continue to assist the General Assembly in finding the best ways and means for the final liquidation of colonialism;
 - "(b) To continue to give special consideration to the views expressed orally or in written communications by representatives of the peoples in the colonial Territories;

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

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

- "(c) To continue to send visiting missions to the colonial Territories and to hold meetings at places where it can best obtain first-hand information on the situation in colonial Territories, as well as to continue to hold meetings away from Headquarters as appropriate;
- "(d) To assist the General Assembly in making arrangements, in co-operation with the administering Powers, for securing a United Nations presence in the colonial Territories to participate in the elaboration of the procedural measures for the implementation of the Declaration and to observe the final stages of the process of decolonization in the Territories;
- "(e) To prepare draft rules and regulations for visiting missions for approval by the General Assembly."
- 7. At the same session, the General Assembly, following its consideration of the report of the Special Committee covering its work during 1970, 4/ adopted resolution 2708 (XXV) of 14 December 1970, the operative paragraphs of which read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

. . .

- "1. Reaffirms its resolution 1514 (XV) and all its other resolutions on the question of decolonization;
- "2. Notes with satisfaction the work accomplished by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and expresses its appreciation to the Special Committee for its efforts to secure the complete and effective implementation of the Declaration;
- "3. Approves the report of the Special Committee covering its work during 1970, 5/ including the programme of work envisaged for 1971;
- "4. <u>Urges</u> all States, in particular the administering Powers, and the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to give effect to the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee for the speedy implementation of the Declaration and the relevant United Nations resolutions;
- "5. Reaffirms its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the colonial peoples and peoples under alien domination to exercise their right to self-determination and independence by all the necessary means at their disposal and notes with satisfaction the progress made in the colonial Territories by the national liberation movements, both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes;

^{4/ &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, <u>Supplement No. 23</u> (A/8023/Rev.1).

^{5/} Ibid.

- "6. Urges all States and the specialized agencies and other organisations within the United Nations system to provide, in consultation, as appropriate, with the Organization of African Unity, moral and material assistance to national liberation movements in the colonial Territories;
- "7. Requests all States, as well as the specialized agencies and international institutions, to withhold assistance of any kind from the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and from the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia until they renounce their policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination;
- "8. Reiterates its declaration that the practice of using mercenaries against national liberation movements in the colonial Territories constitutes a criminal act and calls upon all States to take the necessary measures to prevent the recruitment, financing and training of mercenaries in their territory and to prohibit their nationals from serving as mercenaries:
- "9. Requests the colonial Powers to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones;
- "10. Cordemns the policies, pursued by certain colonial Powers in the Territories under their domination, of imposing non-representative régimes and constitutions, strengthening the position of foreign economic and other interests, misleading world public opinion and encouraging the systematic influx of foreign immigrants while evicting, displacing and transferring the indigenous inhabitants to other areas, and calls upon those Powers to desist forthwith from such policies:
- "ll. Requests the Special Committee to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration in all Territories which have not yet attained independence and, in particular, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism, taking fully into account the relevant provisions of the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration;
- "12. Requests the Special Committee to make concrete suggestions which could assist the Security Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations with regard to developments in colonial Territories which are likely to threaten international peace and security, and recommends that the Security Council take such suggestions fully into consideration:
- "13. Requests the Special Committee to continue to examine the compliance of Nember States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization, particularly those relating to the Territories under Portuguese domination, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session;
- "14. Requests the Special Committee to continue 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 and without delay their right to self-determination and independence;

- "15. Calls upon the administering Powers to co-operate fully with the Special Committee by permitting the access of visiting groups to the colonial Territories in order to secure first-hand information concerning the Territories and to ascertain the wishes and aspirations of the inhabitants of those Territories under their administration;
- "16. Requests the Secretary-General, having regard to the suggestions of the Special Committee, to continue to take concrete measures through all the media at his disposal, including publications, radio and television, to give widespread and continuous publicity to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, to the situation in the colonial Territories and to the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by the colonial peoples;
- "17. Requests Member States, in particular the administering Powers, to co-operate with the Secretary-General in promoting the large-scale dissemination of information on the work of the United Mations in the implementation of the Declaration;
- "18. Requests the Secretary-General to provide the Special Committee with the facilities and personnel necessary for the implementation of the present resolution as well as the various resolutions relating to the question of decolonization adopted by the General Assembly and the Special Committee."
- 8. As the same session, the General Assembly also adopted 15 resolutions which, inter alia, assigned specific tasks to the Special Committee, as well as a number of other resolutions which are relevant to the work of the Special Committee. These decisions are listed below:

(a) Resolutions and decisions concerning specific Territories

Territory	Resolution No.	Date of adoption
Southern Rhodesia	2652 (XXV)	3 December 1970
Mamibia	2678 (XXV)	9 December 1970
Namibia	2679 (XXV)	9 December 1970
Hamibia	2680 (XXA)	9 December 1970
Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea	2700 (XXV)	14 December 1970
Oman	2702 (XXV)	14 December 1970
Territories under Portuguese	2707 (XXV)	14 December 1970

Territory	Resolution No.	Date of adoption
American Samoa, Antigua, Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands Brunei, Cayman Islands Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Dominica, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Grenada, Guam, Montserrat, New Hebrides, Niue, Pitcairn, St. Helena, St. Kitts- Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Tokelau Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands and United States Virgin Islands	2709 (XXV)	14 December 1970
Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis- Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent	2710 (XXV)	14 December 1970
Spanish Sahara	2711 (XXV)	14 December 1970
(b) Resolut	tions concerning other items	
	Resolution No.	Date of adoption
Information from Non-Self- Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations	2701 (XXV)	14 December 1970
Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa	2703 (XXV)	14 December 1970

southern Africa

Item	Resolution No.	Date of adoption
Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations	2704 (XXV)	14 December 1970
Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self- Governing Territories	2705 (XXV)	14 December 1970
United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa	2706 (XXV)	14 December 1970
	lutions relevant to the work the Special Committee	<u>of</u>
Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations	2625 (XXV)	24 October 1970
Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations	2627 (XXV)	24 October 1970
Youth, its education in the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, its problems and needs, and its participation in national development	2633 (XXV)	11 November 1970
Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination	2646 (XXV)	30 November 1970
The importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights	56#3 (XXA)	30 November 1970
The policies of <u>spartheid</u> of the Government of South Africa	2671 A (XXV)	8 December 1970

<u>Item</u>	Resolution No.	Date of adoption
The policies of <u>apartheid</u> of the Government of South Africa	2671 E (XXV)	8 December 1970
The policies of <u>apartheid</u> of the Government of South Africa	2671 F (XXV)	8 December 1970
Respect for human rights in armed conflicts	2674 (XXV)	9 December 1970
Respect for human rights in armed conflicts	2676 (XXV)	9 December 1970
Pattern of conferences	2693 (XXV)	11 December 1970
Question of the punishment of war criminals and of persons who have committed crimes against humanity	2712 (XXV)	15 December 1970
Question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination, and segregation and of apartheid, in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and Territories	2714 (XXV)	15 December 1970
Publications and documentation of the United Nations	2732 (XXV)	16 December 1970
Declaration on the strengthening of International Security	2734 (XXV)	16 December 1970

- 9. In a letter dated 28 January 1969, the Permanent Representative of Australia informed the Secretary-General that the Government of Australia had decided to withdraw from membership of the Special Committee 6/. At its 1838th plenary meeting, on 17 December 1969, the General Assembly decided to defer action with regard to the replacement of Australia on the Special Committee.
- 10. During its twenty-fifth session, the General Assembly had before it communications from the delegations of Honduras, Norway and Italy, 7/ stating that their respective Governments had decided to withdraw from membership of the Special Committee.

^{6/} Ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 23, document A/7507.

^{7/} Ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes, agenda item 23, documents A/8154, A/8205 and A/8206.

- 11. At its 1933rd meeting, on 17 December 1970, the General Assembly, on the nomination of the President, agreed to the appointment of Fiji, Sweden and Trinidad and Tobago to fill, with immediate effect, three of the four vacancies of the Special Committee.
- 12. Subsequently, in letters dated 11 January 1971 addressed to the Secretary-General, the Permanent Representatives of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America stated that their respective Governments had decided to withdraw from the Special Committee (A/8276, A/8277).
- 13. As at 1 February 1971, the Special Committee was therefore composed of the following members:

Afghanistan Poland Bulgaria Sierra Leone

Ecuador Sweden

Ethiopia Syrian Arab Republic Fiji Trinidad and Tobago

India Tunisia

Iran Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Iraq United Republic of Tanzania

Ivory Coast Venezuela Madagascar Yugoslavia

Mali

14. The present report covers the work of the Special Committee for the period 11 February 1971 to 26 November 1971, during which it held 52 plenary meetings. During the same period the Working Group and Sub-Committees held 70 meetings.

B. OPENING OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE'S MEETINGS IN 1971

15. The first meeting of the Special Committee in 1971 (781st meeting), held on 11 February, was opened by the Secretary-General.

Opening statement by the Secretary-General

- 16. The Secretary-General welcomed all the members present, and particularly the representatives of Fiji, Sweden and Trinidad and Tobago, who were serving on the Special Committee for the first time. When the Committee had been apprised of the withdrawal of Honduras, Norway and Italy at the close of the previous session, members had had an opportunity to pay a tribute to those delegations for the contribution they had made to the work of the Committee. He wished to associate himself with the sentiments already expressed.
- 17. He noted the more recent withdrawal of the United Kingdom and the United States of America, both of which had served on the Special Committee since it was first established eight years before and both of which had played a particularly useful role in the Committee in their position as administering Powers. Their departure was therefore especially regretted because it meant that the Committee would be deprived of the full-time participation of two administering Powers which together were responsible for the administration of the majority of the remaining dependent Territories.
- 18. While the Special Committee would share his regret at their withdrawal, members would doubtless have taken note of the assurances given by the Government of the United States regarding its continued adherence to its obligations under the relevant provisions of the Charter and its readiness to attend meetings of the Committee when the latter discussed Territories under its administration. He was sure the Committee would receive similar co-operation from the United Kingdom. that connexion, it was perhaps appropriate to observe that all Member States, whether administering Powers or not, shared an overriding commitment under the Charter to co-operate in the pursuit of its objectives, a commitment which was in no way enhanced or diminished by their membership or non-membership of any particular committee. For this reason, he was confident that the United Kingdom and the United States would continue to co-operate fully in United Nations efforts to bring a speedy end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. He had no doubt that their co-operation in that regard would be unaffected by their withdrawal from membership of the Special Committee.
- 19. The programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV), had been adopted as a result of the recognition by the General Assembly of the need, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration, to evaluate the progress made so far in the implementation of the Declaration and, taking into account the various existing obstacles, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism. That General Assembly action underlined what he had said on so many

occasions: that the continued denial to the peoples of dependent Territories of their fundamental right to self-determination and independence was not only incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter but was also an impediment to world peace and co-operation. It was not necessary for him to emphasize, therefore, the importance that was attached to the work of the Special Committee to which the Assembly had assigned the task of examining the application of the Declaration and making suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of its implementation.

- In approaching its tasks in 1971, the Special Committee would no doubt wish to reflect on the present slow rate of progress towards the goal of complete decolonization in the remaining 44 dependent Territories and on the complex problems which had yet to be resolved. As he had pointed out in his address to the Committee the previous year, the inability of the international community to achieve any major progress in the past few years towards the final goal of the Declaration had been a source of continuing disappointment and frustration. Particularly disculating had been the failure so far of collective efforts by the international community to put an end to the impasse in southern Africa, where no less than 18 million dependent people living under conditions of ruthless discrimination and repression were denied the most fundamental human rights. In Namibia, the Government of South Africa persisted in its refusal to implement General Assembly resolutions or to comply with the repeated demands of the Security Council calling for its immediate withdrawal from the Territory. Such defiance of the Security Council by a Member State constituted a challenge to United Nations authority fraught with the most serious implications. In Southern Rhodesia, the illegal minority regime which had seized control in 1965 continued to defy both the administering Power and world public opinion and had so far succeeded, with external assistance, in surviving despite the economic sanctions enforced by the majority of Member States in response to the decisions of the Security Council.
- 21. In the Territories under its administration, the Government of Portugal likewise continued, in complete disregard of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, to deny the indigenous inhabitants their right to self-determination and had further escalated its military activities against the liberation movements. Acting in collaboration with one another and with the assistance of certain foreign interests, the authorities in the dependent Territories of southern Africa had resorted increasingly to repression as a means of strengthening and perpetuating their control over the peoples under their subjugation.
- 22. Solutions of those problems, which had so far frustrated the efforts of the United Nations, might not be readily available. It was his view, however, that the Special Committee could, by following up the relevant United Nations resolutions, by keeping those problems under review, and by recommending further action as necessary for the attention of States and the competent United Nations bodies and other international institutions, make a constructive contribution which would strengthen the collective action of the international community and thereby facilitate an early solution of the problems. In that connexion, the Committee would no doubt wish to consider practical means of promoting the extension of effective assistance to the peoples of the Territories in their endeavour to achieve freedom and independence in keeping, in particular, with General Assembly resolutions 2704 (XXV) and 2708 (XXV) of 14 December 1970.
- 23. In the programme of action contained in resolution 2621 (XXV) the General Assembly had affirmed that the question of territorial size, geographic isolation

and limited resources should in no way delay the implementation of the Declaration. Although the problems affecting such Territories might differ in dimension from those of the African continent, they were nonetheless extremely complex and would require very careful study in order to ensure that the peoples concerned were enabled to exercise their right to determine their future political status in accordance with their freely expressed wishes. It was his confident hope that the Special Committee would, in accordance with resolutions 2709 (XXV) and 2710 (XXV) adopted on 14 December 1970, devote particular attention during 1971 to the problems of the smaller Territories with a view to developing practical approaches which, when applied, might help to reconcile the divergent views that had been expressed in recent years concerning political changes in some of those Territories. thereby hastening the process of decolonization. He would once again urge the administering Powers to associate the United Nations more closely with their efforts by agreeing to the dispatch of visiting missions, as repeatedly recommended by the Committee, and to ensure, wherever appropriate, active participation by the United Nations in the processes involved in the exercise by the inhabitants of their right to self-determination. Given the necessary goodwill and co-operation on all sides, and given the necessary understanding of the complex problems involved, it should not be impossible to arrive at agreed solutions in the interests of the peoples of those Territories.

24. Those were but a few of the considerations which men ers might wish to bear in mind in approaching the specific tasks assigned to the Special Committee by the General Assembly. In his note dated 5 February 1971 (A/AC.109/366), he had drawn attention to the relevant resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and of the Committee which had a bearing on the latter's work during the year. As could be seen from the note, the tasks confronting the Committee were numerous and the problems very complex. For that reason it was his hope that the Committee would do all in its power to give the impetus, so much needed at the present time, so that the combined efforts of the international community would bring about the complete and early eradication of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. He also hoped that the Committee would take into account the importance of rational planning in order to complete its work and present its report to the General Assembly in due time. He assured the Committee of his full co-operation in its endeavours and wished it every success in its work.

Election of officers

25. At its 781st meeting, on 11 February, the Special Committee unanimously elected the following officers:

Chairman: Mr. Germán Nava Carrillo (Venezuela)

Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Rafic Jouejati (Syrian Arab Republic)

Mr. Barouh Grinberg (Bulgaria)

Rapporteur: Mr. Yilma Tadesse (Ethiopia)

Statement by the Chairman

- 26. The Chairman stated that he was greatly honoured by the tribute paid to his country by his election as Chairman. He hoped to prove worthy of the confidence placed in him by following closely the ideals and the convictions of Venezuela with regard to freedom and the exercise by all peoples under colonial rule of their right to self-determination and independence, as well as the other essential human rights. Because of his country's continuing efforts to bring about man's full development in freedom and under the rule of law, he accepted the responsibility conferred on him with enthusiasm.
- 27. He wished to express his righ esteem for Ambassador Micol, who had guided the work of the Special Committee with skill, efficiency, dignity and a strict sense of duty in 1970.
- 28. He was pleased at the presence of the Special Committee of the representative of Fiji, a State in its first year of independent life. In addition to welcoming this new Member of the Organization, he extended a welcome to Sweden, whose important contribution to the cause of decolonization need not be emphasized, and to Trinidad and Tobago. He was sure that those new members would make a considerable contribution to the work of the Committee. He was also confident that the dedication and interest shown at all times by Italy in the work of the Committee would continue throughout its activities in the Security Council when that organ took up various problems connected with the process of decolonization. He drew attention to the contribution of Norway, which was characterized by a constant defence of the dignity of man, and of law as the essential basis of international life. Honduras had shared its Latin American colleagues' preoccupation with and hard work for the full application of the Declaration.
- 29. He regretted the withdrawal of the United States and the United Kingdom from the Special Committee. Although balanced variations in the Committee membership could involve a greater number of States in the work of decolonization, there was no doubt that those States with express responsibility for the administration of Territories should offer not only continuous co-operation but also the most direct participation possible in the bodies responsible for implementing General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). While pleased at the offer of collaboration by the United States, and hopeful that a similar offer would be made by the United Kingdom, he was nevertheless concerned at the decision of these administering Powers to withdraw, having in mind in particular that special responsibility which required their constant and direct participation in the work of the Committee. Those two factors that is, the variation in the membership of the Committee and the necessity for the permanent presence of certain States might require certain thought on the part of the Committee.
- 30. With regard to the organization of the work of the Special Committee, he felt that the current year might be a good time for an analysis of the Committee's working procedures as well as of the means, resources and facilities which had been provided to and utilized by it during the eight years of its work.
- 31. He considered that the Special Committee should first and foremost keep in mind the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration in the programme of action in order that realistic and practical proposals might be made which would work towards the full

implementation of the Declaration. There were many aspects that should be emphasized in connexion with the programme of action and, as Chairman, he would present certain ideas in that respect at another time.

- 32. It was important that members have, at the beginning of the session, a clear knowledge of the work to be done. Early decisions should be taken in connexion with the items on the agenda and the order of priorities for their consideration. In establishing a work programme, account should be taken, on the basis of past experience, of the fact that practical results might not be achieved by a discussion of certain subjects in the present year. He would make some suggestions on that in due course.
- 33. It should be possible for the Special Committee to conclude its work in August, in order to avoid having meetings during the General Assembly session, and, above all, to ensure that the Committee's report to the Assembly would be submitted on time. Certain changes in procedure, as well as identification of the Committee's requirements with regard to documentation and other services, not only would make better use of the Secretariat's help, but would also result in greater co-ordination in the Committee's work. The practice of dividing the annual session of the Committee into two stages should be maintained; activities connected with visiting missions or the holding of meetings away from Headquarters could take place as appropriate during the recess.
- 34. As members were aware, the Special Committee had two broad fields of activity: the political evolution of the Territories and, within the terms of the Charter and resolution 1514 (XV), the economic and social situation of the peoples of those Territories in the light of the United Nations decisions, which were obviously dependent in their final form on the co-operation and sense of responsibility of the administering Power vis-a-vis the United Nations. Although the concern of Member States, and particularly members of the Committee, about the political evolution of the peoples in colonial Territories, was a matter of priority, no less attention should be given to their economic, social and cultural development. That was of particular importance in relation to small Territories. The political leaders of the colonial Territories were increasingly seeking the active participation of the Committee to help bring about better terms for their economic and social development. The task of the administering Powers was complex, as was that of the Committee, in elucidating the extent to which they had discharged their obligations. It was not sufficient merely to express dissatisfaction at the results, nor reasonable to base judgements on factors alien to the true, legitimate interests of the peoples under colonial administration. What should concern the Committee was to find out precisely where an administering Power had failed and where it had shown co-operation, although it was also necessary to know where and why the structures provided by the international community had failed to realize the aspirations for liberty, independence and the economic, social and cultural progress of those peoples. It was asserted that the colonial phenomenon was merged with the evolution of mankind. However, if in past situations the principles of freedom and independence had existed together with the system of colonial domination, that circumstance could not in any way be alleged to lessen the responsibility of the colonial Powers.
- 35. In conclusion, he expressed his gratitude to the Secretary-General for his presence at the opening meeting. The Special Committee had the deepest appreciation for his constant interest in and repeated support of its work. The statement made by him at the beginning of the current session would, without any doubt, receive the most careful consideration of the Committee.

C. ORGANIZATION OF WORK

- 36. The Special Committee discussed the organization of its work for the year at its 781st and 783rd meetings, on 11 February and 15 March. Statements in that connexion were made as follows: at the 781st meeting, by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.781 and Corr.1), and, at the 783rd meeting, by the Chairman and by the representatives of Tunisia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ivory Coast, the United Republic of Tanzania and India (A/AC.109/PV.783).
- 37. At its 783rd meeting, on 15 March, the Special Committee requested the Working Group to consider and submit recommendations regarding the Committee's programme of work, including the order of priorities for the consideration of items. In taking that decision, the Committee also requested the Working Group to take into account the various tasks assigned to the Committee in the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session, as well as the tasks envisaged by the Committee itself for 1971, an outline of which was contained in the note by the Secretary-General (A/AC.109/366). Further, the Committee requested the Working Group to take into consideration the views expressed and suggestions made by members during the Committee's informal consultations on the organization of its work. At the same meeting, the Committee also decided to maintain the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Sub-Committees I. II and III.
- 38. On the basis of the recommendations contained in the fifty-eighth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.687), the Special Committee, at its 784th meeting, on 25 March, requested its subsidiary bodies, in addition to considering the items indicated in paragraph 39 below, to carry out the specific tasks assigned by the General Assembly concerning the items referred to them.
- 39. The Spacial Committee further decided to adopt the following allocation of items and procedure for their consideration:

Question	Allocation	Procedure for consideration
Southern Rhodesia	Plenary	As separate item
Namibia	11	15
Territories under Portuguese administration	l F	1 7
Spanish Sehara	Ħ	ff
French Somaliland8/	. 11	17

^{8/} Note by the Rapporteur: Terminology Bulletin No. 240 issued by the Secretariat on 15 April 1968 (ST/SC/SER.F/240) reads as follows:

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

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

Question	Allocation	Procedure for consideration
British Honduras	Plenary	As separate item
Falkland Islands (Malvines)	17	17
Gibraltar	11	11
Hong Kong	11	tt .
Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent	11	***
Implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations (General Assembly resolution 2704 (XXV))	11	11
Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter and related questions (General Assembly resolution 2701 (XXV))	11	**
Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa (General Assembly resolution 2703 (XXV))	Sub-Committee	I To be decided by sub-committees
Military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countri- and Peoples	•	-
Seychelles	11	. #

Question	Allocation	Procedure for consideration
St. Helena	Sub-Cramittee	I To be decided by sub-committees
Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcair and the Solomon Islands	n Sub-Committee	II "
New Hebrides	11	17
American Samoa and Guam	11	11
Niue and the Tokelau Islands	11	**
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands	ŧŧ	: 11
Cocos (Keeling) Islands and Fapus and the Trust Territory of New Guinea	99	15
Brunei	11	II .
United States Virgin Islands	Sub-Committee	III "
British Virgin Islands	11	11
Bermude	11	.11
Bahamas	11	17
Turks and Caicos Islands	11	1f
Cayman Islands	tf	11
Montserrat	11	17
Oman &	<u>9</u> /	
Special programme of activities in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (General Assembly resolution 2521 (XXIV)) 10/		/ As separate item

^{9/} See chapter XIII of the present report (A/8423/Add.5 (Part III)).

^{10/} At its 700th meeting, on 3 December 1970, the Special Committee, by adopting the 57th report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.683), decided that further consideration of the matters relating to the completion of the draft text of the analytical study should be postponed until 1971.

Question	Allocation	Procedure for consideration
Publications and documentation of the United Nations (General Assembly resolution 2732 (XXV))	Working Group	As separate item
Publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization (para. 16 of General Assembly resolution 2708 (XXV))	l Working Group/ plenary as appropriate	11
Pattern of conferences (General Assembly resolution 2693 (XXV))	Working Group	17
Question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable	11	11
Question of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters	11	11
The policies of <u>apartheid</u> of the Government of South Africa: joint meeting (para. 11 of General Assembly resolution 2671 F (XXV))	. 11	
Matters relating to the small Territories (para. 14 of General Assembly resolution 2708 (XXV))	Plenary and sub-committees as appropriate	11
Question of sending visiting missions to Territories (para. 15 of General Assembly resolution 2708 (XXV))	n,	
International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination: petitions from the peoples of the colonial countries (Article 15 of the		71
Convention)	11	
Deadline for the accession of Territories to independence	•	To be taken into consideration by bodies concerned in their examination of specific Territories

Question

Compliance of Member States with the Declaration and other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization (para. 13 of General Assembly resolution 2708 (XXV))

To be taken into consideration by bodies concerned in their examination of specific Territories

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Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories (para. 7 of General Assembly resolution 2705 (XXV))

United Nations Educational and Training Programme for southern Africa (General Assembly resolution 2706 (XXV))

Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex, para. 1)

Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations (para. 6 of General Assembly resolution 2627 (XXV))

Youth, its education in the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, its problems and needs, and its participation in national development (paras. 10 and 11 of General Assembly resolution 2633 (XXV))

The importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights (General Assembly resolution 2649 (XXV))

Respect for human rights in armed conflicts (paras. 4 and 6 of General Assembly resolution 2674 (XXV))

Question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segretation and of apartheid, in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and Territories (General Assembly resolution 2714 (XXV))

Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security (para. 18 of General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV))

- 40. At its 784th and 789th meetings, on 25 March and 7 April, the Special Committee, on the basis of the recommendations contained in the 59th and 60th reports of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.688 and L.692/Rev.1), took decisions, within the context of the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 1654 (XVI) and 2621 (XXV), concerning the dispatch of an ad hoc group of representatives to Africa for the purpose of maintaining contact with representatives of national liberation movements from colonial Territories in that continent and obtaining first-hand information on the situation in those Territories. These decisions, together with the action subsequently taken by the Special Committee, are reflected in chapter V of the present report (A/8423/Add 1).
- 41. At its 789th meeting, on 7 April, the Special Committee, on the basis of the recommendations contained in the 60th report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.692/Rev.1), took a decision concerning its programme of meetings for 1971. That decision is reflected in paragraph 138 below.
- 42. At its 792nd meeting, on 20 April, on the basis of the recommendations contained in the 61st report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.697), the Special Committee took a decision concerning an invitation to attend the Assembly of the World Peace Council. That decision, together with the action subsequently taken by the Special Committee, is reflected in section M of the present chapter.
- 43. At the same meeting, on the basis of the recommendations contained in the same report (A/AC.109/L.697), the Special Committee took decisions concerning the holding of a joint meeting with the Special Committee on Apartheid and the United Nations Council for Namibia, envisaged under General Assembly resolution 2671 F (XXV) of 8 December 1970. These decisions, together with an account of the participation of the Special Committee in the joint meeting, are reflected in paragraphs 154 to 158 below.
- 44. At its 800th meeting, on 17 June, the Special Committee took a decision concerning an invitation to attend a meeting of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization in Damascus, Syrian Arab Republic which is reflected in section M below.
- 45. At its 824th meeting, on 8 September, the Special Committee, on the basis of the recommendations contained in the 63rd report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.739), took decisions concerning the question of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters during 1972, within the context of paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) and paragraph 3 (9) of resolution 2621 (XXV). These decisions are reflected in paragraphs 126 to 131 below. In the same context, the Committee also took a decision concerning an international conference envisaged by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) doing 1972 in support of the peoples in southern Africa fighting for their freedom from colonial and racialist rule. That decision is reflected in paragraphs 130 and 131 below.
- 46. At its 784th, 789th, 809th and 824th meetings, between 25 March and 8 September, the Special Committee took further decisions concerning its programme of work for 1971, including the order of priorities for the consideration of the items before it, on the basis of recommendations contained in the 58th, 60th, 62nd and 63rd reports of the Working Group. 11/ These decisions are reflected in paragraphs 71 to 75 below.

^{11/} See A/AC.109/L.687, L.692/Rev.1, L.721 and L.739.

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

Special Committee

47. The Special Committee held 52 meetings during 1971, as follows:

First session:

781st to 796th meetings, 11 February to 5 May.

Second session:

797th to 832nd meetings, 2 June to 26 November.

Working Group

- 48. At its 783rd meeting, on 15 March, the Special Committee decided, without objection, to maintain its Working Group, with the following membership: Ecuador, India, Madagascar, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania, together with its four officers, namely, the Chairman (Venezuela), the two Vice-Chairman (the Syrian Arab Republic and Bulgaria) and the Rapporteur (Ethiopia).
- 49. At its 826th meeting, on 14 September, the Special Committee decided, without objection, that, in view of the departure from United Nations Headquarters of its Chairman (Venezuela) and Vice-Chairman (Bulgaria), Bulgaria and Venezuela should serve as members of the Working Group.
- 50. During the period covered by the present report, the Working Group held nine meetings, between 18 March and 10 September 1971, and submitted seven reports. 12/

Sub-Committee on Petitions

51. At its 783rd meeting, on 15 March, the Special Committee decided that the Sub-Committee on Petitions should be maintained. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March, the Special Committee further decided that the composition of the Sub-Committee should be as follows:

Ecuador

Mali

India

Poland

Madagascar

Syrian Arab Republic

^{12/} A/AC.109/L.687, L.688, L.692/Rev.1, L.697, L.721, L.739 and L.744.

- 52. At its 162nd meeting, on 25 March, the Sub-Committee on Petitions elected Mr. Horacio Sevilla-Borja (Ecuador) as its Chairman.
- 53. The Sub-Committee on Petitions held eight meetings, between 25 March and 7 October, and submitted eight reports to the Special Committee. 13/
- 54. During the period under review, the Sub-Committee considered a total of 62 communications, 52 of which it decided to circulate as petitions. The petitions circulated by the Sub-Committee are listed in the chapters of the present report dealing with the Territories to which they refer. These petitions included four requests for hearing which the Sub-Committee recommended to the Special Committee for approval.
- 55. In addition, the Sub-Committee submitted recommendations concerning petitions relating to Namibia (see A/8423/Add.3 (Parts I and II), paragraphs 20-23) and to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (see paragraphs 102 to 106 below).

Sub-Committee I

56. At its 783rd meeting, on 15 March, the Special Committee decided that Sub-Committee I should be maintained. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March, the Special Committee further decided that the composition of the Sub-Committee should be as follows:

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

- 57. At its 92nd meeting, on 7 April, Sub-Committee I elected Mr. Rafic Jouejati (Syrian Arab Republic) as Chairman and Mr. Ephraim W. Mwasakafyuka (United Republic of Tanzania) as Rapporteur.
- 58. Sub-Committee I held 11 meetings, between 7 April and 3 November, and submitted reports on the following items which had been referred to it for consideration:
 - (a) Seychelles and St. Helena;
 - (b) Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa;

^{13/} A/AC.109/L.691, L.693 and Corr.1, L.705, L.707, L.710, L.720, L.743 and L.757.

- (c) Military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.
- 59. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the report of the Sub-Committee relating to item (a) above is contained in chapter IX of the present report (A/8423/Add.5 (part I)). An account of the Committee's consideration of the Sub-Committee's report relating to item (b) above is contained in document A/8398 and Add.1. An account of the Committee's consideration of the report of the Sub-Committee relating to item (c) above is contained in chapter II of the present report (A/8423 (part II)). The reports of the Sub-Committee are annexed to the documents cited.
- 60. The Sub-Committee also submitted a report entitled "Organization of Work" (A/AC.109/L.725).

Sub-Committee II

61. At its 783rd meeting, on 15 March, the Special Committee decided that Sub-Committee II should be maintained. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March, the Special Committee further decided that the composition of the Sub-Committee should be as follows:

Afghanistan	India
Ethiopia	Iraq
Fiji	Poland

- 62. At its 126th meeting, on 20 April, Sub-Committee II elected Mr. Mohammad Hakim Aryubi (Afghanistan) as Chairman.
- 63. Sub-Committee II held 23 meetings, between 20 April and 15 October, and submitted reports on the following items which had been referred to it for consideration:
 - (a) New Hebrides;
 - (b) Niue and the Tokelau Islands;
 - (c) Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands;
 - (d) American Samoa and Guam;
 - (e) Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands;
 - (f) Cocos (Keeling) Islands and Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea.
- 64. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the Sub-Committee's reports relating to the above-mentioned Territories is contained in chapters XIV to XIX of the present report (A/8423/Add.6 (parts I, II and III)). The reports of the Sub-Committee are annexed to the chapters cited.
- 65. The Sub-Committee also submitted a report entitled "Review of Work (1971)" covering its discharge of the various tasks assigned to it (see paragraph 75 below).

Sub-Committee III

66. At its 783rd meeting, on 15 March, the Special Committee decided that Sub-Committee III should be maintained. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March, the Special Committee further decided that the composition of the Sub-Committee should be as follows:

Bulgaria

Madagascar

Iran

Sweden

Ivory Coast

Trinidad and Tobago

- 67. At its 155th meeting, on 7 April, Sub-Committee III elected Mr. Jamal Shemirani (Iran) as Chairman and Mr. Mahmud Sultan Dean Aziz (Trinidad and Tobago) as Repporteur.
- 68. Sub-Committee III held 19 meetings, between 7 April and 1 October, and submitted reports on the following items which had been referred to it for consideration:
 - (a) United States Virgin Islands;
 - (b) Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Montserrat and Turks and Caicos Islands.
- 69. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the Sub-Committee's reports on items (a) and (b) above is contained in chapters XXIII and XXIV of the present report (A/8423/Add.7 (parts II and III)). The reports of the Sub-Committee are annexed to the chapters cited.
- 70. The Sub-Committee also submitted a report entitled "Review of Work (1971)" covering its discharge of the various tasks assigned to it (see paragraph 74 below).

E. CONSIDERATION OF TERRITORIES

71. During the period covered by the present report, the Special Commuttee considered the following Territories:

<u>Territories</u>

Meetings

Southern Rhodesia

782, 784-791, 793, 795, 802, 803, 806, 807,

817, 819, 820, 824, 825, 828

Namibia

782, 785, 793-795, 803-805, 807, 809, 810,

821-825

Territories under Portugese administration

782, 785, 787, 789-792, 795-797, 799, 802,

806, 811-813, 824-826

Oman

827

Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent: French Somaliland (See foot-note 8 above); British Honduras; Gibraltar; Hong

Kong

828

Spanish Sahara

828, 832

Falkland Islands (Malvines)

830

Territories referred to Sub-Committee I

Seychelles and St. Helena

814, 835

Territories referred to Sub-Committee II

New Hebrides

813, 814

Niue and the Tokelau Islands

811, 813, 816

Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon

Islands

821, 822

American Samoa and Guam

830

Trust Territory of the Pacific

Islands

796, 798, 830, 831

Cocos (Keeling) Islands and Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea

799, 801, 825, 830

Brunei

830

Territories referred to Sub-Committee III

United States Virgin Islands

814, 815

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

828

- 72. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the Territories listed above, together with the resolutions and/or conclusions and recommendations adopted thereon, is contained in chapters V to XXVI of the present report. 14/
- 73. At its 814th meeting, on 11 August, the Special Committee had before it the report of Sub-Committee I entitled "Organization of Work" (A/AC.109/L.725). At the same meeting, the Special Committee took note of the report.
- 74. At its 828th meeting, on 6 October, the Special Committee had before it the report of Sub-Committee III entitled "Review of Work (1971)" (see annex I.B to the present chapter). At the same meeting, the Committee took note of the report.
- 75. At its 830th meeting, on 21 October, the Special Committee had before it the report of Sub-Committee II entitled "Review of Work (1971)" (see annex I.A. to the present chapter). At the same meeting, the Committee took note of the report.

^{14/} A/8423/Add.1. Add.2 (parts I and II), Add.3 (parts I and II), Add.4, Add.5 (parts I and II and Corr.1 and part III), Add.6 (parts I to III), Add.7 (parts I to IV).

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

- 76. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March, the Special Committee, by approving the fifty-eighth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.687), decided, inter alia, to take up separately the question of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable and to refer it to the Working Group for consideration and recommendations.
- 77. In taking that decision, the Special Committee recalled that, at its 780th meeting, on 3 December 1970, the Committee had considered a letter dated 30 November 1970, addressed to its Chairman by the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of the Congo to the United Nations, the then Chairman of the African Group at the United Nations 15/, requesting the Committee to reconsider at its 1971 session the question of the inclusion of the Comoro Archipelago in the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable. The Committee further recalled that, at the same meeting, it had decided, without objection, to take note of the letter and to take up the matter when the relevant item was examined in 1971.
- 78. In the same connexion, the Special Committee also recalled that, in its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session, 16/ it had stated that, subject to any directives which the General Assembly might wish to give in that connexion, it would continue, as part of its programme of work for 1971, the review of the list of Territories to which the Declaration applied. The Committee recalled further that, in paragraph 3 of resolution 2708 (XXV), the General Assembly had approved the report of the Special Committee, including the programme of work envisaged by the Committee during 1971.
- 79. At its 828th meeting, on 6 October, the Special Committee considered the question on the basis of the recommendation contained in the sixty-fourth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.744). The relevant paragraphs of that report read as follows:
 - "9. Following consultations, the Working Group considered and rejected a proposal by the representative of Madagascar that it should defer consideration of the question of the inclusion of the Comoro Archipelago in the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable, pending the submission by the Secretariat of an informal working paper on the subject.
 - "10. The Working Group then considered and adopted a proposal by the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania that it should recommend to the Special Committee the inclusion of the Comoro Archipelago in the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable."

^{15/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. I, annex IV.

^{16/} Ibid., chap. I, para. 71.

80. At the same meeting, the Chairman, in a statement to the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.828), submitted for the Committee's consideration the following text of a draft consensus in connexion with the recommendation of the Working Group referred to above:

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

- 81. At the same meeting, the Special Committee adopted, without objection, the above-mentioned consensus. Statements in that connexion were made by the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania and Madagascar (A/AC.109/PV.828).
- 82. At the same meeting, the Special Committee decided that, subject to any directives which the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session might give in that connexion, it would continue consideration of the item at its next session.

G. MATTERS RELATING TO THE SMALL TERRITORIES

- 83. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March, the Special Committee, by approving the fifty-eighth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.687), decided, inter alia, to take up separately an item entitled "Matters relating to the small Territories", and to consider it at its plenary and Sub-Committee meetings, as appropriate.
- 84. In taking that decision, the Special Committee took into account the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2708 (XXV), by paragraph 14 of which the Assembly requested the Committee "to continue 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 and without delay their right to self-determination and independence". The Committee also took into account the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2709 (XXV) concerning twenty-five Territories.
- 85. During the year, the Special Committee, in approving the various relevant reports of Sub-Committees I, II and III, noted that these Sub-Committees had taken into account the relevant provisions of the General Assembly resolutions referred to above in examining the specific Territories referred to them for consideration, and decided to continue its consideration of the item at its next session, subject to any directives which the General Assembly might wish to give in that connexion.

H. PUBLICITY FOR THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE FIELD OF DECOLONIZATION

- 86. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March, the Special Committee, by approving the fifty-eighth report of its Working Group (A/AC.109/L.687), decided, inter alia, to take up separately the item entitled "Publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decelonization" and to refer it to the Working Group for consideration and recommendations.
- 87. In taking that decision, the Special Committee was mindful of the relevant provisions of the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV), paragraph 3 (8) of which reads as follows:
 - "(8) The United Nations as well as all States shall intensify their efforts in the field of public information in the area of decolonization through all media, including publications, radio and television. Of special importance will be programmes relating to United Nations activities on decolonization, the situation in colonial Territories and the struggle being waged by colonial peoples and the national liberation movements."
- 88. The Special Committee also took into consideration the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2708 (XXV) by paragraph 16 of which the Assembly requested the Secretary-General, having regard to the suggestions of the Committee, "to continue to take concrete measures through all the media at his disposal, including publications, radio and television, to give widespread and continuous publicity to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, to the situation in the colonial Territories and to the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by the colonial peoples".
- 89. In connexion with its consideration of the item, the Special Committee had before it a report of the Office of Public Information on its activity in the field of decolonization (see annex II.A to the present chapter).
- 90. In its consideration of the item, the Special Committee also took into account the relevant sections of the report of its Ad Hoc Group which visited Africa in June 1971 (A/8423/Add.1, annex). Paragraph 18 (17) of the observations of the Ad Hoc Group, endorsed by the Special Committee at its 814th meeting, on 11 August, reads as follows:
 - "(17) Public information efforts of the Unite Nations must be further intensified, in particular, through reinforcement the activities and structure of the various United Nations information antres located in the regions near the areas where the colonial wars are being fought. Here again, closer co-operation with OAU is also essential for the fulfilment of the action envisaged in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV), by establishing systematic and continuous consultations and exchange of information between the two bodies information on the work of the United Nations and OAU in the field of decolonization, on the one hand, and current information on the situation obtaining in the colonial Territories, including in particular the

information concerning the struggle of the peoples in these Territories, on the other. The level of co-ordination and co-operation between the secretariats of the United Nations and OAU should be increased in this regard, in the context of General Assembly resolution 2011 (XX) of 11 October 1965. The co-operation and assistance of every competent national and international non-governmental organization should be sought to build up world public opinion against the evils of colorialism in all its manifestations and to bring about the effective and complete isolation of those régimes which continue to purque colonial and racialist policies, in violation of the various relevant United Nations resolutions."

- 91. The Special Committee considered the item at its 790th, 792nd, 793rd, 810th to 813th, and 817th to 819th meetings, between 8 April and 23 August.
- 92. At the 790th meeting, on 8 April, the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics made a statement concerning the press coverage by the Office of Public Information of the 789th meeting of the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.790).
- 93. At the 792nd meeting, on 20 April, following a statement by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.792), in which he drew attention to a letter dated 12 April addressed to him by the Director of the Press and Publications Division of the Office of Public Information (see annex II.B to the present chapter), the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mali, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia made statements (A/AC.109/PV.792).
- 94. At the 793rd meeting, on 23 April, the representative of the Office of Public Information made a statement (A/AC.109/PV.793) concerning matters raised by members at the 790th and 792nd meetings. At the same meeting, statements were made by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.793).
- 95. At the 809th meeting, on 16 July, the Special Committee, by approving the sixty-second report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.721) and in modification of the decision referred to in paragraph 86 above, decided that the item should be considered directly in planary meetings.
- 96. At the 810th meeting, on 20 July, the representative of the Office of Public Information make a statement and replied to questions put to him by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.109/PV.810).
- 97. At the 811th meeting, on 23 July, statements were made by the Chairman, by the representative of the Office of Public Information and by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.109/PV.811). Following the adjournment of the meeting, the Committee held a viewing of two films on decolonization produced by the Office of Public Information.
- 98. Statements on the item were made at the 912th meeting, on 6 August, by the representatives of Ethiopia and Afghanistan (A/AC.109/PV.812); at the 813th meeting, on 9 August, by the representative of India and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.813); at the 817th meeting, on 18 August, by the representatives of Bulgaria, Ecuador, Yugoslavia, Iran and Ethiopia and by the Chairman, as well as by the representative of the Office of Public Information (A/AC.109/PV.817); and at

the 818th meeting, on 19 August, by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and by the representative of the Office of Public Information, as well as by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.818).

- 99. At the 818th meeting, on 19 August, the Chairman submitted for the Special Committee's consideration the text of a draft consensus on the item (A/AC.109/PV.818). Statements in that connexion were made by the representatives of Yugoslavia, India and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as by the representative of the Office of Public Information (A/AC.109/PV.818).
- 100. At the 819th meeting, on 23 August, the Special Committee decided, without objection, to adopt the above-mentioned text of the draft consensus, incorporating certain drafting changes. The text of the consensus, as adopted, is given below:

"The Special Committee requests the Secretary-General to continue to take concrete measures through all the media at his disposal, including publications, radio and television, to give widespread and continuous publicity to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, to the situation in the colonial Territories and to the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by the colonial peoples.

"The Special Committee draws the particular attention of the Secretary-General to the relevant sections of the report of the Ad Hoc Group which visited Africa in 1971 and, in particular, invites him to intensify the activities of the information centres located in southern Africa, as well as to maintain close working relationships between the Office of Public Information and the Organization of African Unity through systematic and continuous consultations and exchange of information on the work of the United Nations and of OAU in the field of decolonization and on the situation in the colonial Territories in Africa.

"The Special Committee invites the Secretary-General, in the discharge of the above-mentioned tasks, to take fully into account the various suggestions put forward by its members on this subject and in particular to ensure the widest possible dissemination of the information concerning the work of the Special Committee to the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories and to the non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council having a special interest in problems of decolonization."

101. At the 829th meeting, on 15 October, statements were made by the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania and India and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.829) concerning the press coverage by the Office of Public Information of meetings of the Special Committee and its Sub-Committees.

- I. INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: PETITIONS FROM THE PEOPLES OF COLONIAL COUNTRIES
- 102. At its 78hth meeting, on 25 March, the Special Committee, by approving the fifty-eighth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.687), decided, inter alia, to take up separately an item entitled "International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination: petitions from the peoples of the colonial countries (article 15 of the Convention)" and to consider it at its plenary and Sub-Committee meetings, as appropriate.
- 103. In taking that decision, the Special Committee recalled that, under article 15 of the Convention, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination was entrusted with the task of receiving and examining copies of the relevant petitions transmitted to it from the United Nations bodies concerned, including the Special Committee. The Special Committee also recalled that, in accordance with the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2106 B (XX) of 21 December 1965, and having regard to the statement adopted on 29 January 1970 by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination concerning its responsibilities under article 15 of the Convention, 17/ the Special Committee, at its 776th meeting, on 2 November 1970, decided, inter alia, to authorize its Chairman to transmit to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination:
 - (a) Copies of the petitions relevant to the Convention;
- (b) Such other Special Committee documents as might contain information about the petitioners concerned;
- (c) An indication to the effect that the information contained in those petitions was fully taken into account by the Special Committee in its consideration of the relevant items; and
- (d) Records of the meetings at which the relevant items were considered and the petitioners were heard.
- 104. The Special Committee considered the item at its 808th, 809th, 812th, 814th and 831st meetings, between 7 July and 5 November.
- 105. At its 808th meeting, on 7 July, the Special Committee decided, on the recommendation of the Sub-Committee on Petitions (A/AC.109/L.720), to transmit to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination a copy of a petition concerning Montserrat (A/AC.109/PET.1182). At its 814th meeting, on 11 August, the Special Committee decided, on the recommendation of Sub-Committee II (A/8423/Add.6 (part I), chapter XIV, paragraph 9 (11)), to transmit to that Committee a copy of a petition concerning New Hebrides (A/AC.109/PET.1164).
- 106. At the 809th meeting, on 16 July, the Chairman drew attention to a decision adopted by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination at its

^{17/} Ibid., chap. I, para. 91.

58th meeting, on 23 April (A/8418, chapter VII, section A, decision 2 (III)), requesting the Special Committee to obtain from the administering Powers certain specific information concerning the Territories under their administration. At its 812th meeting, on 6 August, the Special Committee decided, without objection, to request the administering Powers to include in their annual reports transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter the information called for by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

107. At its 831st meeting, on 5 November, the Special Committee decided to authorize its Chairman to transmit to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the following additional petitions which had been circulated as documents of the Special Committee during 1971:

Petition concerning	Document symbol
Territories in southern Africa	A/AC.109/PET.1166
Territories under Portuguese administration	A/AC.109/PET.1170 A/AC.109/PET.1190
Namibia	A/AC.109/PET.1171 A/AC.109/PET.1194
United States Virgin Islands	A/AC.109/PET.1176

108. In taking the foregoing decisions relating to the Convention, the Special Committee recalled that an integral part of the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly in resolution 1514 (XV), namely to bring about the immediate and full application of the Declaration to "all Territories which are not yet independent", was a call for the attainment of that objective "without any distinction as to race, creed or colour". Further, the Special Committee recalled that the General Assembly, in resolution 1850 (XVIII) of 19 December 1962, had reiterated the view that racial discrimination in Non-Self-Governing Territories could be eradicated fully and with the greatest speed by the faithful and complete implementation of the Declaration. In the view of the Special Committee, the full implementation of the Declaration necessarily implied the exercise by all peoples under colonial domination of the right to self-determination and of all other basic human rights.

J. CONSIDERATION OF OTHER MATTERS

Special programme of activities in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: analytical study on the subject of decolonization

- 109. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March, the Special Committee, by approving the fifty-eighth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/687), decided, inter alia, to take up separately an item entitled "Special programme of activities in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: analytical study on the subject of decolonization". The Committee further decided that the item should be considered at its Working Group and plenary meetings, as appropriate. In doing so, the Special Committee recalled the decision adopted at its 780th meeting, on 3 December 1970, to the effect that further consideration of the matters relating to the analytical study should be postponed until 1971.
- 110. The Special Committee considered the item at its 824th meeting, on 8 September. In that connexion, the Special Committee had before it the sixty-third report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.739).
- 111. During its consideration of the item, the Special Committee recalled that the tasks assigned to it by the General Assembly in its resolution 2521 (XXIV) of 4 December 1969 concerning the item, consisted of the preparation of:
 - (a) A draft declaration or a suggested programme of action for consideration at the special commemorative meeting; and
 - (b) A succinct analytical study on the subject of decolonization.
- 112. The Special Committee noted that as regards the first of these two matters, the General Assembly had, on the recommendation of the Committee, adopted the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration in resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970.
- 113. With respect to the second task mentioned above, the Special Committee recalled that, as explained in the relevant section of the report of the Preparatory Committee for the tenth anniversary of the Declaration, 18/ the purpose of the proposed study was to mobilize public opinion as well as the international community towards the full implementation of the Declaration.
- 114. The Special Committee further recalled that, following its consideration in July/August 1971 of the item entitled "Publicity for the work of the United Mations in the field of decolonization" (see section H of the present chapter), the Committee had adopted a consensus, by which it requested the Secretary-Coneral to continue to take concrete measures through all the media at his disposal,

^{18/} Ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 24, document A/7684.

including publications, radio and television, to give widespread and continuous publicity to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, to the situation in the colonial Territories and to the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by the colonial peoples. At the same time, the Committee had invited the Secretary-General, in the discharge of the above-mentioned tasks, to take fully into account the various suggestions put forward by its members on this subject.

115. Taking the foregoing into account, the Special Committee decided, without objection, that the intent of the General Assembly, as outlined in paragraph 113 above, would be met with equal effectiveness by the full implementation by the Secretary-General of the measures proposed by members of the Committee, as contained in the consensus referred to in paragraph 114 above, including the widest possible dissemination of the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration. In the same connexion, the Committee decided that the preliminary work so far carried out on the draft analytical study, together with the various views expressed by members thereon, should be made available to the Secretary-General in the hope that it would be of assistance to him in the implementation of the above-mentioned measures.

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

116. In accordance with the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2701 (XXV) of 14 December 1970, the Special Committee considered the above item at its 828th meeting, on 6 October. An account of the Committee's consideration of the item is contained in chapter XXVII of the present report (A/8423/Add.8/Rev.1).

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

117. In accordance with paragraph 13 of General Assembly resolution 2703 (XXV) of 14 December 1970, the Special Committee continued its study of the above item.

118. The Special Committee's report to the General Assembly on the item is contained in document A/8398 and Add.1.

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

- 119. As envisaged in its programme of work for 1970, $\frac{19}{19}$ which was approved by the General Assembly in paragraph 3 of resolution 2708 (XXV), the Special Committee continued its study of the above item.
- 120. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the item is contained in chapter II of the present report (A/8423 (part II)).

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

- 121. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March, the Special Committee, by approving the fifty-eighth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.687), decided, inter alia, to request the bodies concerned, in their examination of specific Territories, to take the above item into consideration.
- 122. The Sub-Committees accordingly took that decision into account in examining the items referred to them for consideration. The Special Committee also took that decision into account in its consideration of specific Territories in plenary meetings.

Deadline for the accession of Territories to independence

- 123. In its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session, the Special Committee, with reference to its programme of work for 1971, stated, <u>inter alia</u>, as follows:
 - "174. ... Further, bearing in mind the express wish of the Assembly in that regard, the Committee will recommend, whenever it considers it proper and appropriate, a deadline for the accession to independence of each Territory in accordance with the wishes of the people and the provisions of the Declaration." 20/
- 124. At its twenty-fifth session, the General Assembly, in paragraph 3 of its resolution 2708 (XXV), approved the programme of work envisaged by the Special Committee during 1971, including the Committee's decision quoted above.

^{19/} Ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. I, para. 175.

^{20/} Ibid., chap. I, para. 174.

125. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March, the Special Committee, by adopting the fifty-eighth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.687), and in requesting its Sub-Committees I, II and III to carry out the tasks assigned to them, called their attention to the above decision. The Sub-Committees accordingly took that decision into account in examining the specific Territories referred to them for consideration. The Committee also took the above-mentioned decision into account in its consideration of specific Territories in plenary meetings.

Question of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters

126. In its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session, the Special Committee, in connexion with its work programme for 1971, stated, inter alia, as follows:

"179. ... In the same connexion, the Committee took into consideration the provisions of paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI), by which the Assembly authorized the Committee to meet elsewhere than at United Nations Headquarters whenever and wherever such meetings might be required for the effective discharge of its functions. Following its consideration of the matter, the Committee, bearing in mind the constructive results flowing from the holding of meetings away from Headquarters in previous years, decided, ... to inform the General Assembly that it might consider holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters during 1971 and to recommend that, in making the necessary financial provision to cover the activities of the Committee during that year, the General Assembly should take that possibility into account. In taking this decision, the Committee also paid due regard to paragraph (9) (c) of the programme of action contained in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV), which directed the Committee, inter alia, 'to hold meetings at places where it can best obtain first-hand information on the situation in colonial Territories, as well as to continue to hold meetings away from Headquarters as appropriate'." 21/

127. At its twenty-fifth session, the General Assembly, in paragraph 3 of resolution 2708 (XXV), approved the programme of work envisaged by the Special Committee for 1971, including the decision quoted above.

128. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March, the Special Committee, by approving the fifty-eighth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.687), decided, inter alia, to take up the question of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters as a separate item and to refer it to the Working Group for consideration and recommendations.

129. At its 784th and 789th meetings, on 25 March and 7 April, the Special Committee, on the basis of the recommendations contained in the fifty-ninth and sixtieth reports of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.688 and L.692/Rev.1), and bearing in mind the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 1654 (XVI) and 2621 (XXV), decided, so far as the current year was concerned, to dispatch an ad hoc group of representatives to Africa rather than hold a series of meetings away from Headquarters, for the purpose of maintaining contact with representatives of

^{21/} Ibid., chap. I, para. 179.

national liberation movements from colonial Territories in that continent and obtaining first-hand information on the situation in those Territories. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the report of the Ad Hoc Group and of the action subsequently taken by the Special Committee, is contained in chapter V of the present report (A/8423/Add.1).

- 130. Having regard to its programme of activities for 1972 and with reference to the relevant observations of the Ad Hoc Group, the Special Committee, at its 824th meeting, on 8 September, gave further consideration to the question of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters on the basis of the recommendations contained in the sixty-third report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.739). The relevant observations of the Ad Hoc Group were as follows:
 - "(18) Having in mind the constructive results achieved by its previous sessions in Africa, the Special Committee should give most serious consideration to the plan to hold a session away from Headquarters in 1972. after consulting OAU. It will be recalled, in this regard, that the General Assembly, in resolution 1654 (XVI) of 27 November 1961, which established the Special Committee, authorized the Committee to meet elsewhere than at United Nations Headquarters whenever and wherever such meetings might be required for the effective discharge of its functions. The holding of a session as proposed will provide the Special Committee with a new occasion to demonstrate the solidarity of the United Nations with the African peoples fighting for their liberation from colonial bondage and to give them further encouragement to pursue their just struggle. It would also provide an opportunity for it to continue to maintain contacts with the national liberation movements and to initiate consultations with the non-governmental organizations concerned on matters of common interest, such as the publicity to be given in the field of decolonization and assistance programmes to the struggling peoples of the colonial Territories. It would be noted at the same time that OAU is already engaged in active preparation for an international conference in support of the peoples in southern Africa fighting for their freedom from colimina and racialist rule, to be held in 1972 either in Africa or in Europe. ' Pecial Committee may wish to take into account ce at this ternational conference, when the desirability of its / preparing its work programme in 1972."
- 131. At the same meeting, the Special Committee, by approving the recommendations of the Working Group referred to above, decided to include in the appropriate section of its report to the General Assembly, first, a statement to the effect that the Committee might consider holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters during 1972, and secondly, a recommendation that, in making the nece sary financial provisions to cover the activities of the Committee during that year, the General Assembly should take that possibility into account. The Committee also decided to request its Chairman to hold consultations, as appropriate, with OAU concerning the Committee's participation in the international conference envisaged by OAU, to which reference is made in paragraph 130 above.

Publications and documentation of the United Nations

132. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March, the Special Committee, by approving the fifty-eighth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.687), decided, inter alia,

to take up as a separate item the question of publications and documentation of the United Nations and to request the Working Group to consider the possibility of initiating further measures to control and limit the Committee's documentation in the light of resolution 2292 (XXII) of 8 December 1967 and subsequent relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

- 133. In taking these decisions, the Special Committee recalled that, in response to the relevant General Assembly resolutions, the Committee had adopted during recent years a number of measures which led to a considerable reduction in its documentation requirements. These measures included the following:
 - (a) In 1968, the Special Committee decided to adopt for its annual report to the General Assembly the pattern followed by the Main Committees of the General Assembly concerned with political matters, particularly the Fourth Committee. As a consequence of that decision, the volume of the Committee's reports for 1968 and for subsequent years has been reduced by more than 40 per cent.
 - (b) In 1968, the Special Committee also decided to replace the existing system of meetings records for its plenary meetings, which consisted of summary records in the working languages and verbatim records in French and English, by a system of verbatim records in the working languages, in provisional form only, to which addends and/or corrigends might be issued as necessary.
 - (c) In 1969, the Special Committee decided that the meeting records of its Sub-Committees I, II and III and of the Sub-Committee on Fetitions should consist of summary records, in provisional form only, to which addenda and/or corrigenda might be issued as necessary.
- 134. At its 827th meeting, on 17 September, the Special Committee considered the item on the basis of the recommendations contained in the sixty-fourth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.744). The relevant paragraphs of that report read as follows:
 - "4. At its 104th meeting, the Working Group, after a preliminary exchange of views, agreed that the Rapporteur should be requested to hold consultations with members of the Working Group concerning the recommendations to be made to the Special Committee in this regard, bearing particularly in mind the suggestions contained in the... report of the Joint Inspection Unit (A/8319).
 - "5. At the 105th meeting, the Rapporteur informed the Working Group that, on the basis of his consultations, there seemed to be a general consensus that the existing form and organization of the documentation of the Special Committee should be maintained for the current year and that, as regards its documentation for future sessions the Special Committee should await such directives as the General Assembly might give in the light of the observations and recommendations contained in the report of the Joint Inspection Unit.
 - "6. At the same meeting, the Working Group agreed to recommend to the Special Committee that it should approve the suggestions outlined in paragraph 5 above."

135. At the came recting following a statement by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.827), the Special Committee, by approving the above report of the Working Group, decided that the existing form and organization of its documentation should be maintained for the current year and that, as regards its documentation for future sessions it should await such directives as the General Assembly might give in the light of the observations and recommendations contained in the report of the Joint Inspection Unit.

Pattern of conferences

- 136. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March, the Special Committee, by approving the fifty-eighth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.687), decided, inter alia, to take up separately an item entitled "Pattern of conferences" and to refer it to the Working Group for consideration and recommendations.
- 137. In its consideration of the item, the Special Committee was guided by the relevant previsions of General Assembly resolution 2693 (XXV) of 11 December 1970.
- 138. At its 789th meeting, on 7 April, the Special Committee, by approving the sixtieth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.692/Rev.1), decided to conclude its first session of the year during the first week of May and to resume its work for the second session during the month of June. At its 824th meeting, on 8 September, the Committee considered the sixty-third report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.739), submitted in accordance with the Committee's decision referred to in paragraph 136 above, which contained the Working Group's recommendations on the item.
- 139. At the same meeting, the Special Committee, by approving the sixty-third report of the Working Group, decided that, in the light of its experience in previous years, and taking into account the probable workload for 1972, the Committee should hold two sessions during 1972, the first of which should extend from the last week of January to the middle of June, and the second from the middle of July to the first week of September. It was the understanding of the Committee, in taking the foregoing decision, that the programme recommended would not preclude the holding of extra-sessional meetings on an emergency basis if developments so warranted. Further, the first session would include such meetings away from Headquarters as the Committee might decide to hold during 1972 (see paragraphs 126 to 131 above), as well as the Committee's participation in the international conference envisaged by OAU in 1972, to which reference is made in paragraph 131 above. It was also understood that the Committee would review the meetings programme for 1972, early in that year, on the basis of any developments which might affect its programme of work, including in particular the timing of the meetings away from Headquarters as well as the annual session of the Council of Ministers of OAU.
- 140. With regard to the programme of meetings of the Special Committee for 1973 and 1974, it was agreed that, subject to any directives that the General Assembly might give in that connexion, the Committee should adopt a programme similar to that suggested for 1972.

Other questions

- 141. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March, the Special Committee, by approving the fifty-eighth report of the Working Group (A/ C.109/L.687), decided, inter alia, to request the bodies concerned, in their examination of specific Territories, to take into consideration the relevant provisions of the following General Assembly resolutions:
 - (a) Resolution 2705 (XXV) concerning offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories;
 - (b) Resolution 2706 (XXV) concerning the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa;
 - (c) Resolution 2625 (XXV) concerning the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;
 - (d) Resolution 2627 (XXV) concerning the Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations;
 - (e) Resolution 2633 (XXV) concerning youth, its education in the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, its problems and needs, and its participation in national development;
 - (f) Resolution 2649 (XXV) concerning the importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights;
 - (g) Resolution 2674 (XXV) concerning the respect for human rights in armed conflicts;
 - (h) Resolution 2714 (XXV) concerning the question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of <u>apartheid</u>, in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and Territories;
 - (i) Resolution 2734 (XXV) concerning the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.
- 142. The Sub-Committees accordingly took that decision into account in examining the specific Territories referred to them for consideration. The Special Committee also took that decision into account in its consideration of specific Territories in plenary meetings.

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

Security Council

143. In paragraph 12 of its resolution 2708 (XXV), the General Assembly requested "the Special Committee to make concrete suggestions which could assist the Security Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations with regard to developments in colonial Territories which are likely to threaten international peace and security," and recommended that the Security Council "take such suggestions fully into consideration".

144. Having regard to the above-mentioned mandate, the Special Committee, during 1971, brought to the attention of the Security Council a number of its decisions relating to the colonial Territories in southern Africa, as follows:

<u>Decision</u>	Relating to	Document
Consensus of 4 March 1971	Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, Territories under Portuguese administration	s/10147
Resolution of 13 April 1971	Territories under Portuguese administration	s/10176
Resolution of 2 July 1971	Southern Rhodesia	s/10249
Resolution of 24 August 1971	Southern Rhodesia	s/10298
Consensus of 2 September 1971	Namibia	s/10303
Resolution of 9 September 1971	Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, Territories under Portuguese administration	s/10312
Resolution of 14 September 1971	Territories under Portuguese administration	S/10320
Two consensi of 6 October 1971	Southern Rhodesia	s/10355

145. Details of the Special Committee's consideration of the items leading to the above-mentioned decisions are set out in chapters V to VIII of the present report. 22/

146. During the year, the Special Committee followed closely the Security Council's consideration of the question of Namibia and the situation relating to the Territories under Portuguese administration.

^{22/} A/8423/Add.1, Add.2 (parts I and II), Add.3 (parts I and II) and Add.4.

Trusteeship Council

147. In accordance with paragraph 8 of General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI), which requested the Trusteeship Council to assist the Special Committee in its work, the President of the Trusteeship Council, in a letter dated 24 June 1971 (A/AC. 199/373) addressed to the Chairman, informed the Committee that the Council, at its thirty-eighth session, had examined conditions in the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands and New Guinea. The President of the Trusteeship Council stated that the conclusions and recommendations of the Council, as well as the observations of its members, representing their individual opinions only, were contained in the Council's report to the Security Council on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands 23/ and in its report to the General Assembly on the Trust Territory of New Guinea. 24/

148. Further within the context of the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2700 (XXV) of 14 December 1970 on the question of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, consultations were held between the Chairman of the Special Committee and the President of the Trusteeship Council concerning the non-members of the Council to be included in the special visiting mission to Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea in 1972. An account of the Committee's consideration of the matter is included in chapters IV and XIX of the present report (A/8423 (part IV) and A/8423/Add.6 (part III)).

Economic and Social Council

149. In connexion with the Special Committee's consideration of the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations, and in accordance with paragraph 13 of General Assembly resolution 2704 (XXV) of 14 December 1970 relating to that item, further consultations were held during October 1971 between the President of the Economic and Social Council and the Chairman of the Special Committee concerning the "appropriate measures for the co-ordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies... in implementing the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly". The report on these consultations, submitted by the Chairman to the Special Committee on 28 October is reproduced in chapter III of the present report (A/8423 (part III)).

150. Further, at its 830th meeting, on 21 October, the Special Committee adopted a resolution concerning the same item, by paragraph 13 of which it requested its Chairman "to continue his consultations with the President of the Economic and Social Council" (A/8423 (part III), chapter III, paragraph 12).

^{23/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth year, Special Supplement No. 1 (S/10237).

^{24/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 4 (A/8404).

(a) Commission on Human Rights

- 151. During the year, the Special Committee followed closely the work of the Commission on Euren Rights in relation to the question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of apartheid in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and Territories.
- 152. In its consideration of the Territories in southern Africa with which it is concerned, the Special Committee took into account the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on the investigation requested in resolution 21 (XXV) of the Commission on Human Rights (E/CN.4/1050), and the report on trade union rights in southern Africa by the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts established under resolution 2 (XXIII) of the Commission on Human Rights (E/4953), as well as the report on the question of slavery and the slave trade in all their practices and manifestations, including the slavery-like practices of apartheid and colonialism, submitted by Mr. Mohamed Awad, the Special Rapporteur to the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities at the latter's twenty-fourth session (E/CN.4/Sub.2/322).

(b) Commission on the Status of Women

153. At its 774th meeting, on 22 October 1970, the Special Committee decided to take note of a resolution 25/ adopted by the Commission on the Status of Women on 9 April 1970 concerning the influence of activities of Screign economic and other interests on the living conditions of women in dependent Territories and the action taken thereon by the Economic and Social Council at its resumed forty-eighth session, 26/ it being understood that the Special Committee would take appropriate action on the request contained in the resolution in the light of any decision that might be taken in that connexion by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session. No action was taken by the General Assembly in that regard during the twenty-fifth session.

Special Committee on Apartheid

- 154. During the year, the Special Committee followed closely the work of the Special Committee on Apartheid, bearing in mind the repercussions of the policies of apartheid on the situation in the dependent Territories in southern Africa.
- 155. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March, the Special Committee, by approving the fifty-eighth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.687), decided, inter alia, to take up separately the question of holding a joint meeting with the Special Committee on Apartheid and the United Nations Council for Namibia, envisaged under General Assembly resolution 2671 F (XXV) of 8 December 1970, and to refer it to the Working Group for consideration and recommendations.

^{25/} Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 6 (E/4831), chap. XII, resolution 10 (XXIII).

^{26/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 3 (A/8003 and Corr.1), para. 393.

- 156. At its 792nd meeting, on 20 April, the Special Committee considered and approved the recommendations contained in the sixty-first report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.697). The relevant sections of the report are reproduced below.
 - "7. Following an exchange of views, and on the basis of the General Assembly resolution referred to in paragraph 4 above, the Working Group envisaged that the following item might be placed on the agenda of the joint meetings:

Interrelationship of problems of southern Africa and measures for co-ordination (paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 2671 F (XXV) of 8 December 1970).

- "8. Bearing in mind that the joint meeting would be attended by a total of 41 Member States, represented in the three bodies, and taking into account the need to organize its work with maximum efficiency and effectiveness, members of the Working Group were in agreement that every effort should be made to avoid a protracted general debate during the joint meeting, and that participants' statements might preferably relate to specific aspects of the subject matter.
- "9. Members of the Working Group also agreed that under the terms of the above-mentioned paragraph of General Assembly resolution 2671 F (XXV), the joint meeting should not envisage taking decisions or adopting resolutions on the item but that the three organs could 'take the results of the meeting into account in their programmes of work'. The Working Group assumed that an account of the joint meeting would be included by the Secretary-General in the report requested of him in paragraph 12 of the same resolution. Further, the views expressed and suggestions made, if any, by participating members during the joint meeting, together with any decisions which the Special Committee might subsequently take in that regard, would be reflected, as appropriate, in the Committee's report to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session.
- "10. With respect to the procedural aspects of the meeting, the Working Group agreed that the Special Committee might wish to entrust its officers with the task of arranging with the other bodies concerned the most effective methods of organization in order to facilitate the work of the joint meeting. As regards the date referred to in paragraph 5 (a) above, members of the Working Group held the view that it would be preferable to defer the convening of the joint meeting until adequate consultations had been concluded among all concerned. It was also observed that the first-hand information on the colonial Territories which would be included in the report to be submitted by the Ad Hoc Group of the Special Committee on its visit to Africa, could be taken into account in the aforementioned consultations.
- "Il. Finally, in submitting the above views expressed by its members, the Working Group recalled that an integral part of the mandate entrusted to the Special Committee by the General Assembly in resolution 1514 (XV), namely to bring about the immediate and full application of the Declaration to 'all Territories which are not yet independent', was a call for the attainment of that objective 'without any distinction as to race, creed or colour'. Further, it should be recalled that the General Assembly, in resolution 1850 (XVIII) of 19 December 1962, reiterated the view that racial discrimination in Non-Self-Governing Territories could be eradicated fully and with the greatest speed

by the faithful and complete implementation of the Declaration. In the view of the Working Group, the full implementation of the Declaration necessarily implied the exercise by all peoples under colonial domination of the right to self-determination and of all other basic human rights."

157. Statements on various aspects of the question were made at the 792nd to 795th, 810th and 81lth meetings, between 20 April and 23 July, as follows: the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Iraq, Trinidad and Tobago and the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.792); the United Republic of Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, Bulgaria, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Yugoslavia, Mali, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, the Syrian Arab Republic, Poland, India and the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.793); the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.794); the Chairman and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.109/PV.795); the Chairman, the Ivory Coast, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Republic of Tanzania (A/AC.109/PV.810); the Chairman, Iran and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.109/PV.811).

158. The joint session of the three bodies took place from 3 to 5 May and from 23 August to 13 September. An account of these meetings is contained in a report of the Secretary-General (A/8388).

United Nations Council for Namibia

159. Having regard to its own mandate, the Special Committee followed closely the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia. Liaison between the two bodies was maintained through their respective officers; in particular, petitions which raised matters of concern to the Council were brought to the latter's attention. In addition, as indicated in paragraphs 154 to 158 above, the Special Committee, the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Special Committee on Apartheid held a joint session within the context of paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 2671 F (XXV).

Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

160. At its 808th, 809th, 812th, 814th and 831st meetings, between 7 July and 5 November, the Special Committee took decisions relating to the relevant provisions of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, in the light of the requests addressed to it by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. An account of the Special Committee's action in this regard is set out in paragraphs 102 to 108 above.

Specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations

161. At its 830th meeting, on 21 October, the Special Committee adopted a resolution concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the question, together with the text of the resolution, is set out in chapter III of the present report (A/8423 (part III)).

162. During the year, the Special Committee adopted a number of other decisions which, inter alia, related to the extension of assistance to the peoples in the colonial Territories in southern Africa. These decisions are set out in chapters V to VIII of the present report. 27/

^{27/} A/8423/Add.1, Add.2 (parts I and II), Add.3 (parts I and II) and Add.4.

L. RELATIONS WHILE THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

- 163. As in previous years, the Special Committee followed closely the work of OAU during the year and maintained close contact with its secretariat on matters of common interest in the field of decolonization. In particular, the Special Committee received, as in previous years, the full and continuous co-operation of the Executive Secretary of OAU in New York, who, in accordance with the standing invitation extended by the Special Committee, attended the Committee's meetings and participated in its work.
- 164. In May, the Special Committee dispatched an <u>ad hoc</u> group of six of its members to ccuntries in Africa in order to obtain first-hand information on the situation in the colonial Territories in that continent and to consult with OAU and with national liberation movements of the colonial Territories in Africa. An account of the consultations with the officials of OAU is set out in chapter V of the present report (A/8423/Add.1).
- 165. In addition, on the question of the extension of assistance to refugees and national liberation movements of the Territories in southern Africa, the Special Committee maintained liaison with OAU throughout the year. Further consultations are in progress concerning the Committee's participation in the international conference envisaged by OAU in 1972, to which reference is made in paragraph 131 above.

M. RELATIONS WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL CRGANIZATIONS

166. During the year, the Special Committee followed closely the activities of non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization. An account of the contacts established with some of these non-governmental organizations is given below.

Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom

167. At its 785th meeting, on 29 March, the Special Committee, by adopting the 155th report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions (A/AC.109/L.691), decided to grant a request for hearing to Mr. Abdul S. Minty, Honorary Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom (A/AC.109/PET.1158). Mr. Abdul S. Minty made a statement at the same meeting and replied to questions put to him by the representatives of Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ethiopia, Poland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Yugoslavia (A/AC.109/PV.785 and Corr.1).

World Peace Council

168. At the 790th meeting, on 8 April, the Chairman drew attention to a communication dated 2 April 1971 addressed to him by the Secretary-General of the World Peace Council (A/AC.109/L.697, annex) inviting the Special Committee to attend the Council's Assembly to be held in Budapest, Hungary, from

- 13 to 16 May 1971. At the same meeting, the Committee, on the proposal of the Chairman, decided to refer that communication to its Working Group for consideration and recommendations.
- 169. At the 792nd meeting, on 20 April, the Special Committee, by approving the sixty-first report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.697) decided, inter alia, to accept in principle the invitation of the World Peace Council and to dispatch to the Assembly a delegation of observers composed of not more than four members to be nominated by the Chairman. The Committee had before it, in that connexion, a note by the Secretary-General (A/AC.109/L.698) concerning the administrative and financial implications of the recommendations of the Working Group. In taking this decision, the Committee had particularly in mind the contributions made by the World Peace Council in mobilizing world public opinion against colonialism in all its forms and manifestations and the express wish of the General Assembly that all necessary measures should be taken to give widespread and continuous publicity to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. At the same meeting, statements were made by the representatives of Afghanistan, Ecuador and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.109/PV.792).
- 170. At its 796th meeting, on 5 May, on the proposal of the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.796), the Special Committee decided that the delegation of observers to the Assembly of the World Peace Council should be composed of the representatives of Iraq, Mali, Poland and Trinidad and Tobago.
- 171. At the 809th meeting, on 16 July, the Chairman of the delegation of observers H.E. Mr. Talib El-Shibib (Iraq), in a statement to the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.809 and Corr.1), introduced the report of the delegation of observers (A/AC.109/L.718 and Add.1). At the same meeting, statements were made by the representatives of Ecuador and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.109/PV.809 and Corr.1). At the 810th meeting, on 20 July, statements were made by the representatives of Bulgaria, Ecuador, Sweden and the Ivory Coast, as well as by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.810).
- 172. At its 813th meeting, on 9 August, following a statement by the representative of Sweden (A/AC.109/PV.813), the Special Committee adopted the report of the delegation of observers (A/AC.109/L.718 and Add.1) and endorsed the conclusions and recommendations contained therein, it being understood that the reservations made by the representative of Sweden would be reflected in the relevant record of the meeting. At the same meeting, further statements were made by the representatives of Iraq and Trinidad and Tobago and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.813). The conclusions and recommendations of the delegation of observers are reproduced below:
 - "1. The group considers that its participation in this Assembly was useful for the work being carried out by the Special Committee. The exchange of views which took place, as well as resolutions and other material emanating from this Assembly, will contribute to a better understanding of the present situation concerning racism and colonialism, particularly in southern Africa.

- "2. The group also feels that by participating in such assemblies and conferences, the Special Committee popularizes its activities and promotes continued interest in the problems concerning racism and colonialism, as well as in the support it continues to give the liberation movements, thus enhancing public awareness of the need for active assistance in the achievement of speedy and complete decolonization.
- "3. The group considers that increased collaboration between the Special Committee and non-governmental organizations engaged in the issues of decolonization can provide opportunities for wider dissemination of information on the work of the Special Committee.
- "4. In particular, the group feels that such collaboration should be maintained with the World Peace Council."
- 173. At its 821st meeting, on 27 August, the Special Committee, by approving the 161st report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions (A/AC.109/L.743), decided, without objection, to grant a request for hearing to a delegation of the World Peace Council (A/AC.109/PET.1191). At the same meeting, statements were made by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.821).
- 174. At the 824th meeting, on 8 September, Mr. Romesh Chandra, Secretary-General of the World Peace Council, Mr. Alberto Baltra, Mrs. Isabelle Blume, Mr. Carlton Goodlett and Mr. Krishna Menon, members of the Council's delegation, made statements before the Committee (A/AC.109/PV.824). At the same meeting, statements were made by the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Iraq, India, the United Republic of Tanzania, Ethiopia and Bulgaria (A/AC.109/PV.824). At the 826th meeting, on 14 September, the representative of Pakistan made a statement with the consent of the Committee ($\Lambda/AC.109/PV.826$). At the same meeting, statements were made by the representatives of India and the Ivory Coast and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.826). At the 831st meeting, on 5 November, following statements by the representatives of India, the Ivory Coast, Yugoslavia, Iran, Afghanistan, Ecuador, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Madagascar, the United Republic of Tanzania and Tunisia (A/AC.109/PV.831), the Special Committee decided to accept the invitation extended to it at its 824th meeting by the Secretary-General of the World Peace Council, and to request the Acting Chairman to represent the Committee at the meetings of the Council's Presidential Committee, to be held at Helsinki, Finland, from 28 to 30 June 1972.

World Federation of Democratic Youth

- 175. At the 791st meeting, on 13 April, the Chairman drew the attention of the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.791) to a communication dated 7 April 1971 from the World Federation of Democratic Youth, inviting the Committee to attend an International Conference in Solidarity with the Portuguese Colonies, to be held in Brazzaville, People's Republic of the Congo, from 22 to 24 April 1971.
- 176. At the same meeting, the Special Committee decided, without objection, that in view of the limited time available before the opening of the proposed Conference and taking into account its own programme of work, it should request its Chairman to send to the Conference, on the Committee's behalf, a special message expressing the Committee's support for the struggle being waged by the liberation movements.

177. At the 793rd meeting, on 23 April, the Chairman draw the attention of the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.793) to the text of a cable which he had dispatched to the Conference in accordance with the above-mentioned decision. At the same meeting, the representative of Bulgaria also made a statement (Λ /AC.109/PV.793).

Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO)

- 178. At the Couch meeting, on 17 June, the Chairman drew the attention of the Special Committee to a communication dated 10 June 1971 from the Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), inviting the Special Committee to attend a special meeting of the Executive Committee of that Organization, to be held in Damascus, Syrian Arab Republic, on 23 and 24 June 1971 (A/AC.109/PV.800).
- 179. At the same meeting, following a statement by the Committee's Secretary (A/AC.109/PV.800) concerning the administrative and financial implications of the above proposal, the Special Committee decided, without objection, to accept AAPSO's invitation and to dispatch a delegation of observers, consisting of the representatives of the Syrian Arab Republic and Ecuador, to attend the special meeting of the Executive Committee of AAPSO.
- 180. At the 807th meeting, on 2 July, the representative of Ecuador, in a statement to the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.807), submitted the report of the delegation of observers (see annex III to the present chapter). At the same meeting, statements in connexion with the report were made by the representatives of the Syrian Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Afghanistan, Bulgaria and Poland, as well as by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.807).
- 181. The Special Committee took the above-mentioned report into account in its consideration of the items on its agenda relating to colonial Territories in southern Africa, an account of which is set out in chapters V to VIII of the present report (A/8423/Add.1, Add.2 (parts I and II), Add.3 (parts I and II) and Add.4).

I'. REVIEW OF WORK $\frac{28}{}$

182. In its resolution 270% (XXV) of 14 December 1970, the General Assembly requested the Special Cormittee to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration in all Territories which have not yet attained independence and, in particular, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism, taking fully into account the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration. The General Assembly further requested the Special Committee to continue to examine the compliance of Member States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization, particularly those relating to the Territories under Portuguese domination, Mamibia and Southern Rhodesia. In the same resolution, the Assembly also requested the Special Committee to make concrete suggestions which could assist the Security Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations with regard to developments in colonial Territories which were likely to threaten international peace and security, and recommended that the Council take such suggestions fully into consideration. The Assembly also invited the Special Committee to continue to pay particular attention to the small Territories and to recommend the most appropriate methods and the steps to be taken to enable the populations of those Territories to exercise fully, and without delay, their right to self-determination and independence. In the programme of action contained in its resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, the General Assembly directed the Special Committee, inter alia: (a) to continue to give special consideration to the views expressed orally or in written communications by representatives of the peoples in the colonial Territories; (b) to continue to send visiting missions to the colonial Territories and to hold meetings at places where it could best obtain first-hand information on the situation in colonial Territories, as well as to continue to hold meetings away from Headquarters as appropriate; and (c) to assist the General Assembly in making arrangements, in co-operation with the administering Powers, for securing a United Nations presence in the colonial Territories to participate in the elaboration of the procedural measures for the implementation of the Declaration and to observe the final stages of the process of decolonization in the Territories. In addition, the Assembly, in a number of other resolutions, assigned to the Special Committee various specific tasks relating to individual Territories and other items on its agenda.

183. At the commencement of the work for the year, a number of members noted with regret the withdrawal from the Special Committee of the United States and the United Kingdom, both of which had served on the Committee since its inception and which together were responsible for the administration of the majority of the remaining dependent Territories. In the view of some members, the withdrawal of these two administering Powers impeded the full and speedy implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). They considered that the action of the two Governments should be seen not only as a direct attempt to undermine the work of the United Nations in decolonization but also as an indication of their

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^{28/} The views or reservations expressed by individu 1 members on matters reviewed in this section are contained in the records of 1 c meetings at which they were discussed, references to which are set out in the relevant chapters of the Committee's reports (A/8423 (parts II to IV) and Add.1-8, and A/8398 and Add.1).

design to suppress the struggle being waged by the peoples under colonial domination to achieve their freedom and independence.

184. In the course of its work, the Special Committee, bearing in mind in particular the requests addressed to it by the General Assembly in resolutions Co21 (XXV) and 2708 (XXV), reviewed the implementation of the Declaration and of the various United Nations resolutions relating to the colonial Territories and, in the light of developments, formulated recommendations for the application of further measures by States, by the competent United Nations organs and by the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, with a view to accelerating the pace of decolonization and the economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants. Thus, the Committee continued, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2703 (XXV), its study of the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa. In addition, the Committee, having regard to the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 2621 (XXV), 2708 (XXV) and 2709 (XXV), continued its examination of the military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration. Further, the Committee, under the terms of the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2704 (XXV), gave continued consideration to the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system. In the light of the relevant provisions of the General Assembly, the Committee also examined the question of sending visiting missions to Territories and the matter of publicity to be given to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. Finally, the Committee carried out a number of other specific responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly in various resolutions, as well as other tasks arising from its own previous decisions.

185. The programme of work of the Special Committee, as outlined above, kept the Committee fully occupied throughout its entire session. Furthermore, many of the problems entrusted to the Committee, particularly those relating to the Territories in southern Africa, had acquired greater complexity, as seen from the intensified and parallel consideration given by the Security Council to the situation obtaining in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia and to the repeated acts of aggression committed by Portugal against independent African States bordering its Territories. Notwithstanding these developments, the Committee was able, by adhering to a heavy schedule of meetings between February and November, to give adequate consideration to, and submit recommendations on, most of the items on its agenda and, as regards the remainder, to transmit to the General Assembly information which would facilitate their examination at the twenty-sixth session.

186. Within the context of General Assembly resolutions 1654 (XVI) and 2621 (XXV), by which the Special Committee was directed to continue to send visiting missions to the colonial Territories and to hold tings at places where it could best obtain first-hand information on the situation in those Territories, as well as to continue to hold meetings away from Headquarters, the Special Committee at the outset of the year decided to dispatch an ad hoc group to Africa for the purpose of maintaining contact with representatives of national liberation movements of colonial Territories on that continent and obtaining first-hand information on the situation in those Territories, The

group visited Lusaka, Zambia, Dar es Salaam, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and was able to meet with representatives of 10 groups of national liberation movements of the Territories concerned and with officials of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). As reflected in the observations of the group, subsequently endorsed by the Special Committee, the findings of the group corroborated the further deterioration, in the course of the past year, of the situation in those Territories; the authorities concerned had considerably increased their military activities and repressive measures against the African population and the national liberation movements. The Committee considered that the further intensification of armed repression and the co-ordinated escalation of military activities and other arrangements constituted a grave and increasing threat, not only to the security of neighbouring African States but to international peace in general. The Committee, in reaffirming the legitimate right of the peoples in the colonial Territories to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal for freedom and independence, deemed it an obligation of Member States to render all necessary moral and material assistance to those peoples. The Committee considered it incumbent upon the United Nations to take all effective measures to assist the dependent peoples in their struggle for the restoration of their inalienable rights. In that context, the Special Committee decided to study the possibility of associating representatives of the liberation movements concerned more closely with the work of the Special Committee. Committee was convinced that all States should, in consultation with OAU, increase their financial and material assistance to the peoples concerned, and in that connexion drew attention to the OAU Fund for Assistance for the Struggle Against Colonialism and Apartheid. Many members considered it imperative that all States, directly and through their action in the international organizations concerned, should discontinue all collaboration with Portugal and South Africa, as well as with the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, as such collaboration aided the perpetuation of colonialism and oppression in southern Africa by those authorities. In the light of this increasing collaboration, the Special Committee deplored the decision of the United Kingdom Government to proceed with the sale to South Africa of helicopters and spare parts for military equipment, bearing particularly in mind the serious repercussions of such a decision through the whole of southern Africa. Special Committee therefore urged all States without exception to desist forthwith from the sale or supply of arms, ammunition, military equipment and related material to South Africa.

187. The question of Southern Rhodesia again was given high priority and received the close attention of the Special Committee during the year. The Committee expressed its grave concern at the continued and intensified measures of oppression of the people of Zimbabwe by the illegal racist minority régime. It noted with deep regret that, in violation of Article 25 of the Charter and of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, certain States, in particular South Africa and Portugal, continued to assist the illegal régime, thus rendering ineffective the sanctions imposed by the Security Council. In view of the fore ing, the majority of the members in condemning the failure and refusal of the avernment of the United Kingdom to take effective measures to put an end to the illegal régime, called upon that Government, in fulfilment its responsibility as the administering Power, to take all necessary measures, acluding the use of force, to bring down the régime and to transfer all power to the people of Zimbabwe, on the basis of universal adult suffrage and majority rule. It was also noted with deep regret that the Government of the United Kingdom

had not indicated whether it intended to consult with the representatives of political parties of Zimbabwe favouring majority rule; members called upon the Government to undertake such consultations without further delay. The Committee condemned the policies of those Governments, particularly the Governments of South Africa and Portugal, which continued to have political, economic, military and other relations with the illegal régime, contrary to their obligations under the Charter, and called upon those Governments to cease immediately all such relations and, in particular, to interrupt all existing means of transportation to and from the Territory. The Committee also condemned the continued presence and intervention of South African forces in Southern Rhodesia in violation of Security Council resolution 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970, and called upon the administering Power to ensure the expulsion of all such forces and the release of freedom-fighters detained in the Territory. Further, the Committee called upon all States, the specialized agencies and other international institutions within the United Nations system, on the one hand, to extend, with the co-operation of OAU, all moral and material assistance to the people of Zimbabwe and, on the other, to comply fully with the Security Council sanctions so as to bring about the complete isolation of the illegal régime. In view of the further deterioration of the situation in the Territory, the Committee considered it necessary to draw the attention of the Security Council to the need to declare mandatory all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter and to consider imposing sanctions against South Africa and Portugal, whose Governments persisted in their refusal to implement the relevant decisions of the Security Council. connexion, the Special Committee expressed its concern at the decision taken by the United States Senate which, if confirmed, would enable that country to import chrome from Southern Rhodesia and thus would violate the sanctions imposed by the Security Council. The Committee accordingly urged the United States Government to take the necessary measures to prevent the enactment of such legislation. Finally, the Committee, considering that the decision of the International Olympic Committee to permit the participation of the so-called National Clympic Committee of Rhodesia in the XXth Olympic Games contravened the aims of various Security Council resolutions, requested all States to take steps to ensure the exclusion of the so-called National Olympic Committee of Rhodesia from participation in the XXth Olympic Games and to refrain from any action which might confer a semblance of legitimacy on the illegal régime.

188. Also accorded high priority in the deliberations of the Special Committee was the question of Territories under Portuguese administration. The Committee deplored the refusal of the Government of Portugal to recognize the right of self-determination and independence of the peoples of the Territories under its domination. In particular, the Committee was deeply disturbed by the intensification of Portugal's military repression of those peoples, including in particular its use of chemical and biological methods of warfare, and by the repeated acts of aggression by Portugal against independent African States bordering the Territorics. The Committee noted with concern that the constitutional changes introduced by Portugal in 1971 had not opened the way to the self-determination of the African population and to the independence of the Territories but had merely served to entrench Portuguese colonial domination. At the same time, the Committee noted with satisfaction the progress towards independence made by the liberation movements in Portugal's colonial Territories both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes. In the light of these developments, the Committee condemned the persistent refusal of the

Government of Portugal to implement the various relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, and the colonial wars being waged by that Government against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), which also threatened the security and violated the sovereignty of neighbouring African States. Accordingly, the Committee called upon the Government of Portugal to ccase all repressive activities against the peoples of the Territories under its domination and to effect the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration with respect to the Territories. The Committee also appealed once again to all States, particularly Portugal's military allies within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), to discontinue and prevent the further supply of all types of military assistance to that Government, as such assistance encouraged Portugal to continue its repression in the Territories under its domination. In this context, most members deplored the holding in Lisbon in June this year of meetings of the Council of Ministers of NATO as this could afford political and moral encouragement to Portugal in the pursuit of its colonialist policies and implied a further collaboration of certain members of NATO with Portugal without which that Government would be unable to continue its colonial wars. The Committee therefore urged those States to desist forthwith from all acts which might encourage Portugal to continue its policies of colonial oppression. The Committee also condemned the use by Portugal of chemical and biological methods of warfare against the populations of the liberated areas of Angola. The Committee condemned the policies of those Governments which had failed to prevent their nationals and companies under their jurisdiction from participating in the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique and the Cunene River Basin project in Angola. The Committee in that regard called upon all States to take effective measures to prevent such participation, as well as to put an end to all practices which exploited the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination. Further, in view of the grave situation which seriously disturbed international peace and security, the Committee drew the attention of the Security Council to the need for taking, as a matter of urgency, all effective measures in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and of the Security Council. The Committee also urged all States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in co-operation with OAU, to give to the peoples of the Territories the moral and material assistance necessary to continue their struggle. The Committee reiterated its appeal to all specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations to refrain from granting the Government of Portugal any financial, economic or technical assistance .so long as that Government refused to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Finally, bearing in mind its acceptance of the invitations extended to it by the representatives of the liberation movements to visit the liberated areas of the Territories concerned, the Committee requested its Chairman to work out the necessary modalities in consultation with OAU and, through it, with the liberation movements concerned.

189. The Special Committee once again considered the question of Namibia within the context of the implementation of the Declaration. In this connexion, the Committee again expressed its grave concern at the extremely dangerous situation existing in the Territory as a result of the continued defiance by the Government of South Africa of the authority of the United Nations, its persistent illegal occupation of the Territory and its application of the criminal policies of apartheid in order to destroy the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia and consolidate its presence in the Territory. The Committee stated that, in an effort further to stifle the legitimate struggle of the people for liberation,

South Africa had intensified its military collaboration with Portugal and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. The resulting situation continued to threaten the peace and security of neighbouring independent African States. The Committee accordingly condemned the persistent non-compliance of South Africa with the relevant decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. as well as the support given to South Africa by its major trading partners and those financial, economic and other interests which exploited the Territory. Members noted with satisfaction the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice which had confirmed previous United Nations decisions concerning the illegality of South Africa's presence in Namibia, and expressed the hope that the Security Council would, in the light of the Court's opinion, consider taking all the measures envisaged under the relevant provisions of the Charter to ensure the attainment of the goals set forth in resolution 1514 (XV) with respect to Pending such action by the Security Council, the Committee onco the Territory. again called upon all States, particularly the permanent members of the Council. to extend their full co-operation to the United Nations in order to bring the situation to an early solution in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In addition, the Committee reaffirmed its solidarity with the people of Mamibia and called upon all States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in consultation with OAU, to increase their moral and material assistance to those people struggling against foreign occupation and oppression.

190. The Special Committee continued its review of the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa. In that connexion, the majority of members noted with grave concern that colonial Powers and States whose companies and nationals were engaged in such activities had failed to implement fully the relevant General Assembly resolutions and that those activities continued to be detrimental to the interests of the indigenous peoples, particularly in southern Africa. It was pointed out, in particular, that the monopolies and other foreign concerns operating in those Territories had derived high profits from their investments because of the special privileges granted them by the colonial administrations. The profits were retained in the hands of foreign monopolies or minority settlers who made no effort to improve the economic and social conditions of the African populations of the Territories concerned. Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia, the major feature in the present process of expansion of foreign economic interests had been the creation, with the assistance of big monopolies controlled from the United Kingdom, the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan, of a new military and paramilitary industrial complex under the aegis of South Africa, two examples of which were the Cabora Bassa and Cunene River Basin projects. As regards these projects, the Committee reaffirmed its previous conclusions that, if completed, they would strengthen the economic base of the minority racist régimes in southern Africa, would have grave negative political implications for the whole African continent and would lead to international tensions and discord. The Committee noted that similar conclusions had been reached by the representatives of the national liberation movements who had met with the Committee's Ad Hoc Group in Africa. At the same time, the Committee observed with satisfaction

that protest campaigns had been organized all over the world during the past year against the involvement of foreign economic interests in the exploitation of the colonial Territories. In the light of the foregoing, the Committee strongly condemned the present activities and operating methods of those foreign economic interests in the Territories under colonial domination because, in its view, they were designed to keep the colonial peoples under permanent subjugation and to thwart their efforts towards independence. The Committee reaffirmed the inalienable right of the African populations over their natural resources and their right to enjoy the benefits thereof. The position of the Governments which had failed to prevent their nationals from participating in the Cabora Bassa and Cunene River Basin projects was also condemned by the Committee which urged those Governments to withdraw their support from the projects. The Committee further condemned the colonialist Powers which supported those foreign economic and other interests engaged in exploiting the natural and human resources of the Territories without regard to the welfare of the indigenous peoples, and reiterated its request that those Powers take the necessary measures to put an end to all such activities by their companies and nationals.

191. The Special Committee continued its examination of military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In that connexion, members noted with grave concern that the colonial Powers had not complied with General Assembly resolutions requesting them to withdraw their military bases and installations from colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones. On the contrary, in the larger colonial Territories in particular, they had intensified their military activities aimed at subjugating the indigenous peoples. providing protection for foreign monopolies and perpetuating colonialist and racist régimes. On the basis of its study, the Committee viewed with particular concern the situation in the Territories of southern Africa, where the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia had continued in close collaboration to escalate their armed repression of the colonial population. This over-all intensification of colonial oppression, members noted, had been confirmed to the Committee's Ad Hoc Group by representatives of the national liberation movements. In the view of several members, States members of NATO were responsible for the continuing provision of arms and other military equipment which enabled the authorities concerned to pursue their racialist and oppressive policies. The Committee concluded that these new military activities, including the acts of aggression committed by Portugal and South Africa against independent African States, had created a grave and increasing threat to the security of these independent African States and to international peace and security. In the smaller Territories, the Committee again found evidence that the military activities of the authorities concerned inevitably impeded the process of decolorization and interfered with the economic development of the Territories. In view of these conclusions, the Committee strongly condemned the use of military force by the authorities concerned to suppress the legitimate aspirations of the colonial peoples and, in particular, the continuing intensification of co-ordinated military aggression by South Africa, Portugal and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia against the peoples in the Territories under their domination and against independent African States. Accordingly, the Committee once again called upon all States to withhold all support and assistance, including the supply of arms and military equipment, to the authorities concerned in southern Africa. Finally, the Committee called upon all States responsible for the administration of colonial

and Trust Territories to comply with the relevant General Assembly resolutions on this question and requested those States to discontinue all military activities which impede the implementation of the Declaration.

192. The Special Committee continued its examination of the question of the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations, in accordance with the request contained in the relevant General Assembly resolution. In so doing, the Committee was particularly conscious of the urgent need of the peoples and the national liberation movements of several colonial Territories, particularly in the liberated areas of some of these Territories, for international assistance, especially in the fields of education, training, health and nutrition. The Committee reaffirmed that the recognition by the United Nations of the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples to achieve freedom and independence entailed, as a corollary, the extension by the organizations concerned of all the necessary moral and material assistance to the liberation movements, including in particular the populations in the liberated areas. The Committee expressed its appreciation to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and to those specialized agencies and the other organizations within the United Nations system which had co-operated in varying degrees with the United Nations in the implementation of the relevant General Assembly resolutions. At the same time, the Committee noted with deep regret that many of the specialized agencies and organizations concerned had not extended their full co-operation to the United Nations in the implementation of those provisions of the relevant resolutions relating to providing assistance to the national liberation movements and to discontinuing all collaboration with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. The Committee accordingly reiterated its appeal to the specialized agencies and the other organizations within the United Nations system to render all possible moral and material assistance to the dependent peoples and, in particular, to work out, with the active co-operation of OAU and, through it, of the national liberation movements, concrete programmes for assisting the peoples of the colonial Territories in southern Africa. Committee also recommended that the General Assembly invite all the specialized agencies and the other organizations concerned to proceed urgently to consider measures aimed at facilitating the effective implementation of the relevant provisions of the various Security Council resolutions on colonial Territories in southern Africa, and especially paragraphs 9 (b), 11 and 23 of resolutions 277 (1970) of 18 March 1979 and paragraph 14 of resolution 283 (1970) of 29 July 1970. The Committee felt that the General Assembly should urge these organizations to discontinue all collaboration with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa as well as the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. The Committee also considered that the General Assembly should invite the specialized agencies to examine, in consultation with OAU, appropriate procedures for participation by representatives of the liberation movements in the relevant conferences, seminars and other meetings convened by them. Furthermore, the Committee considered that the General Assembly should request all Governments to take the necessary action in the organizations of which they are members, to ensure the full and enfective implementation of the relevant resolutions, and that in order to facilitate such governmental action; the executive heads of the agencies should be invited to present to their respective governing and legislative organs, in a specific and systematic manner, the recommendations on decolonization adopted by the competent United Nations bodies, together with a full analysis of the issues and of the problems involved, if any, and concrete proposals for the implementation of these recommendations. Finally,

the Committee requested the Chairman to continue his consultations with the President of the Economic and Social Council and to maintain contact, as appropriate, with OAU.

193. The Special Committee, aware of the vital importance of securing adequate and first-hand information regarding political, economic and social conditions in the Territories as well as on the views, wishes and aspirations of the people, once again examined the question of sending visiting missions to Territories. Committee was particularly mindful of the constructive role played by previous United Nations visiting missions in assisting colonial Territories to achieve independence in conditions of peace and stability. The Committee noted with satisfaction that, in response to the requests addressed to the administering Powers in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee, the Government of New Zealand had extended an invitation to the Committee to send a visiting mission to Niue and the Tokelau Islands in 1972. The Committee also noted that the Trusteeship Council had decided, on the invitation of the Government of Australia, to dispatch a visiting mission to observe the elections to the Third Papua-New Guinea House of Assembly in 1972 and that the membership of that mission would include two members of the Committee. While members welcomed these developments, it was deeply regretted that the unco-operative attitude of certain administering Powers towards the sending of visiting missions by the Committee had continued to impede the full, speedy and effective implementation of the The Committee accordingly reiterated its appeal to those administering Powers to reconsider their attitude, and requested its Chairman to enter into consultations with them with a view to obtaining their agreement to permit such missions access to the Territories under their administration. The Committee requested its Chairman to hold further consultations with the President of the Trusteeship Council and the representative of the Administering Authority concerned in connexion with the invitation extended to it by the Congress of Micronesia to visit the Trust Territory.

194. The Special Committee once again examined the question of publicity to be given to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, in the light of the request addressed to the Secretary-General by the General Assembly to take concrete measures through all the media at his disposal, including publications, radio and television, to give effect to its previous decisions on the question. In that regard, the Committee considered that a sustained effort must be made to keep world public opinion adequately acquainted with the situation in the colonial Territories and with the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by the colonial peoples, so as to mobilize the international community more effectively in favour of the implementation of the Declaration. In particular, the Committee was aware of the urgent need to reinforce the activities and structure of the various United Nations information centres located in the regions where the colonial wars are being fought. The Committee also considered that the United Nations should seek closer co-operation with OAU for the fulfilment of the action envisaged in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) through systematic and continuous consultations and exchange of information. Further, the co-operation and assistance of competent national and international non-governmental organizations should be sought to bring about the effective and complete isolation of the racialist authorities in southern Africa. In the light of the foregoing, the Committee agreed to invite the Secretary-General to take further measures to give widespread and continuous publicity to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization and in particular to ensure the widest possible

dissemination of the relevant information to the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories and to non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the problems of decolonization, and to keep the Special Committee informed of the action taken and envisaged by the Office of Public Information in this connexion.

O. FUTURE WORK

- 195. As indicated in the preceding section and elsewhere in the present report, apart from some limited constitutional advances in certain of the dependent Territories, there has been no significant acceleration in the process of decolonization during the past year and as regards several Territories, the full implementation of the goals set out in the Charter and the Declaration appear far from early or peaceful realization.
- 196. Subject, therefore, to any further direct ves that the General Assembly might give in that connexion at its twenty-sixth session and bearing in mind the various provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, in particular the programme of action, contained in resolution 2621 (XXV), the Special Committee inter's during 1972 to devote close attention to the Territories to which the Declaration applies with a view to their speedy attainment of complete decolonization. In particular, the Committee will keep developments concerning each Territory under review, examine, in the light of paragraph 14 of General Assembly resolution 2708 (XXV), the extent of compliance by Member States and in particular by the administering Powers with the Declaration and other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization, and submit conclusions and recommendations as to the specific measures necessary for the achievement of the objectives set out in the Declaration.
- 197. In undertaking the above-mentioned tasks, the Special Committee will continue to take due account of the provisions of paragraph 12 of resolution 2708 (XXV), by which the General Assembly requested it to make concrete suggestions which could assist the Security Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter with regard to developments in colonial Territories which were likely to threaten international peace and security. Further, bearing in mind the express wish of the Assembly in that regard, the Committee will recommend, whenever it considers it proper and appropriate, a deadline for the accession to independence of each Territory in accordance with the wishes of the people and the provisions of the Declaration. In addition, the Committee, as requested in paragraph 14 of General Assembly resolution 2708 (XXV) will continue to pay particular attention to the small Territories and to recommend to the Assembly the most appropriate methods and steps to be taken to enable the populations of those Territories to exercise fully their right to self-determination and independence.
- 198. In addition, taking into account, the provisions of resolution 2703 (XXV) concerning the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese administration and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa, and of other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, the Special Committee intends to continue its consideration of further ways and means of bringing to an end the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration in the remaining colonial Territories. Moreover, in the light of its conclusions and recommendations in that regard (see A/8423 (part II), chapter II), the Committee intends to continue, as appropriate, its study of military activities and

arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration. In doing so, the Committee will be guided by the provisions of paragraph 3 (5) of resolution 2621 (XXV), paragraph 9 of resolution 2704 (XXV) and paragraph 5 of resolution 2709 (XXV). Further, as indicated in paragraphs 76 to 82 of the present chapter, the Committee will continue at its next session to review the list of Territories to which the Declaration applies, subject to any directives which the General Assembly might wish to give in that connexion.

199. As regards the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations, the Special Committee intends, in the light of its resolution of 21 October 1971 (1/0423 (part III), chapter III) to continue its consideration of the question during 1972. In doing so, the Committee will take into account the action taken or envisaged by international organizations in the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and in particular the relevant provisions of those resolutions relating to the Territories in southern Africa. The Committee will also be guided by the results of the further consultations to be held in 1972 between its Chairman and the President of the Economic and Social Council within the content of relevant decisions of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Special Committee itself, as well as of the Chairman's consultations with OAU on the matter.

200. In the programme of action contained in resolution 2621 (XXV), the General Assembly directed the Special Committee to continue to send visiting missions to the colonial Territories. Furthermore, in paragraph 15 of resolution 2708 (XXV), the General Assembly called upon the administering Powers to co-operate fully with the Special Committee by permitting the access of visiting groups to the colonial Territories in accordance with decisions previously taken by the General Assembly and by the Special Cormittee. As will be noted in the relevant chapters of the present report, the Special Committee, having regard to the constructive role played by previous United Mations visiting groups, continues to attach vital importance to the dispatching of such groups as a means of collecting adequate and first-hand information on conditions in the Territories and on the wishes and aspirations of the people. In that regard, as noted in paragraph 188 above, the Committee intends to dispatch a group of representatives to the liberated areas of certain of the colonial Territories in southern Africa. In addition, as indicated in paragraph 193 above, during 1972 the Committee will be sending, on the invitation of the Government of New Zealand, a visiting mission to Niue and the Tokelau Islands and will also participate in a special mission of the Trusteeship Council to the Trust Territory of New Guinea and the Territory of Papua. The Cormittee intends to continue to seek the full co-operation of the administering Fowers concerned to enable it to obtain such information through the sending, as appropriate, of visiting groups to the Territories in the Caribbean, Indian Ocean and Pacific Coean areas, and to the Territories in Africa. In that connexion, the Committee believes that the General Assembly will wish once again to address an appeal to the administering Powers concerned to extend their co-operation by facilitating visits to Territories in accordance with the decisions previously taken by the Committee and with other decisions in that regard which the Committee may adopt in 1972. Further, in view of the need to maintain close contact with the liberation movements of the Territories concerned on a continuous basis and in the light of the relevant provisions of the programme of action contained in resolution 2621 (XXV), the Committee intends to study the possibility of associating representatives of the liberation movements more closely with its work.

201. In regard to the publicity to be given to the work of the Organization in the field of decolonization, the Special Committee, with a view to assisting the Secretary-General in the implementation of the request addressed to him by the General Assembly in paragraph 16 of resolution 2708 (XXV), undertook a further examination of this question in close co-operation with the Secretariat. In view of the importance it attaches to the matter, the Special Committee expects to continue, as in 1971, its review of the programme of publications and other information activities envisaged by the Office of Public Information in the field of decolonization. The General Assembly, in that connexion, will no doubt wish once again to invite the Secretary-General to intensify his efforts and to urge the administering Powers to co-operate with the Secretary-General in promoting the large-scale dissemination of information on the work of the Organization in the implementation of the Declaration. The Committee will also seek the close collaboration of non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization with a view to enlisting their support in the dissemination of the relevant information and in the mobilization of world public opinion in the cause of decolonization. In that connexion the Acting Chairman will represent the Committee at the session of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council to be held in Helsinki, Finland, in January 1972. Further, consultations are in progress with OAU concerning the Committee's participation in the OAU conference to be held at Oslo, Norway, in May 1972, to which reference is made in paragraph 131 above. The Committee would also be ready to co-operate with the Economic and Social Council in its examination of "how non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Council assist in the achievement of the objectives of the Declaration and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly'.

202. In the light of the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions concerning the pattern of conferences, and taking into consideration its experience in previous years as well as its probable work-load for next year, the Special Committee has approved a tentative programme of meetings for 1972 (see paragraphs 136 to 140 above) which it commends for approval by the General Assembly. In the same connexion, the Committee took into consideration the provisions of paragraph 6 of resolution 1654 (XVI) and paragraph 3 (9) of resolution 2621 (XXV), by which the Assembly authorized the Committee to meet elsewhere than at United Nations had quarters whenever and wherever such meetings might be required for the effective discharge of its functions. Following its consideration of the matter, the Committee, bearing in mind the constructive results flowing from the holding of meetings away from Headquarters in previous years, decided, as indicated in paragraphs 126 to 131 above, to inform the General Assembly that it might consider holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters during 1972 and to recommend that, in making the necessary financial provision to cover the activities of the Committee during that year, the General Assembly should take that possibility into account.

203. The Special Committee suggests that when the General Assembly examines the question of the implementation of the Declaration at the twenty-sixth session it may wish to take into account the various recommendations of the Special Committee which are reflected in the relevant chapters of the present report and, in particular, to endorse the proposals outlined in the present section, in order to enable the Committee to carry out the tasks envisaged by it. In addition, the Committee recommends that the General Assembly should renew its appeal to the administering Powers to take immediately all necessary steps for the implementation of the Declaration and the relevant United Nations resolutions. In that connexion,

the General Assembly might also wish to renew its appeal to all States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, to comply with the various requests addressed to them by the General Assembly and by the Security Council in the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on the question of decolonization.

204. Further, the Special Committee recommends that, in approving the programme of work outlined above, the General Assembly should also make adequate financial provision to cover the activities of the Committee envisaged for 1972; the sending of visiting groups as envisaged in paragraph 200 above, would in the estimation of the Committee, give rise to expenditure of the order of \$80,000 and a series of meetings away from Headquarters, should the Committee decide to hold one within the context of paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI), and paragraph 3 (9) of resolution 2621 (XXV), would result in expenditure of about \$150,000. Further, it is estimated that the additional programme of publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization envisaged by the Committee for 1972 (see paragraph 201 above) would give rise to expenditure of approximately \$50,000. In addition, the further consultations scheduled to take place between the Chairman of the Special Committee and the President of the Economic and Social Council (see paragraph 199 above) would, if they should be held during a session of the Economic and Social Council in Geneva, entail expenditure of about \$5,000, mainly in connexion with travel arrangements. The Chairman's consultations with OAU in the same context would, if they should be held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, entail further expenditure of \$2,100 (see paragraph 199 above). The Committee's participation in the OAU conference (see paragraph 201 above) will give rise to expenditure of approximately \$3,500 and the Chairman's presence at the meetings of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council, to be held in Helsinki, Finland, will amount to some \$900 (see paragraph 201 above). Finally, the Special Committee expresses the hope that the Secretary-General will continue to provide it with all the facilities and personnel necessary for the discharge of its mandate, taking into account the various additional tasks assigned to it by the General Assembly as well as those arising from decisions taken by it during the current year.

P. APPROVAI OF THE REPORT

205. At its 832nd meeting, on 26 November, following a statement by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.109/PV.832), the Special Committee approved, without objection, the present report as a whole. At the same meeting, the representative of Poland made a statement (A/AC.109/PV.832).

206. Further statements were made by the Rapporteur and by the representatives of Bulgaria, Ecuador, Iran, Tunisia, India, Sweden, Sierra Leone, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ivory Coast, Yugoslavia, Trinidad and Tobago, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Iraq and Poland, as well as by the Under-Secretary-General for Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.832).

ANNEX I

REVIEW OF WORK (1971)

A. REPORT OF SUB-CCMMITTEE II*

Chairman: Mr. Mohammad Hakim ARYUBI (Afghanistan)

- 1. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March 1971, the Special Committee, by approving the fifty-eighth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.667), decided to maintain Sub-Committee II and referred the following Territories to it for consideration and report:
 - (1) Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands
 - (2) New Hebrides
 - (3) American Samoa and Guam
 - (4) Niue and the Tokelau Islands
 - (5) Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands
 - (6) Cocos (Keeling) Islands and Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea
 - (7) Brunei
- 2. In addition to the above terms of reference, the Special Committee also referred to the Sub-Committee specific tasks relating to the Territories as contained in the respective General Assembly resolutions, in particular, resolutions 2708 (XXV) of 14 December 1970 and 2709 (XXV) of 14 December 1970. These matters were, inter alia, as follows:
- (a) Matters relating to the small Territories. Paragraph 14 of General Assembly resolution 2708 (XXV) reads as follows:
 - "14. Requests the Special Committee to continue 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 and without delay their right to self-determination and independence."
- (b) Question of sending visiting missions to Territories. Paragraph 15 of General Assembly resolution 2708 (XXV) reads as follows:
 - "Calls upon the administering Powers to co-operate fully with the Special Committee by permitting the access of visiting groups to the colonial Territories in order to secure first-hand information concerning the Territories and to ascertain the wishes and aspirations of the inhabitants of those Territories under their administration."
- 3. The composition of Sub-Committee II in 1971 was as follows: Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Fiji, India, Iraq and Poland.

^{*} Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.169/L.756.

- 4. At its 126th meeting, on 20 April 1971, the Sub-Committee unanimously elected Mr. Mohammad Hakim Aryubi (Afghanistan) as Chairman.
- 5. Sub-Committee II held a total of twenty-three meetings between 20 April and 15 October 1971 a/ and submitted to the Special Committee the following reports: b/

New Hobrides
Niue and the Tokelau Islands
Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands
American Samoa and Guam
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands
Cocos (Keeling) Islands and Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea

- 6. At its 148th meeting on 15 October, the Sub-Committee decided that owing to lack of time it would be unable to consider Brunei this year.
- 7. The Sub-Committee notes that a petition from Chief Jimmy T.P.S. Moses, President of Na-griamel, concerning the New Hebrides (A/AC.109/PET.1164/Add.1), was circulated on 7 September 1971, subsequent to the Special Committee's adoption of the report of Sub-Committee II concerning the New Hebrides. c/ It considers, however, that this communication is an amplification of an earlier petition from Chief Moses on behalf of Na-griamel (see A/AC.109/PET.1164), and that the conclusions and recommendations adopted by the Special Committee at its 814th meeting, on 11 August 1971, apply also to the new petition.
- 8. The Sub-Committee took into account the request of the General Assembly to continue to pay particular attention to small Territories and to recommend appropriate methods and steps to be taken to enable the populations concerned to exercise fully their right to self-determination and independence.
- 9. On the question of visiting missions, the Sub-Committee submitted specific recommendations regarding a number of the Territories which it considered. These recommendations are contained in the Sub-Committee's reports referred to in paragraph 5 above.
- 10. The Sub-Committee considered the present report at its 148th meeting on 15 October 1971, and adopted it at the same meeting.

a/ A/AC.109/SC.3/SR.126-148.

b/ See A/8423/Add.6 (parts I-III).

 $[\]underline{c}$ / See A/8423/Add.6 (part I), chap. XIV, annex II.

B. REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE III*

Chairman: Mr. Jamal SHEMIFANI 'Iran'

- 1. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March 1971, the Special Committee by approving the fifty-eighth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.687), decided to maintain Sub-Committee III and refer to it for consideration and report the following Territories:
 - (1) Bahamas
 - (2) Bermuda
 - (3) British Virgin Islands
 - (4) Cayman Islands
 - (5) Montserrat
 - (6) Turks and Caicos Islands
 - (7) United States Virgin Islands
- 2. In addition to the above terms of reference, the Special Committee requested the Sub-Committee to carry out specific tasks relating to the Territories as contained in the respective General Assembly resolutions, in particular resolutions 2708 (XXV) of 14 December 1970 and 2709 (XXV) of 14 December 1970. These matters were, inter alia, as follows:
- (a) Matters relating to the small Territories. Paragraph 14 of General Assembly resolution 2708 (XXV) reads as follows:
 - "14. Requests the Special Committee to continue 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 and without delay their right to self-determination and independence."
- (b) Question of sending visiting missions to Territories. Paragraph 15 of General Assembly resolution 2708 (XXV) reads as follows:
 - "Calls upon the administering Power to co-operate fully with the Special Committee by permitting the access of visiting groups to the colonial Territories in order to secure first-hand information concerning the Territories and to ascertain the wishes and aspirations of the inhabitants of those Territories under their administration."
- 3. The composition of Sub-Committee III in 1971 was as follows: Bulgaria, Iran, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Sweden and Trinidad and Tobago.
- 4. At its 155th meeting on 7 April 1971, Sub-Committee III elected Mr. Jamal Shemirani (Iran) as Chairman and Mr. Mahmud Sultan Dean Aziz (Trinidad and Tobago) as Rapporteur.

^{*} Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.747.

- 5. Sub-Committee III held a total of 19 meetings between 7 April and 1 October 1971 a/ and submitted to the Special Committee reports concerning the following Territories: United States Virgin Islands, Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Montserrat and Turks and Caicos Islands. b/
- 6. The question of sending visiting missions to Territories was considered by the Sub-Committee at its 156th meeting on 10 May 1971. The Sub-Committee also submitted its specific recommendations regarding this question in its reports concerning the Territories, referred to in paragraph 5 above.
- 7. At its 168th to 172nd meetings, between 31 August and 24 September 1971, the Sub-Committee also considered the item entitled "Matters relating to the small Territories". In this connexion, it was acquainted with a proposal for the establishment of a committee of experts to undertake a systematic study of economic, social and other development aspects concerning the small Territories. The Sub-Committ considered various aspects of the question and decided to continue consideration of the item at its next session.
- 8. Bearing in mind provisions of resolution 2708 (XXV), referred to in paragraph 2 above, in which the General Assembly requested the Special Committee "to continue to pay particular attention to the small Territories", the Sub-Committee expressed the view that the Special Committee might wish to take up the item also at its next session, in continuation of the general exchange of views initiated at its 667th to 670th meetings.
- 9. The Sub-Committee considered the present report at its 172nd and 173rd meetings on 24 September and 1 October 1971, and adopted it at its 173rd meeting on 1 October 1971, subject to certain reservations expressed by the representative of Sweden, concerning paragraphs 7 and 8.

a/ A/AC.109/SC.4/SR.155-173.

b/ See A/8423/Add.7 (parts II and III).

ANNEX II

PUBLICITY FOR THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE FIELD OF DECOLONIZATION

A. REPORT OF THE OFFICE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION ON ITS
PUBLIC INFORMATION ACTIVITY ON DECOLONIZATION
AND RELATED QUESTIONS

Introduction

- 1. In the process of decolonization, which began with the termination of the Second World War and the establishment of the United Nations, some three score new nations have come into being and taken their place as sovereign, independent and equal members in the United Nations Organization. However, some 28 million people in some forty-four dependent Territories continue to live in bondage, deprived not only of political, but even of basic and elementary human rights. Most of these some 18 million live in the "hard-core" region of southern Africa where minority régimes, with outside support, openly defy collective world opinion and seek to perpetrate their stranglehold on the lives and Territories dominated by them. In this region of the world, the process of decolonization has as the Secretary-General stated in his address to the joint meeting of the three United Nations bodies concerned with southern Africa on 3 May 1971, reached an "impasse".
- 2. Recognizing this reality, the General Assembly last year adopted a new Programme of Action designed to mobilize the forces and resources necessary to eliminate the last remnants of colonialism. The Assembly, declaring colonialism to be a crime against the Charter, recognized the central role which public information must play in the diverse actions and efforts required to secure the final eradication of this crime. Thus, the Assembly declared that "all States shall undertake measures aimed at enhancing public awareness of the need for active assistance in the achievement of complete decolonization and, in particular, creating satisfactory conditions for activities of national and international non-governmental organizations in support of the peoples under colonial domination".
- 3. The Assembly went on to provide that "the United Nations as well as all States shall intensify their efforts in the field of public information in the area of decolonization through all media, including publications, radio and television. Of special importance will be programmes relating to United Nations activities on decolonization, the situation in colonial Territories and the struggle being waged by colonial peoples and the national liberation movements".

- 4. Public information of and by itself alone cannot, of course bring about the eradication of colonialism where it still continues to exist. Information can only support, and in no case be a substitute, for other action. However, public information is indispensable in generating and sustaining the "public awareness" referred to in the General Assembly resolution; and this public awareness, in turn, is indispensable if sufficient world-wide pressure is to be generated to induce Governments to bring about the elimination of this historical anachronism.
- Much attention is presently being given and very rightly so to information activities aimed at such priority targets, established by the facts of present-day life and reflected in General Assembly decisions, as for example, economic and social development, population, the human environment, etc. While information activities in these non-political" fields must be and are being stepped up mainly with voluntary financial support outside the regular United Nations budget this must not be at the cost of, or in derogation of, activities aimed at other priority targets in the purely political field, such as decolonization, the elimination of racialism, apartheid, etc. Also, while it is perhaps inevitable that United Nations information activity should, to a certain extent at least, reflect the apportionment of manpower and resources approved by the Organization itself between various categories of its activities - political and "non-political" this division must clearly be confined to the statistical and not be permitted to invade the substantive. Any serious substantive discrepancy between resources and energies devoted to the so-called "non-political" group of activities of the United Nations, as opposed to those which are described as "political", would not only violate the very purposes of the United Mations, but would militate against express General Assembly mandates which have established for the United Nations itself priorities of equal value in both categories of action.
- 6. The Office of Public Information is deeply conscious of the responsibility which rests upon it to preserve, within its allocated resources, this balance, functional if not always statistical, between these two areas of its involvement. The following comments on the information problems relating to decolonization and report on existing activities and future plans in this field are based on a firm recognition of this political and functional imperative.

The problem

- 7. In any meaningful discussion of information activity designed to support given goals or objectives, it is first necessary to assess the following interlinked elements:
 - (a) The quantum of information effort required;
 - (b) The nature and character of that effort; and
 - (c) The audience, or target, at which that effort is to be directed.

These elements, in so far as they affect information efforts in the field of decolonization, are briefly analysed in the paragraphs below.

Quantum

8. The size or quantity of information required to belo estieve the goals set by the General Assembly of the United Nations in the field of decolonization - particularly in couthern Africa - and the related field of apartheid is clearly conditioned by the following hard facts:

We are dealing here with deeply entrenched vested interests embodied and sheltered by powerfully established Governments, which not only have the material and the military resources to maintain the systems to which the United Mations has declared its opposition, but which also are exploiting and using to the fullest for their own purposes the short-signted self-interest of others situated outside their own borders.

Secondly, we are dealing with a situation where, in the protection and promotion of their vested interest, the régimes in question, very often again with outside assistance, are spending sums of money comparable to the United Nations budget as a whole, just on "information" only. This "information" is distributed through a wide variety of channels, including public relations firms and carefully cultivated "lobbies", in every strategic area of the world.

- One of Public Information by itself can provide an effective and corrective antidote to this mammoth publicity in terms of the size and intensity required. It follows that the primary responsibility for the necessary counter-campaign, as recognized by the General Assembly, must rest upon national media of information and education official and non-official, public and private.
- 10. However, recognition of this reality does not in any way detract from the fact that OPI has both the responsibility, as well as the possibility, of making a significant contribution, and of achieving a significant impact through its own activity, regardless of its budgetary and other limitations. For one thing, information activity conducted under the auspices of the United Nations, benefits from the fact of its official sponsorship. Secondly, official United Nations information activity carries with it the moral and political weight of the world community combined in collective purpose. These advantages, not available to the defenders of colonialism and the proponents of apartheid, go a long way to offset the purely financial and budgetary advantages that their information services enjoy. CPI tries to shape its information activity in a manner designed to derive the maximum "mileage" out of this moral imbalance between those who stand behind the Charter and those who frustrate its purposes.

Nature and character

11. The next element that needs to be considered in the information activity relating to decolonization and other allied United Nations objectives, such as the elimination of apartheid, is that which involves the nature and character of the information activity that can or should be brought into play. The phrase "public information" covers the whole range of distinct - though not always readily

distinguishable - activities. These extend all the way from "straight" reporting (of the Mansard type) at one end of the spectrum; through "interpretive" reporting (as is found in most news columns of the world) through straight "opinion-making" (as in newspaper editorials and by-line columns, magazine articles, radio and television talks) through straight "promotion" (as in the activities of public relations firms), right through at the other end, to straight propaganda (as in newspaper and magazine advertising and radio and television commercials and paid proadcasts).

- 12. Most, if not all, of these techniques are being used in support of colonialism and <u>apartheid</u>. Most, if not all, need to be pressed into service in any counter-campaign. Thus, qualitative considerations, like those of quantity discussed above, again underline the importance of national information outlets acting as the principal carriers of the publicity burden behind all United Nations objectives.
- 13. Clearly, as an international organization which comprehends a wide variety of interests and views among sovereign States interests and views often in direct conflict with one another, and equally often carrying significant difference in nuance even where the goals are commonly stated it is not possible, nor indeed desirable, for the United Nations to fashion and conduct its own information programmes with the freedom from inhibition permissible to purely national information services. These considerations necessarily limit the choice of journalistic techniques, outlets and formats which are open to OPI in the conduct of its own activities, whether through the printed word or radio, television and films.
- 14. However, these necessary limitations neither mean nor are they allowed to mean that United Nations information activity has to be pallid, undirected and unassimilable. This point has been stated by the Secretary-General in his report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session (document A/C.5/1320) in the following words:

"As the information arm of an inter-governmental organization the basic target of OPI must remain for the foreseeable future as it has in the past, the following: 'your job is to tell the peoples of the world, not what to think about'. At the same time, in certain fields where the Organization itself, as a whole, has taken a definitive and action-oriented stand, as e.g. economic and social development, promotion of human rights, decolonization, elimination of racial discrimination and, more recently, protection of the human environment, etc., the United Nations Office of Public Information cannot any longer restrict itself to merely neutral stances or statements. It must go beyond this and actively identify itself with these universally-approved causes and movements. Not to do so would not only be falling short of historic responsibility and potential, but also neglecting binding directives from legislative organs."

(Emphasis added.)

The audience, or target

- 15. Traditionally, the targets of public information are considered as falling within two broad categories: the "special" and the "general". The first of these comprises those who are described at the "decision" or the "opinion-makers". The second is symbolized by the proverbial "man-in-the-street". Both these groups have relevance for public information activity in the field under discussion.
- 16. One group of persons normally considered as falling within the "special category government officials, political leaders, heads of industry can, it is felt, be safely excluded as potential targets for information activity aimed at decolonization. It can be assumed that such persons already have access to all relevant facts and have deliberately taken decisions which will not respond to information activity. Such persons, in countries supporting or sympathetic to colonialism and aparthetic would totally disregard any such activity because their opinions are based on other considerations. Those in areas supporting decolonization and the elimination of aparthetic, on the other hand, would find such activities superfluous.
- 17. However, there remains large and significant groups of people within the "special" category who have high importance from the point of view of information activity in the field under discussion: civic and religious leaders, members of the learned professions and non-governmental organizations, parliamentarians, trade unionists, students and members of the academic community, etc. Within the resources available to OPI, any money and effort invested in reaching these groups is likely to yield larger and quicker returns than efforts dispersed more widely.
- 13. At the same time, the general public or the "man-in-the-street" cannot be ignored. The very nature of the problems which the United Nations faces in the matter of colonialism and <u>apartheid</u>, it must be recognized, places them beyond the expectation of either a quick or an easy solution, even with the active support of the "special" groups. Even these groups, in their own efforts would need to have behind them the solid support of mass opinion.
- 19. The above considerations also underline the importance of the national media of information and education acting in collaboration with, and in extension of, the United Nations Office of Public Information, if the United Nations message is to reach the desired targets on both sides of the ideological fence: those practising and supporting apartheid and colonialism, on the one hand, and those opposing and fighting it, on the other.

Activities and plans

- 20. OPI activities in the field of decolonization and apartheid, etc., have, during the past year, fallen into two broad categories:
 - (a) The provision of basic reportage and "raw material"; and
 - (b) The conduct of supplementary, positive programming.

Basic reportage

21. Under this reading, OPI has continued to provide regular and extensive coverage, both through the Press and Publications Division and the Radio and Visual Services Division, to the activities of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and to other United Nations bodies engaged in allied activities. This category of materials - which includes press releases and such publications as the UN Monthly Chronicle and the Yearbook - is basically intended for the use of "redisseminators"; newspapers, magazines and television organizations, educational institutions and non-governmental organizations, etc. OPI plans to maintain this supply of material as providing an essential "infrastructure" for those interested in reporting on and commenting about - through the written or the spoken word - United Nations developments relating to the fields under discussion.

Supplementary programmes

- 22. Supplementing this essential "infrastructure" of basic reportage on continuing activities of United Nations organs relating to decolonization, etc., OPI has continued and further developed its own positive programmes on the subject. The principal output in this category, as far as printed journalism goes, continues to be the quarterly periodical Objective: Justice, which is now in its third year of production. The flexible format of the magazine has enabled OPI to give prominence, in line with Assembly injunction, to such liberation movements as SWAPO, MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC as well as to carry material from such "outside" sources as the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, Professor Rene Cassin of France, former United States Chief Justice Earl Warren, Professor Peter Nedbailo of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the South African Attorney, Mr. Joel Carson and others.
- 23. Similarly, in radio and in television, material has been drawn from a wide variety of sources, in the feature output, including interviews with political, religious, educational, business leaders, and with representatives of the national liberation movements.
- 24. The impact of Objective: Justice as well as of radio and television feature materials could be improved, it is felt, by widening still further the source materials available to OPI. This objective could be attained if arrangements could be made for the gathering of more authentic material on the subject of decolonization, particularly on conditions in colonial Territories and the liberation struggles. OPI itself, of course, has neither the resources nor the facilities and mandate to conduct its own surveys and research in these fields. However, it could effectively utilize these materials and give it wide publicity if it were to become available through the agency of the Special Committee or the substantive departments of the Secretariat.
- 25. The medium of film for telecasting as well as group showing has been widely used by OPI to publicize activities and objectives relating to decolonization, etc. More than 1,000 prints of the following programmes are now in circulation:

Twentieth Century Slavery - a half hour film against apartheid which has been widely utilized in schools, and has recently won a special award from the United Nations Association of the United States of America as a unique teaching aid on the subject of apartheid.

They Speak Out - which records comments of outstanding personalities engaged in the struggle against apartheid.

What Right has a Child? - an award winning film shich includes sequences on racial discrimination and the consequences of apartheid.

International Zone - a further television programme still under production deals with the life and views of a single South African exile now living in London.

Mission to Africa - follows the Special Committee on its work in Africa.

Uhuru - illustrating the road from colonialism to liberation.

Stephen - a television programme dealing with the problems faced by a young Kenyan student who has to adjust his training and education to post-colonial conditions.

(As yet untitled) - a review of progress and remaining obstacles in decolonization as narrated by prominent personalities including members of the Special Committee.

- 25. The above films are available in some or all of the following languages: Arabic, English, French, Spanish and Swahili. In addition, national users produce versions in their own regional languages. These films have been seen by audiences in more than 100 countries and Territories. In radio, United Nations news summaries regularly reporting on these subjects are broadcast in almost 30 languages. In addition, special programmes entirely committed to the struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination and for decolonization are produced in 15 languages. In 1970, 13 such special programmes were distributed to 125 countries and Territories whose broadcasting authorities have undertaken to present them to their national audiences. In photos, still photographs, posters and wall-sheet exhibits intended for mass media, schools, and displays supplement the above campaigns.
- 27. Among current OPI activities in the fields of decolonization, the elimination of racial discrimination and apartheid, special mention needs to be made of activities aimed at the involvement of youth in the achievement of United Nations objectives in these fields. Youth throughout the world today has manifested a special responsiveness to the claims of political and social justice. It forms a major and massive reservoir of support for United Nations goals; the energies implicit in this reservoir should be fully utilized.

- 28. Within the existing resources, OPI has in recent years been giving increasing attention to the direct association of youth in United Nations affairs. Thus, for example, its Triangular Fellowship Programme has been specifically geared to this end. Under this programme, young journalists or broadcasters have been brought together at United Nations Headquarters to obtain a first-hand picture of the United Nations in action in various fields, including decolonization, etc. Participants in the programme receive briefings by senior United Nations officials and are given access to all relevant documentation and other materials partinent to the fields of United Nations endeavour. This programme has proven its value and will continue to be used to expose as many young "redisseminators" as possible to the United Nations, within the resources made available.
- 29. Another youth-oriented activity of OPI consists of its annual student interne programme. Conducted without operating costs to the United Nations, the programme involves the bringing together, at Headquarters in New York and at the European Office in Geneva, of groups of fifty or so selected students of all nationalities, specializing in international affairs. Like the triangular fellows, they receive intensive briefings on all aspects of United Nations activity. In addition, individual participants are "attached" to substantive departments, corresponding to their areas of preferred study. Thus some 8 to 10 students each year have been attached to departments dealing with decolonization, the elimination of racial discrimination and apartheid, etc. At present, resources and facilities necessitate limiting these groups to some 50 in New York, and to between 50 and 70 in Geneva for a four-week period of internechip. OPI regards this programme as being of major importance not only in the dissemination among youth of information on United Nations activities relating, inter alia, to decolonization, but as a means of directly involving youth in these activities as "redisceminators" and as active builders of wider support for United Netions objectives.
- 30. Another OPI activity aimed at the wider dissemination of information relating to decolonization and the elimination of apartheid, and at the building of wider support for these objectives, is conducted through the External Relations Division of OPI (as are the two programmes mentioned above). A section within this Division deals continuously and exclusively with non-governmental organizations who have accredited representatives at United Nations Headquarters. Special briefings are arranged for these non-governmental organizations and their facilities are harnessed as fully as possible for the redistrition of United Nations materials. In several instances, such non-governmental organizations have procured from OPI, at their own cost, pamphlets and reprints relating to decolonization, the elimination of racism, etc. for distribution through their own channels. Non-governmental organizations constitute a most important channel of communication between the United Nations and the world public at large. As such they can be regarded, in a sense, as an "arm" of the Office of Public Information itself.
- 31. United Nations Information Centres in the field also, to the extent possible within their limited staff and other resources, are required to maintain the closest possible and the most active association with national and local non-governmental organizations as redisseminators of United Nations information. Occasionally, such local non-governmental organizations have not only undertaken

distribution of United Nations material, but have volunteered to reproduce some of this material in local languages at their own cost, or through an arrangement with local publishers.

- 32. Once a year, a conference of international non-governmental organizations is held at Headquarters where representatives are addressed on various United Nations subjects by leading United Nations personalities. The conference then studies, in committee, specific subjects in detail. One major innevation in this direction took place in 1970, when the Office of Public Information, in collaboration with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, organized a conference of international non-governmental organizations with African affiliates at Addis Ababa. One half of the conference was devoted specifically to political subjects such as decolonization, apartheid, etc., with particular reference to southern Africa. The OAU was directly associated with this conference and its Secretary-General took a prominent part in it. Over 100 representatives of over 70 organizations were present at the Addis Ababa meeting, which was held jointly with the annual Editors' Roundtable which was also organized by the Office of Public Information.
- The Editors' Roundtable referred to above, constitutes yet another existing mechanism for the mobilization by OPI of support among the national media of mass communication behind the United Nations objectives in general. Normally, the programme consists of bringing together leading figures from the field of journalism, print and electronic, on a regional basis, once a year for extensive discussion of the information problems relating to substantive United Nations activities. Last year the programme was held at United Nations Headquarters, coinciding with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. most eminent names in the field of newspapers, and of radio and television organizations, received briefings from the Secretary-General and his principal aides on decolonization and other United Nations affairs. They were also enabled to observe the General Assembly in action and to meet with United Nations delegations, etc. These roundtables are regarded as important, not only in so far as they provide an opportunity for contact between OPI and those responsible for the information policies of national information outlets, but as a means of securing more direct commitment by such national outlets to United Nations causes.

Dissemination

- 34. In the last analysis, the effectiveness of any OPI output whether in the written word or through radio and television depends upon the successful dissemination of that output. Here, separate sets of considerations apply in terms of the media involved.
- 35. As far as the printed word goes, the principal channels for distribution and dissemination are, of course, in the first place, the various United Nations Information Centres throughout the world. Through these centres, distribution is made not only to selected individuals, such as newspaper and magazine editors,

television and radio programme directors, etc., but also to groups such as non-governmental organizations, trade unions, schools, universities, etc. this manner, OPI is in a position to ensure that its printed material reaches at least some significant sections of its target audiences. Even in the case of the printed word, however, it must be noted that OPI's dissemination of material relating to decolonization, etc., is subject to serious limitations particularly in so far as the "hard-core" areas of southern Africa are concerned, where the need for such dissemination is, in point of fact, the most acute. Thus, the Office of Public Information has no means of ensuring that its material will reach persons in Southern Rhodesia, the Territories under Portuguese administration or South Africa and Namibia. The closest that OPI can get to attempting dissemination in these areas is by arranging to make its material available to liberation movements in the hope that it will filter through to these Territories. end, not only are the resources of the various United Nations Information Centres in Africa utilized, but negotiations have begun to seek the co-operation of OAU as a point for redissemination.

- 36. Consultations are also in progress, under Ceneral Assembly resolutions, with OAU on the possibility of stepping up United Nations broadcasts in Africa with the aim and objective of helping in the struggle against apartheid and colonialism. In this connexion, it should be noted that while theoretically United Nations short-wave broadcasts can be heard all over Africa, including the "hard-core" areas, in actual point of fact there is no reliable evidence of any extensive listening in these areas. On the contrary, dications are that only a very small portion of the population of southern Africa possesses the means of receiving short-wave broadcasts. In the absence of a specialized survey, it would be realistic to assume that most listeners in the area have access only to receivers which reproduce broadcasts originating in close geographical proximity. In the light of this, the discussions with OAU focus on ways and means of securing the co-operation of neighbouring African nations in relaying an increased output of United Nations radio.
- 37. Even in areas other than Africa, United Nations radio and television activities depend upon the co-operation of national broadcasting organizations, whether official or private. A recent resolution of the Economic and Social Council, for example, invites the Secretary-General "to make special efforts, utilizing the existing information and services available to the United Nations, to alert world public opinion, and particularly that of the countries trading with South Africa, to the recommendations made by various United Nations bodies on the subject of apartheid in order to facilitate compliance by Governments with those recommendations". As far as radio and television are concerned, OPI has, as noted above, prepared a number of programmes for world-wide distribution. Their actual utilization by receiving organizations, of course, is beyond OPI's control and depends upon the sympathy or lack of sympathy by individual countries and their organizations with the objectives stated in the Assembly resolutions.
- 38. One important new method by which OPI hopes greatly to increase its supply of both raw material and incentives to national information organizations in

developing and disseminating their own programmes on United Nations activities, including decolonization, through all media, is the proposed establishment of Regional Information Bureaux. This proposal which has been submitted by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly (document A/C.5/1320) envisages the stationing in various parts of the world of various groups of small but carefully selected and highly integrated staff of professional information officers specializing in the various information media such as press and publications activities, radio and visual programming and non-governmental and educational liaison functions. These groups would have the responsibility of developing information programmes on various fields of United Nations concern including, of course, decolonization, for regional distribution. Their main function, however, would be to work with local information and educational outlets in the regions concerned in order to stimulate such outlets to develop their own outputs for their own audiences in terms of their own idioms. If approved, OPI confidently believes that these regional bureaux would greatly enhance dissemination of United Nations information in various fields including apartheid and decolonization.

- B. LETTER DATED 12 APRIL 1971 FROM THE DIRECTOR OF THE PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS DIVISION OF THE OFFICE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
- 1. I have read with interest and concern OPI Press Release GA/COL/1126 of 8 April 1971, in which reference is made to the coverage given by the Office of Fublic Information to the proceedings of the Committee the previous day. I note that the distinguished representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics found the report of the proceedings in question to have been incomplete and inadequate. I have looked into the matter personally and must confess that the criticism by the distinguished representative of the Soviet Union is well founded.
- 2. The point at issue was, of course, the cable received by the Special Committee from Mr. Neto concerning Angola and the subsequent debate in the Committee relating to this communication. Since the debate was at this stage essentially procedural, it appears that the OPI official covering the meeting decided that it could be given less extensive treatment than is normally given to a discussion on matters of substance. Since a discussion on substance was to take place in the Committee later, he had felt it proper to reserve fuller coverage for that occasion.
- 3. While normally it is necessary for OPI, in its coverage of discussions, to make a distinction between purely procedural questions and matters of substance, I think it is clear that on this occasion the discussions in the Special Committee, on 7 April, even though technically procedural, should have been treated more fully in view of the political importance of the subject matter involved. I have drawn this to the attention of our Central Press Desk.
- 4. Permit me, Mr. Chairman, to take this opportunity also of referring to some of the earlier discussions in the Special Committee in recent days concerning OPI publicity for the activities of the Committee, particularly through the medium of the printed word.
- 5. I note that reference was made to the need for a larger dissemination of what were described as "documents and publications" concerning the work of the Cormittee. It was suggested that frequently documents and publications were not available to interested non-governmental organizations at all and, even when they were, as in the case of the OPI pamphlet Foreign Economic Interests Impeding Decolonization, they were not made available in sufficient quantities.
- 6. It may be useful for me to recall that, as far as the official documentation of the Special Committee is concerned, responsibility for the distribution and dissemination does not rest with OPI. This Office has the duty of reporting on the proceedings of the Committee and giving as wide publicity as possible to its official activities, including its documents, through its various publications press releases, leaflets, booklets, pamphlets, etc. In discharge of this responsibility, as the Special Committee is aware, OPI has undertaken the

preparation and publication of a special new periodical entitled Objective: Justice. This periodical is designed specifically for the purpose of bringing together as much available information as possible, for as wide dissemination as possible, of United Nations activities aimed at the elimination of the related evils of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism. The periodical, in addition to normal distribution to individuals and institutions, is made available in bulk quantities to specially interested groups and to representatives of African liberation movements.

- 7. On 15 March, at the 783rd meeting of the Special Committee, the distinguished representative of the Soviet Union stated that he did not understand why OPI had not published a separate brochure on the programme of action for anti-colonialism and why this programme had not been published in the periodical Objective: Justice to which I have referred above. I wish to inform the Committee that the programme of action was carried in full in the UN Monthly Chronicle and has subsequently been issued in pamphlet form. The text of the programme of action also appears in the April 1971 issue of Objective: Justice.
- Reverting to the OPI pamphlet Foreign Economic Interests Impeding Decolonization, I would wish to provide some information which may be of interest to this distinguished Special Committee. On 29 March 1971, Mr. Minty, representing the Anti-Avartheid Movement in the United Kingdom, in an appearance before this Committee, described the pamphlet as "invaluable" but went on to say that his organization needed a "lot more" copies than could be made available to it through the United Nations Information Centre in London. Within the allocation made available to OPI for the purpose, it was only possible for us to print 10,000 copies of this particular booklet in English. Of this figure, only 500 could be made available for distribution through our London Information Centre, in view of the distribution requirements in other English-speaking areas. At the same time, 5,000 copies each of the pamphlet were produced in Arabic, French and Spanish and 3,000 copies each in Japanese, Portuguese, Russian and Swahili. I need hardly state that, given larger financial resources, OPI would have been happy to produce the pamphlet in question not only in larger quantities in the languages listed, but also in additional languages.
- 9. In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I seek your permission, on the over-all question of OPI activities relating to the work of this Committee, to recall a statement made tefore this Committee by the Assistant-Secretary-General last year. "I think," he said, "I should restate that in the matter of decolonization, as that of the elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination, the Office of Public Information does not regard itself as a merely neutral bystander. While the raw material that we deal with must necessarily come to us from official sources, in the presentation and propagation of it we consider ourselves bound by Assembly directives to use the most effective and forceful ways at our disposal to help the United Nations attain the objectives it has set for itself in these fields."

ANNEX III

REPORT OF THE DELEGATION OF OBSERVERS TO THE SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES' SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION, HELD IN DAMASCUS, 23 AND 24 JUNE 1971

- The Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) is a non-governmental 1. body with permanent headquarters in Cairo, Egypt. At the tenth session of the Executive Committee, which took lace in Damascus, Syrian Arab Republic, the following 26 delegations of the Executive Committee were present: Ceylon, Cyprus, Egypt, India, Traq, Japan, Korea, Laos, Libyan Arab Republic, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Palestine, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Republic of Tanzania, North Viet-Nam, South Viet-Nam, Zambia and Zimbabwe. As special guests there were delegations from Angola, Bahrain, the Khmer Republic and South Africa. There were also observers from a number of bodies, including the World Peace Council, the International Federation of Democratic Women, the International Students Union, the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the Christian Peace Conference and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Special Committee on Apartheid of the United Nations. Representatives of liberation movements from many colonial Territories also attended.
- 2. The tenth session of the Executive Committee of AAPSO, which was opened by His Excellency the President of the Syrian Arab Republic, received telegrams of support and solidarity from a large number of heads of State or Government of Afro-Asian countries.
- 3. The work at the meeting was divided between two committees the Political Committee and the Organizational Committee. The Political Committee had three subcommittees: on colonial matters, on the Middle East and on Indo-China.
- 4. The observers 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 attended the deliberations of the Sub-Committee on Colonial Affairs, which adopted two resolutions: the first, entitled "The liberation struggle in Africa and solidarity with independent African States", and the second, entitled "'Dialogue' with South Africa". The relevant paragraphs of these resolutions and the paragraphs of the General Declaration, which was adopted at the closing meeting, read as follows:

"General Declaration

"In Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique, liberation forces under the Partido Africana da Independencia da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) and the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) have scored important victories in their prolonged armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism. They are also gaining new experience in the field of economic reconstruction and social development in the liberated Territories. "In Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa the inception of armed struggle by the forces of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) provided the prelude to a stage characterized by the escalation of confrontation with the Governments of the fascist-racist white minorities.

'We fully support the struggle waged by MPLA in Angola, PAIGC in Guinea (Bissau), FRELIMO in Mozambique, SWAPO in Namibia, ANC in South Africa and ZAPU in Zimbabwe. We express our full support for all these people in their struggle to regain their national identity and for complete national independence. We call for the recognition of the liberation movements in these countries as the authentic sovereign authority, and for the reinforcement of material, diplomatic and political support to them.

"We fully support the struggle of the nationalist forces in French Somaliland a/against French colonialism and voice our solidarity with the Somali people struggling for their right to self-determination, freedom and sovereighty.

"We call upon all the national solidarity committees, peace-loving and progressive forces of the world to recognize both the legitimacy of the liberation struggles in the Portuguese colonies on the same level with and within the general context of the world-wide anti-imperalist movement and their sovereignty in the liberated zones.

The Tenth Executive Committee Meeting notes with satisfaction ... the presence in our midst of delegations from the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Special Committee on <u>Apartheid</u> of the United Nations. We hope that contact with these Committees will be maintained."

5. The relevant paragraphs of the resolution on the colonial struggle in Africa read as follows:

"The Tenth Session of the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization meeting in Damascus, Syrian Arab Republic, on 23 and 24 June 1971.

"Conscious of the raging liberation struggle in Africa against the forces of colonialism and racism supported by world imperialism in Portuguese colonies and in southern Africa,

"Aware that the colonial, racist and fascist minority régimes of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa in close co-operation militarily, economically and otherwise with the imperialist countries especially with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, France and the Federal Republic of Germany, constitute the most rabid and brutal forms of colonialism, degrading the African peoples to the lowest level of abject slavery,

a/ Note by the Rapporteur: See para. 39, foot-note 8, of the present chapter for the new designation of the Territory.

"Realizing that the South Africar régime's overtures for a dialogue with independent Africa are neo-colonialist manoeuvres to confuse and divide African independent States thereby murdering the African revolution:

"Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and lozambique

"Aware that in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique, Portugal is able to pursue her criminal war against the liberation forces led by MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO respectively due to military and huge financial assistance given to it by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Powers; that the Portuguese defence strategy for her colonies so far has been to facilitate and encourage economic investment by the capitalist countries to the extent that these countries have become not merely Portuguese colonies but international imperialist colonies under the Portuguese flag; and that NATO assistance to Portugal has been given more emphasis by the recent holding of NATO ministerial council meetings in Lisbon,

"Realizing that the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique in their national liberation struggle, are consolidating their military, political and administrative power, embarking on national reconstruction and economic development in the liberated zones and expanding their protracted armed struggle into new regions; and that these developments are a result and the fruits of the blood and sweat of the people who have given their lives,

"Condemns Pertuguese colonialism, Portuguese colonial wars in her colonies and the Western Powers, especially NATO Member States, particularly the United States of America, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and Japan which, by their political, economic and military support to Portugal have become accomplices of crimes of Portuguese colonialism;

"Condemns all countries which directly or indirectly participate in the financing and construction of the hydro-electric complex of Cabora Bassa in Mozambique and of the Cunene River Basin in Angola;

"Calls upon all the national solidarity committees, peace-loving and progressive forces of the world to recognize both the legitimacy of the liberation struggles in the Portuguese colonies on the same level with and within the general context of the world-wide anti-imperialist movement and the sovereignty in the liberated zones.

"French Somaliland and the Comoro Islands

"Condemns France for her colonial domination of the peoples of the French Somaliland and the Comoro Islands, for denying the inhabitants of these countries their democratic rights and for suppressing their aspiration to independence;

"Supports the legitimate struggle of the peoples of French Somaliland and the Comoro Islands for national independence.

"Namibia

"Condemns the South African régime for its illegal occupation and virtual annexation of Namibia in disregard of the decisions of the International Court of Justice and the United Nations resolutions terminating its authority over the Territory;

"Supports the struggling people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO for national independence;

"Demands the release of SWAPO freedom-fighters illegally detained by the South African fascist régime on Robben Island and in other detention camps in South Africa;

"Calls upon the progressive forces of the whole world to channel material and moral support to the struggling people of Namibia through SWAPO.

"South Africa

"Condemns the sale of arms, especially by the United Kingdom, France and the Federal Republic of Germany to South Africa and any other form of military co-operation with the apartheid régime;

"Denounces the South African racist fascists for the imperialist and neo-colonialist dialogue against and wanton interference in the affairs of African independent States;

"Salutes the decision of the Organization of African Unity to reject dialogue with South Africa and calls upon the progressive forces to intensify the campaign for total boycott and isolation of the white minority régime in South Africa;

"Supports the just struggle of the oppressed black masses of South Africa against the inhuman system of apartheid;

"Calls for the stepping-up of material and financial aid to the African National Congress of South Africa.

"Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)

"Condemns the United Kingdom for her continuous imperialist manoeuvres which, by professing to be the 'Power' responsible for the Rhodesian problem, is preventing the international public from taking appropriate measures to deal with the Salisbury régime, thus facilitating consolidation of the settler minority instead of bringing it to an end;

"Condemns South Africa for its physical military presence in Zimbabwe to help suppress the African people's legitimate aspirations;

"Supports the liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe against the British colonial régime;

"Appreciates the attitude taken by many Afro-Asian countries to sever diplomatic, economic, military and other relations with the British minority settler régime of Salisbury;

"Calls upon the Afro-Asian and progressive countries throughout the world to stop calling on British imperialism to use force, but instead to step up material and financial support to ZAPU.

"Independent Africa

"Appreciates the positive steps taken by the Organization of African Unite and the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization resulting in the existing mutual co-operation between the two organizations;

"Hails the gigantic steps taken by certain African States to dissociate themselves politically, economically and militarily from the former colonial Powers and to save their political independence;

"/On the other hand, the Conference/

"Denounces vigorously the elaborate plans of NATO Powers, particularly France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Portugal and the United Kingdom aimed at the destruction of African revolutionary States and of the African liberation movements in order to replace them with agent régimes within the framework of an irrational attempt at the pure and simple recolonization of the African continent;

"Denounces the repeated armed violations of the territorial integrity of the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, the People's Republic of the Congo and the Republic of Guinea especially, as well as the multiple acts of subversion and sabotage committed against the African progressive countries which could qualify as part of this imperialist neo-colonialist plan."

6. Finally, a paragraph from a resolution on organizational matters, which also refers to decolonization, reads as follows:

"Material and financial assistance to national liberation movements

"The Executive Committee affirms the necessity of maintaining contacts with representatives of concerned independent African countries, with friendly international mass organizations and solidarity and friendship committees in the European and socialist countries and with progressive and democratic mass organizations in Western Europe, to discuss the extension of material and financial assistance to national liberation movements in Africa and Asia."

7. In conclusion, the delegation of observers is of the firm view that the Special Committee should continue to strengthen its ties with non-governmental organizations which have a special interest in the field of decolonization. The above decisions of the Executive Committee of AAPSO will no doubt be taken into

account by the Special Committee in its consideration of the relevant items. I think that we would be the beneficiaries of such a policy.

8. Finally, the delegation of observers expresses its gratitude and appreciation to the Government and people of the Syrian Arab Republic for their great display of hospitality.

ANNEX IV*

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES F THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

AFGHANISTAN

Representatives: Mr. Abdur-Rahman PAZHWAK

Mr. Mohammed Hakim ARYUBI Mr. S.M. Farouk FARHANG

BULGARIA

Representatives: Mrs. Elena GAVRILOVA

Mr. Barouh GRINBERG (until 18 June)

Mr. Ivan GARVALOV (from 4 June)

Alternate Representative: Mr. Dimitar STANOEV

ECUADOR

Representatives: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES

Mr. Horacio SEVILLA-BORJA

Mrs. Jenny Almeida de RIBADENEIRA

ETHIOPIA

Representative: Mr. Yohannes TSEGHE

Alternate Representative: Ato Yilma TADESSE

FIJI

Representatives: Mr. Semesa K. SIKIVOU, M.B.E.

Mr. Satya N. NANDAN Mrs. Sree K. NANDAN

INDIA

Representatives: Mr. Samar SEN

Mr. N.P. JAIN

Mr. A.N.D. HAKSAR (from 22 June)
Mr. S.M.S. CHADHA (until 22 June)

Mr. Barakat AHMAD (from 22 June)

^{*} Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/INF.9 and Add.1-5.

IRAN

Representative:

Mr. Hooshang AMIRMOKRI

Alternate Representative:

Mr. Jamal SHEMIRANI

IRAQ

Representatives:

Mr. Talib EL-SHIBIB (from 14 April)

Mr. Adnan RAOUF

Mr. Wissam AL-ZAHAWIE Mr. Riyadh AL-QAYSI

Advisers:

Mr. Ayad MUNIR Mr. Kadhim AL-EYD

IVORY COAST

Representatives:

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

MADAGASCAR

Representatives:

Mr. Blaise RABETAFIKA Mrs. Félice RAKOTOFIRINGA Mr. Moïse A. RAKOTOSIHANAKA

MALI

Representatives:

Mr. Seydou TRAORE

Mr. Zana DAO

Mr. Aliou TRAORE

POLAND

Representatives:

Mr. Fugeniusz KULAGA Mr. Zdzislaw LUDWICZAK Mr. Tadeusz STRULAK

SIERRA LEONE

Representatives:

Mr. Ismael Byne TAYLOR-KAMARA

Mr. Davidson S.H.W. NICOL, C.M.G. (uncil

September)

Mr. F.B. SAVAGE

Mr. Charles E. WYSE

Mr. Matthew B. GANDA

SWEDEN

Representatives:

Mr. Olof RYDBECK

Mr. Kaj SUNDBERG

Mrs. Brita SKOTTSBERG-AHMAN Mr. Folke LÖFGREN (from 24 June)

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

Representatives:

Mr. George J. TOMEH Mr. Rafic JOUEJATI

Mr. Dia-Allah EL-FATTAL Mr. Ahmad Fathi AL-MASRI

Mr. Najdi JAZZAR

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Representative:

Mr. Patrick V.J. SOLOMON

Alternate Representative:

Mr. Frank Owen ABDULAH

Mr. Mahmud Sultan Dean AZIZ (until September)

TUNISIA

Representatives:

Mr. Rachid DRISS

Mr. Mohamed FOURATI Mr. Kamel BELKHIRIA

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Representative:

Mr. I.G. NEKLESSA

Adviser:

Mr. I.E. KARTASHOV

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

Representatives:

Mr. Salim A. SALIM

Mr. E.W.N. MWASAKAFYUKA

Mr. Soter MULOKOZI

VENEZUELA

Representatives:

Mr. Germán NAVA CARRILLO (until 8 September)

Mr. Tulio ALVARADO

Alternate Representatives:

Mr. Pedro E. COLL (until 8 September)

Miss Esther MENESES (from 8 September)

Advisers:

Miss Franca BARONI GERODETTI (until

8 September)

Mr. Horacio ARTEAGA (from 8 September)

YUGOSLAVIA

Representative:

Mr. Aleksandar PSONČAK

Alternate Representative: Mr. Rajko ZEČEVIĆ

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

Representatives:

Mr. Christer G.S. von STEDINGK

Mr. M. TEFERRA

Alternate Representatives:

Mr. J. MATEOS-CICERO

Mr. W.J. KNIGHT

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF

THE UNITED NATIONS

Representative:

Mr. Donald W. WOODWARD

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC

AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

Representative:

Mr. V. NIKOLSKY

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

Representative:

Dr. R. L. COIGNEY

INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY

Representative:

Mr. Robert NAJAR

OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH

COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

Representatives:

Mr. F.J. HOMANN-HERIMBERG

Mr. Virendra DAYAL

CHAPTER II

(A/8423 (Part II))

MILITARY ACTIVITIES AND ARRANGEMENTS BY COLONIAL POWERS IN TERRITORIES UNDER THEIR ADMINISTRATION WHICH MIGHT BE IMPEDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

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CHAPTER II

MILITARY ACTIVITIES AND ARRANGEMENTS BY COLONIAL POWERS IN TERRITORIES UNDER THEIR ADMINISTRATION WHICH MIGHT BE IMPEDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

- 1. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March 1971, the Special Committee, by adopting the fifty-eighth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.687), decided to take up separately the item entitled "Military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples", and to refer it to Sub-Committee I for consideration and report.
- 2. The Special Committee considered the item at its 831st meeting, on 5 November 1971.
- 3. In its consideration of the item, the Special Committee took into account the relevant provisions of the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970. Paragraph 3 (5) of the resolution reads as follows:
 - "(5) Member States shall carry out a sustained and vigorous campaign against all military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration, as such activities and arrangements constitute an obstacle to the full implementation of resolution 1514 (XXV)."

The Special Committee also took into account the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2708 (XXV) of 14 December 1970 on the implementation of the Declaration, by paragraph 9 of which the Ceneral Assembly requested "the colonial Powers to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones". In addition, the Special Committee took into account General Assembly resolution 2709 (XXV) of 14 December 1970, by paragraph 5 of which the General Assembly reiterated its declaration that "any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of colonial Territories and the establishment of military bases and installations in these Territories is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and resolution 1514 (XV)".

4. At the 831st meeting, on 5 November 1971, the Rapporteur of Sub-Committee I, in a statement to the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.831), introduced the report of that Committee on the item (see annex to the present chapter). The Sub-Committee's report included five working papers prepared by the Secretariat at the request of that Sub-Committee, which contained information on military activities and arrangements in a number of Territories.

5. At the same meeting, following statements by the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Sweden and Bulgaria (A/AC.109/PV.831), the Special Committee adopted the report without objection and endorsed the conclusions and recommendations contained therein, it being understood that the reservations expressed by the representative of Sweden would be reflected in the record of the meeting. These conclusions and recommendations are set out in paragraph 6 below.

B. DECISION OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

6. The text of the conclusions and recommendations adopted by the Special Committee at its 831st meeting, on 5 November, to which reference is made in paragraph 5 above, is reproduced below:

(a) Conclusions

- (1) Having studied the military activities and arrangements by the colonial Powers in Territories under their administration during the year under review, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples notes with grave concern that there has been no compliance with the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, in particular paragraph 9 of resolution 2708 (XXV) of 14 December 1970, by which the Assembly requested the colonial Powers to "withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones", and little had been done to comply with paragraph 5 of the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, embodied in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, which provides that "Member States shall carry out a sustained and vigorous campaign against all military sotivities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration, as such activities and arrangements constitute an obstacle to the full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV)" of 14 December 1960. Despite these resolutions, the colonial Powers continue, particularly in the large colonial Territories, to engage in ever-increasing military activities aimed at subjugating the colonial peoples, providing protection for foreign monopolies, and perpetuating colonialist and racist régimes. In the smaller Territories, strategie requirements of the colonial Powers continue to play a major role in their military activities.
- (2) On the basis of its study, the Special Committee views with great concern the situation in the Territories of southern Africa where the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia continue to intensify military activities against the liberation movements in an endeavour to deny the peoples of those Territories their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. In Namibia, the Government of South Africa continues to defy the authority of the United Nations and to increase its military preparations in order to preserve its illegal presence in the Territory. The latest estimates of the number of South African armed forces in the Territory, which form part of the South African military establishment, is 17,000. Reports indicate that arms and military equipment used by South Africa for internal suppression in Namibia include Buccaneer aircraft based at three airstrips: in the Caprivi Strip, and at Runtu and Ondangua. Bombing raids and air attacks have been conducted against villages and areas inhabited by African civilians. It is reported that a military base

has been constructed at the eastern end of the Caprivi Strip. The Special Committee notes that supplies of arms and military equipment to South Africa from some western Powers have continued to increase. The declared intention of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to resume supplying certain types of military equipment, as well as the continued supply of military equipment by other States, has evoked world-wide protests.

- (3) Portugal is intensifying its war of colonial repression in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), where it has deployed an army of 125,000 and is using a network of hundreds of airfields, from which military operations against liberation movements are being carried out. As a matter of policy, increasing numbers of Africans are being organized in various military and paramilitary units for anti-guerrilla operations in the Territories. According to reports, Portugal has employed various chemical and bacteriological weapons in its colonial war against the freedom-fighters in the Territories under its domination. The close co-operation between Portugal and its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has continued on an increasing scale and it is known that Portugal has made continuing attempts to extend NATO activities to the southern hemisphere by offering the facilities of its naval and air bases in its overseas Territories to NATO for the control of the vast area of the south Atlantic.
- (4) In Southern Rhodesia, the illegal racist minority régime is increasing its military activities against African nationalists. The armed forces in the Territory have been considerably strengthened since the illegal declaration of independence; this can be inferred from the substantial increase in military expenditures over the last five years. Measures taken to strengthen the armed forces of the illegal régime include the enactment of an amendment to the Defence Act of 1955, effective from 1 January 1971, according to which every non-African male resident in Southern Rhodesia between the ages of 18 and 30 regardless of nationality will be liable for national service. Since August 1967, the Southern Rhodesian armed forces have been reinforced by a de solution of the South African police (a paramilitary body), estimated to number 3,000 mer
- (5) The Special Committee's study proves that during the year under review there has been increasing collaboration between the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia, which have formed a military Their representatives continue to meet regularly to exchange information and to draw up joint plans for military operations against the liberation movements in Africa. An example of this co-operation was the stationing of the South African paramilitary unit in Southern Rhodesia, mentioned above, for the purpose of assisting the illegal racist régime in its suppression of African freedom-fighters. In February 1971, the security chiefs of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia met in Salisbury in what was reported in the press as a "routine meeting" for the discussion of the progress and future of the anti-guerrilla campaign and ways of forging closer links between them. the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs made an official visit to South Africa to discuss, among other main topics, the maintenance of security in the region south of the tenth parallel. A number of statements made during the visit underline the close relationship between Portugal and South Africa. The Special Committee notes the reports that South African troops continue to operate in both Angola and Mozambique and are helping to defend the Cabora Bassa dam project.

- (6) The Special Committee notes that representatives of the liberation movements reported to the Ad Hoc Group of the Special Committee that there had been an over-all intensification of repressive acts against their movements. These acts were being carried out by the colonial Powers both separately and in collaboration with one another, and they cited as evidence the presence of South African armed forces in Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia. Furthermore, these representatives held that States members of NATO particularly the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and France were responsible for the continuing provision of arms and other military and logistic equipment and supplies to the colonial Powers, thereby enabling them to pursue their policies of colonialist and murderous oppression of the dependent peoples. It was pointed out that the continuance of these colonialist wars not only threatened the security and violated the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the neighbouring independent States but also constituted a serious threat to the peace and security of Africa as a whole.
- (7) In the light of new developments in military activities during the past year, including recent acts of aggression committed by Portugal and South Africa against neighbouring independent States, the Special Committee again concludes that the continuing escalation of armed repression in the Territories of southern Africa, the intensification of military preparations, and of collaboration between South Africa, Portugal and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, have created a grave and ever-increasing threat to the security of independent African States and to international peace and security.
- In the smaller Territories such as Guam, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Bermuda and the Bahamas among others, the colonial Powers and their allies have continued to maintain a great number of military bases and installations, which far exceed the defence requirements of these Territories, in a manner detrimental to the interests of the indigenous peoples. The Special Committee reiterates its previous finding that such military activities, which are determined by the strategic military interests of the colonial Powers, inevitably impede the process of decolonization of the Territories and lead to interference with their economic development both through the extensive alienation of land for military purposes and by drawing the population away from productive activities, in particular for service in the armed forces of the administering Power. It notes further that in the United States Virgin Islands and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, it is still the practice to conscript the inhabitants of the Territories into the United States armed forces despite the protests of the population. The Special Committee also draws attention to the declared intention of the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States to proceed with the construction of military bases in the so-called "British Indian Ocean Territory".
- (9) In view of the General Assembly's recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the colonial peoples to exercise their right to self-determination and independence by all the necessary means at their disposal, the Special Committee concludes that military activities by colonial Powers and the use of military installations in colonial Territories for military operations aimed at suppressing liberation movements, constituted criminal acts, contrary to the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and an abuse by the administering Powers of their responsibility towards the meoples under their administration.

(10) The study undertaken by the Special Committee reveals once again conclusive evidence that the military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in the Territories under their administration constitute one of the most serious impediments to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and pose a grave threat to international peace and security.

(b) Recommendations

The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples:

- (1) Reaffirms the recommendations contained in its previous reports and emphasizes once again that military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in the Territories under their administration constitute a serious impediment to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- (2) Strongly condemns once again the use of military force by colonial Powers to suppress the legitimate aspirations of colonial people to self-determination and independence and, in particular, the continuing intensification of co-ordinated military aggression by South Africa and Portugal against the liberation movements and peoples in the Territories under their domination and against independent African States;
- (3) Strongly condemns once more the military entente between the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal racist minority regime of Southern Rhodesia aimed at suppressing by armed force the inalienable right of the oppressed peoples of the colonial Territories of southern Africa to self-determination and independence; calls once again upon all States, in particular those which continue to maintain close relations with the above-mentioned countries, and also Portugal's partners in NATO to withhold all support and assistance to them, including the supply of arms and military equipment as well as assistance in the production of arms and ammunition;
- (4) Calls again upon all States responsible for the administration of colonial and Trust Territories to comply with the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions, in particular with paragraph 9 of resolution 2708 (XXV) of 14 December 1970, and paragraph 5 of the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970; and requests those States to discontinue all military activities which impede the implementation of the Declaration and to withdraw all foreign armed forces from the above-mentioned Territories;
- (5) Deplores once again the alienation of land for military installations and the utilization of local economic and manpower resources for servicing these installations, which hinders the economic development of the Territories and is contrary to the interests of the indigenous population; and calls upon the colonial Powers to cease further alienation of land and to return the land already alienated to its rightful owners;

- (6) Calls upon the colonial Powers to desist from utilizing the economic and manpower resources of the Territories for military activities and arrangements and to terminate the practice of conscripting men from among the indigenous population for service in the armed forces of the administering Power concerned;
- (7) Requests the Secretary-General to give publicity to the information on military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which may be impeding the implementation of the Declaration, and to the decisions of the General Assembly relating to this question.

ANNEX*

REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE I

Rapporteur: Mr. E. Weidi N. MWASAKAFYUKA (United Republic of Tanzania)

A. Consideration by the Sub-Committee

- 1. "..."
- 2. The Sub-Committee considered the item entitled "Military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" at its 101st and 102nd meetings, held on 13 October and 3 November 1971.
- 3. In its consideration of the item, the Sub-Committee had before it five working papers prepared by the Secretariat at the request of the Sub-Committee containing information concerning military activities and arrangements in the following Territories: Southern Rhodesia; Namibia; Territories under Portuguese administration; Bahamas, Bermuda, Turks and Caicos Islands and the United States Virgin Islands; Papua and the Trust Territory of New Cuinea, Guam and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (see appendices I to V to this report).
- 4. In formulating conclusions and recommendations on the question under consideration, the Sub-Committee also took into account additional relevant information contained in the report of the Ad Hoc Group of the Special Committee which visited Africa this year (A/8423/Add.1, annex) as well as that provided by its members.

B. Adoption of the report

5. The Sub-Committee, having considered the question and having studied all the information available to it, adopted conclusions and recommendations as on the item at its 102nd meeting, on 3 November 1971. The Sub-Committee adopted the present report at the same meeting.

^{*} Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.758.

[.] a/ The conclusions and recommendations submitted by Sub-Committee I for consideration by the Special Committee were adopted by the latter body without modification. They are reproduced in paragraph 6 of the present chapter.

APPENDICES

WORKING PAPERS PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT AT THE REQUEST OF SUB-COMMITTEE I ON MILITARY ACTIVITIES AND ARRANGEMENTS BY COLONIAL POWERS IN TERRITORIES UNDER THEIR ADMINISTRATION

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APPENDIX I

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

- 1. Information on the armed forces of Southern Rhodesia, covering mainly the period before the illegal declaration of independence, is contained in previous working papers prepared by the Secretariat for Sub-Committee I. a/
- 2. For the period since the illegal declaration of independence, there is no additional information on the strength of the armed forces, their deployment, sources of supply of arms, ammunition, military aircraft and military vehicles, nor of the equipment and materials for the manufacture and maintenance of arms and ammunition.
- 3. It appears, however, that the armed forces have been considerably strengthened since the illegal declaration of independence, as may be inferred from the substantial increase in military expenditure over the last five years. Total government expenditure on the armed forces, including police, for the fiscal year 1970/71 amounted to \$R33.3 million, \underline{b} compared with \$R22 million for the fiscal year 1964/65, an increase of over $\overline{50}$ per cent.
- 4. According to the budget for 1970/71, estimated expenditure on the armed forces was increased by \$R668,000 to \$R17.8 million and on the volice, by \$R400,000 to \$R15.5 million. On 28 May 1970, the regime announced that it intended to strengthen the effectiveness of the armed forces so that they could continue to be in a position to meet any threat to territorial integrity. The announcement further stated that the regime would continue to do everything to assist the security forces to maintain their successful protection of the country.
- 5. By an amendment to the Defence Act of 1955, effective from 1 January 1971, every non-African male resident in Southern Rhodesia between the ages of 18 and 30, is liable for national service, regardless of his nationality.
- 6. Since August 1967, the Southern Rhodesian armed forces have been reinforced by a detachment of the South African police (a paramilitary body), estimated to number about 3,000 men. The South African police detachment in Southern Rhodesia is deployed near the Zambian border to assist the security forces of the illegal régime in their fight against African nationalists. On 13 March 1970, the Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. John Vorster, reportedly stated that the South African police stationed in Southern Rhodesia would remain there to help in the fight against subversion from beyond South Africa's borders.

a/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/7200/Rev.1), chap. IV, appendix III; ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. III, appendix III; ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. II, appendix II.

b/ One Rhodesian dollar equals \$US1.40.

- 7. Referring to clashes in January 1970 between the security forces of Southern Rhodesia, supported by South African police stationed in that Territory, and the African freedom-fighters, c/ Mr. Ian Smith stated in the Legislative Assembly on 29 January, that the evidence of captured "terrorists" proved conclusively that the Zambian authorities were not only well aware of the activities and intentions of the "terrorists" but had actively assisted their incursions into Rhodesia. A police patrol boat had been subjected to an unprovoked attack by machine-gun and small arms fire from the Zambian bank of the Zambezi River, and this had been followed by "terrorist" incursions from Zambia. The Zambian Government had full knowledge of these activities and could not escape responsibility for incidents directly resulting from its co-operation with the "terrorists". The policy of his régime was to live in amity and peace with all its neighbours but it could not ignore the continuance of assistance to "terrorist" incursions into the country.
- 8. The Minister for Home Affairs of Zambia, Mr. Lewis Changufu, in a statement issued on the same day, said that his Government refused to accept responsibility for the incidents in the rebel colony of Southern Rhodesia involving freedom-fighters and rebel forces. Mr. Changufu said that the incidents were a direct result of the oppression of the majority of the people in that Territory. In the past, the Zambians along the borders of countries under minority régimes had suffered constant premeditated and unprovoked attacks; Southern Rhodesian aircraft had in the past violated Zambian air space and intimidated innocent villagers along the Zambezi. Nevertheless, the Zambian Government had avoided taking measures which could only serve to increase tension in the areas.
- 9. Mr. Desmond Lardner-Burke, the "Minister of Law and Order" in Southern Rhodesia, in a statement in the "House of Assembly" on 11 June 1970, said that, earlier in the year, a number of small bands of heavily armed "terrorists" had entered Southern Rhodesia at widely separated points along the northern border with the object of making hit and run attacks at selected targets or comenting subversion in local communities. In nearly all instances, these "terrorists" had been accounted for and many had already stood trial for their misdeeds and been sentenced to heavy terms of imprisonment.
- 10. According to press reports, security chiefs from Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia held meetings in Salisbury during February 1971 to discuss the progress and future of the anti-guerrilla campaign and ways of forging closer links between these countries. Portugal was represented by Major Silva Pais, chief of the Direcção-Geral de Sequrança (DCS Directorate General of Security), and by three other senior security officers. The South African delegation, consisting of three members of the Bureau for State Security, was headed by its chief, Major-General H.J. van den Bergh.

c/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. II, appendix II, para. 6.

APPENDIX II

NAMIBIA

Military and police forces

- As previously noted, a/ the South African armed forces stationed in Namibia are part of the South African military establishment, the deployment of which varies from time to time. Because of this, no separate information is available concerning their numbers, composition or equipment although, according to a report in the Namibia News, a publication of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), there were about 15,000 South African troops in the Territory in early 1970.
- 2. An indication of the growth in South Africa's armed forces may be gauged from its expenditure on defence over the past 10 years. It will be recalled that South Africa's budgeted expenditure on defence, which was R44 million b/ in 1960/61, had risen to R272 million in 1969/70. Estimated expenditure in 1970/71 fell slightly to R257 million but resumed its upward trend in the budget for 1971/72, in which an expenditure of R317 million was estimated.
- 3. Information concerning the over-all strength, organization and equipment of South Africa's armed forces is contained in a recent publication of the Institute for Strategic Studies in London. According to this publication, the total armed forces in South Africa had a regular strength of 43,800 men in 1970/71 (compared with 39,700 in 1969/70). In addition, there are trained reservists of the Citizen Forces, estimated at 56,000, and paramilitary forces numbering 61,000, consisting of 58,000 Kommandos and 3,000 police who have received "anti-terrorist" training.
- 4. It will be recalled that the police force in Namibia is part of the South African police establishment, and that since 1967 there has been no separate information on its strength. According to the Institute for Strategic Studies, the total strength of the South African police was 32,000 (excluding 12,000 reservists) in 1969/70.

a/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. II, annex, appendix III, para. 1.

b/ One rand equals \$US1.40.

5. As previously reported, an area at Walvis Bay is set aside for exercises by the South African defence forces. This area continued to be used frequently during 1970 and 1971 for small arms and artillery practice.

Military equipment and facilities

- 6. Since no distinction can be made between South Africa's armed forces per se and those specifically assigned to Namibia, it must be assumed that all armaments at the disposal of South Africa are potentially available for use in Namibia.
- 7. The Institute for Strategic Studies reports that South Africa's army is equipped with 100 Centurion tanks, about 100 medium tanks and about 500 armoured cars and scout cars. Navy equipment includes two destroyers carrying Wasp helicopters, six anti-submarine frigates, 11 minesweepers and other light craft. Three Daphne-type, deep-diving submarines have been ordered in France. Each of these vessels, costing about R8 million, carries 12 torpedoes and has a range of 3,000 miles. Delivery of the first has been taken, and the remainder are due for delivery later in 1971. As previously noted, c/ bases capable of handling submarines are being built in South Africa. A new operational headquarters of the Maritime Command is under construction at Westlake, Cape Town, as are two subheadquarters, one of which is at Walvis Bay. A Decca radio navigational system, consisting of five chains, will provide radar cover along the whole coast of South Africa and Namibia.
- 8. The Institute also reports that South Africa's air force possesses about 240 combat aircraft including inter alia, one squadron of 30 Sabre F-86 jets; about 40 Mirage aircraft, including two squadrons of 20 Mirage III supersonic jet fighter-bombers delivered in 1965/66; one squadron of nine Canberra light bombers; at least 40 Vampire FB-5 aircraft; one squadron of 15 Bucaneer light bombers; and about 80 helicopters. The only military jet made locally under licence is the two-seater Impala. South Africa has 225 of this type of aircraft which is used mainly for training. Since 1969, South Africa has been developing its cwn military aircraft industry, but it still depends largely on foreign producers.
- 9. As previously reported, \underline{d} South Africa has also been building up its missile strength. The surface-to-air missile system known as "Cactus", which

c/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. II, annex, appendix III, paras. 11 and 12.

d/ See ibid., para. 14.

was being developed with the assistance of two French companies, is reported to be ready to go into service during 1971. In addition, there have been reports that South Africa has been interested in the surface-to-surface missile systems currently being developed by French and British companies.

Armaments development and manufacture

- 10. South Africa has continued its policy of encouraging local production of armaments in order to limit its reliance on foreign sources.
- 11. The President of France was reported to have assured the Mission of the Organization of Africar Unity (OAU) in October 1970 that his Government would discontinue supplies of arms to South Africa which could be used against guerillas, and that helicopters and armoured cars could enter into that category. Following that announcement, Mr. P.W. Botha, the South African Minister of Defence stated that: "South Africa already makes the weapons our Army needs to combat terrorism which threatens our power. We curselves make all the light armoured vehicles that we need in South Africa. We are working on plans to broaden our arms production." At that time, South Africa was reported to be manufacturing under licence: French Panhard armoured cars; Italian Aermacchi (B 326 light jet aircraft (known locally as Impalas); Belgian FN NATO-type rifles; and Israeli Uzzi sub-machine guns. Of its own manufacture, the government-owned Armaments Development and Production Corporation (ARMCOR) was producing small-arms ammunition, artillery shells, tear gas and bombs.
- 12. General P.C. Himestra, South Africa's Commandant General of the Defence Force, said in March 1971 that great strides made during the past ten years in local armament production had made possible the export of certain items at competitive prices or even lower; locally manufactured products were comparable to overseas counterparts in both quantity and quality. He also said that South Africa was already capable of producing all small-calibre arms, mortars, cannon barrels, armoured cars and mobile equipment, and that it had started to manufacture guided missiles.
- 13. Speaking on the defence estimates, in May 1971, Mr. Botha announced in the South African House of Assembly that South Africa had reached such a degree of self-sufficiency that it did not need any arms from the outside world for internal security. Furthermore, South Africa could, to a very large extent, manufacture the arms required for its external protection. He pointed out that about 80 per cent of the amount paid for arms manufacture went to approximately 1,000 contractors and subcontractors in South Africa. As an indication of the degree of self-sufficiency reached, Mr. Botha said that, at present, about 100 different types of ammunition were being manufactured and that this represented the major portion of all conventional ammunition. Mr. Botha said that the Republic was self-sufficient in heavy calibre ammunition, and in regard to infantry ammunition, was either self-sufficient or had reached the production stage. Most of the Republic's aircraft ammunition (bombs and rockets) were already being manufactured or were in various stages of development. The Republic also expected to be self-sufficient in naval ammunition in the near future.
- 14. Mr. Boths added that an automatic service rifle and a sub-machine-gun, as well as mortars, were already being manufactured locally and that a beginning had been made with the manufacture of a complete 90 mm cannon. With the manufacture of the armoured car in South Africa, a facility had been created which made it possible to manufacture practically any armoured vehicle in the country.

15. Information concerning armaments being obtained by South Africa from foreign countries is contained in a report issued by the Rapporteur of the Special Committee on Apartheid in March 1971 (A/AC.115/L.285 and Add.1 and 2). This report contains details of the developments relating to the United Kingdom Government's announcement in February that it would issued export licences for Wasp helicopters and the subsequent placing of an order for seven helicopters by the South African Governments.

Activities of the liberation movement

- 16. The national liberation movement of Namibia is continuing its armed struggle against South African occupation and oppression. Information on clashes between South African forces and Namibian freedom-fighters which have been occurring since 1966, has been set out in previous reports of the Special Committee. December 1969 and early 1970, fresh fighting, in which units of SWAPO were involved, reportedly took place in eastern Namibia. According to the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia, e/ six South African soldiers were killed in skirmishes in the Ovambo region during that period. A member of the Central Committee of SWAPO, Mr. Alphons Visitile, was killed, and another, Mr. Israel Iyambo, is still being sought by the South African Security Police. Subsequently, SWAPO announced that, although the fighting had reached its greatest intensity in the Caprivi Strip, hostilities had also occurred in two other zones, namely, around Runtu, near the Okavango River, and near Ondangua in Ovamboland. It was also announced that SWAPO guerillas had seized a large amount of war material from South African forces in the eastern part of Caprivi. At the end of 1970, there were reports that military operations were being undertaken in the Caprivi Strip and on the northern borders of South Africa.
- 17. Early in 1971, SWAPO announced that the following operations had been carried out in the previous year:

Successful ambushes against the enemy forces	125
Enemy camps destroyed or attacked	75
Enemy vehicles destroyed	115
Enemy agents executed	27
Total deaths of the enemy forces	256
Enemy spies arrested and detailed by freedom-fighters	49

18. During 1970, Mr. Sam D. Nujoma, President of SWAPO, made a number of statements explaining the continued struggle of the freedom-fighters. He said that South Africa had reduced Namibia to a complete police state. He pointed out that more than thirty leaders of his party were serving life sentences in South African prisons; that many SWAPO followers had been detained without trial; and that South African forces shot any one they suspected of being a "terrorist" or harbouring freedom-fighters. He also said that, with the support and assistance of certain western Powers, South Africa had flouted the United Nations resolutions calling for its withdrawal from the Territory. Therefore, SWAPO preferred to bring about the liberation of Namibia through an armed struggle and not through negotiations with South Africa. He appealed to member States of OAU to provide more arms, drugs and clothing to SWAPO. In a radio broadcast made in Lusaka

e/ See ibid., Supplement No. 24 (A/8024).

in February 1971, he again called upon the people of Namibia to unite and fight with a view to inflicting a total defeat on the South African colonial oppressors and achieving freedom and independence for Namibia. Similar views were expressed by several other SWAPO leaders, including Messrs. Misheke Muyongo, Peter Mueshihange and Ben Amathila.

19. In April 1971, Mr. Muyongo was reported as saying that Portuguese troops had entered the northern parts of Namibia and had clashed with SWAPO fighters.
Mr. Muyongo said that South African and Portuguese forces patrolled the border zones on alternate days and pursued freedom-fighters into Namibia or Angola.
SWAPO, he said, had killed several Portuguese soldiers and had lost several of their own number, who had been captured.

Use of force against Namibian freedom-fighters

- 20. In a statement to the South African House of Assembly, made on 15 September 1970, Prime Minister Vorster denied the allegations that weapons sold to South Africa would be used to oppress Africans in the country and to attack independent African States such as Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzani: He stated that his country was prepared to enter into a non-aggression pact with any independent African State. But he stressed that South Africa would not tolerate communist domination in southern Africa and that it would fight "terrorism" not only in South Africa but in any other country in Africa where the Government requested it to do so. He also said that if "terrorists" were to invade South Africa Trom certain countries with the permission of those countries, we shall resist them. If they take to flight we shall chase them and do so right into those countries from which they came."
- 21. General R.C. Hiemstra was reported to have said on 3 October that "terrorîst" organizations were being aided by the United Nations, OAU, African States and socialist countries, as well as leftist and liberal groups in the western countries. He added that:

"There is convincing evidence of better organization, better training and arms than two years ago. We must, therefore, be prepared for a sustained increase in the terrorist threat and the possibility of a serious attempt to create conditions in our country, or in southern Africa, which will be favourable for military intervention from outside."

- 22. In his speech at the opening of the new parliamentary session on 29 January 1970, Mr. J.J. Fouché, the 'ate President of South Africa, stated that the Government was aware that efforts were being made to step up "subversion". It had therefore accepted a ten-year programme for the maintenance of a satisfactory arms supply and for the modernization of all existing military bases, but envisaged no significant expansion of the armed forces in the next ten years unless unforeseen circumstances required it.
- 23. As previously noted (see paragraphs 3 and 4 above), the South African armed forces stationed ir Namibia are part of the South African military establishment whose regular strength numbers 43,800. The latest estimate of South Africa's forces in Namibia numbers 17,000, including both military personnel and police. Reports indicate that the arms used by South Africa for internal suppression

in Namibia include Buccaneer aircraft based at three airstrips, one at Katima Mulilo in the Caprivi Strip, another in Runtu and the third in Ondangua. Bombing raids and air attacks have been conducted against villages and areas where the presence of guerrillas was suspected.

24. It is reported that a military base has been constructed at the eastern end of the Caprivi Strip, facing the Zambian village of Sesheke, "in order to combat terrorist infiltration'. In March 1970, the South African Commissioner of Police stated that more than 1,000 members of the police were continuously on guard, day and night, against "insurgence of terrorists, subversives and other undesirables", particularly along the borders of Mamibia and the Republic. He admitted that security demands were severely straining police manpower. According to a statement made in June by the South African Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and of Bantu Education, the following steps had been taken to protect the Caprivi Strip, in addition to the establishment of the above-mentioned military facilities: (a) the construction of the 100-yard-wide Caprivi-Zambia border road over a distance of sixty-five miles as part of a transportation system for the area; (b) the institution of radio communications between the main centres of the tribal administration and Katima Mulilo and also between vehicles of government officials and Katima Mulilo; and (c) the installation of a large new power station for the area and separate electric lighting plants for the new police stations at Mpalila and Kongola.

Military co-operation with other countries

- 25. Information concerning the importation by South Africa of arms and equipment from other countries and the measures taken by some countries to prevent or restrict such a supply, is contained in the report issued by the Rapporteur of the Special Committee on Apartheid to which reference has already been made (see paragraph 15 above).
- 26. According to press reports, security chiefs from Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia held meetings in Salisbury during February 1971 to discuss the progress and future of the anti-guerrilla campaign and ways of forging closer links between these countries. Portugal was represented by Major Silva Pais, chief of the Direcção-Geral de Sequrança (DGS Directorate General of Security), and by three other senior security officers. The South African delegation, consisting of three members of the Bureau for State Security, was headed by its chief, Major-General H.J. van den Bergh.

APPENDIX III

TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION

Introduction

l. Information concerning military activities and arrangements in the Territories under Portuguese administration up to 1970 is contained in earlier reports of the Special Committee. a/ Recent information on the military situation in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, is contained in the background papers on these Territories b/ and should be read in conjunction with the supplementary information on new developments set out below.

Military organization

General

2. The changes introduced since 1969 in the military organization and structure of authority were progressively implemented in 1970. By the end of the year the integration of the armed forces under a unified command had been completed in Mozambique, though not in Angola. The effect of this reorganization on the war situation is described elsewhere. c/

Conditions of service

3. Measures introduced during the past year to improve conditions of service include special privileges for naval personnel who are either called upon or who offer to serve a second tour of duty in the overseas Territories subsequent to 1 January 1961. These privileges include free transportation of the family to the duty station or a free home visit each year; free medical treatment for the entire family during service overseas and free housing or a rental subsidy (Decree 233/70, May 1970). In addition, the salaries of the three armed forces personnel serving overseas were increased in June 1970 (Decree Law 266/70, 15 June); and the amnesty granted in May 1970 for various infractions was extended in November to delinquents subject to military discipline (Decree 518/70, 4 November).

a/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/7200/Rev.1), chap. IV, annex, appendix II; ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. III, annex, appendix II; ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. II, annex, appendix IV.

 $[\]underline{b}$ / See A/8423/Aa..4, annex I.

c/ Ibid., annex I.A, paras. 73 and 74, and annex I.C, paras. 35 ff.

Security measures

- 4. The growing concern with problems of security in Portugal d/led to a reorganization of the Fublic Security Police (FSP) at the end of the year (Decree Law 662/70, 31 December 1970). Fecause of the shortage of military personnel, the Commander of the PSP henceforth may be from the police force itself instead of being a military officer. At the same time, a deputy chief of staff will be appointed to strengthen the command. A newly created section directly under the Chief of Staff and headed by a principal commander is to take over responsibilities for justice and discipline. Information, psychological action and protocol have also been placed under a new section. A fifth department has been created with responsibility for logistics and accounts.
- 5. In Angola, where there was also growing concern over security e/a new Bureau of Explosives was created in January 1971 under the general command of the PSP. The Bureau is to comprise the Commander of the PSP as chairman, five permanent members and six non-permanent members. Among other things, the Bureau will maintain an inventory of all explosives imported or manufactured in the Territory.
- 6. In February 1971, the districts of Luanda, Lunda, Moxico, Cuando Cubango, Malanje and Pié were placed under a special security régime, with each district headed by a military governor. Of the six districts placed under the special régime, four already had military officers as governors; only Luanda and Malanje had civilian governors. This special security régime was similar to that established in 1961 after the uprising, and which, at that time, was applied to the districts of Cabinda, Zeire, Uige and Cuanza North. The following measures apply in all districts placed under the régime: (a) all individuals and vehicles must carry special safe-conduct passes; (b) any suspicious or dangerous person may be detained without a judicial order or formal charges; (c) any individuals authorized to carry arms are automatically considered to be members of the volunteer corps (OPVDC) and are subject to the relevant regulations; f/ (d) all public meetings must be approved beforehand by the authorities; (e) all forms of communications, broadcast of news, printing, advertising and propaganda are subject to prior censorship; and (f) all public servants are subject to military discipline (Portaria 40/71, 29 January 1971).
- 7. The extent to which the special security measures still apply in Cabinda, Zaire, Uige and Cuanza North is not clear.

Use of paramilitary, professional and civilian services

8. To overcome the shortage of qualified personnel, the Government has liberalized entry levels and requirements to certain posts, and has taken measures to provide the armed forces with a permanent civilian staff. In May 1970, the Government introduced new regulations for the recruitment and training of volunteers for certain special tasks in the air force (Portaria 260/70, 30 May), and also shortened the officers' training course for cadets admitted in 1967 to

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 $[\]underline{d}$ / Ibid., annex I.A, paras. 77-91.

 $[\]underline{e}$ / Ibid., annex I.B, paras. 39 and 59.

f/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/7200/Rev.l), chap. IV, annex, appendix II, para. 27; ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23. (A/7623/Pev.l), chap. III, annex, appendix II, para. 41.

the Diogo Gomes Maval School to permit them to be commissioned as officers (Portaria 261/70, 30 May). In July 1970, the Government created in each overseas Territory a special cadre of civil personnel to serve the armed forces (Decree Law 318/70, 10 July). In November, conditions for training military nurses were eased to permit training in the overseas Territories instead of at the central training school in Portugal (Portaria 600/70, 26 November).

9. As will be seen below, civil air transport and the merchant marine services are also being increasingly used for military purposes.

Military expenditure

10. According to the Minister of Finance, Portugal's total military expenditure, including expenditures under the ordinary budget, rose from 4,794 million escudos g/ in 1961, to 11,290 million escudos in 1969, representing 35.6 and 40.7 per cent respectively of all public expenditure. In contrast, development expenditure rose from 2,497 million escudos in 1960 to 4,201 million escudos in 1969, dropping from 22 per cent to 15.2 per cent of total public expenditure. Portugal's actual military expenditure over the period 1961-1969 is shown in table 1 below.

Table 1

Portugal: Actual military expenditure,

1961-1969

1961 4,794.0 1962 5,696.0 1963 5,884.7 1964 6,548.1 1965 7,259.2 1966 7,993.3 1967 9,785.3 1968 10,696.6	Year	Million escudos
	1962 1963 1964 1965 1966 1967	5,696.0 5,884.7 6,548.1 7,259.2 7,993.3 9,785.3
1909	1968 1969	10,696.6 11,290.0

Source: 1962-1968: Portugal. Ministério das Financas, Conta Geral do Estado. 1961 and 1969: as reported in the Portuguese press.

11. Comparing the actual expenditures with the budget allocations shown in table 2 below it can be seen that, in 1969, actual expenditures have been about 30 per cent higher.

g/ One escudo equals \$US.035 cents.

Table 2

Portugal: Military budget 1968-1971

(million escudos)

rvice	Air Force	487.8	522.8	648.0	678.2
by armed se	Navy	873.6	933.7	1,184.8	1,361.4
Distribution by armed service	Army	1,282.0	1,377.9	1,585.5	1,638.4
Q	Common	5,615.5	6,340.9	6,356.4	7,036.9
Total defence allocation		8,259.0	9,175.3	7.477,6	10,714.9
Budget source	Extraordinarya/	5,607.0	6,334.4	6,365.7	7,042.6
Budg	Ordinary	2,652.0	2,840.9	3,408.9	3,672.3
		1968	1969	1970	1971

a/ These figures differ slightly from those reported in A/3423/Add.4, annous I.A., table 2. Source: Portugal. Rapport sur le Budget général de l'Etat, 1968, 1969, 1970.

- 12. According to the official budget report for 1971 h/a total of 10,714.9 million escudos is provided for "defence". Of this, 7,042.6 million escudos is from the extraordinary budget and 3,672.3 million escudos from the ordinary budget. In May 1971, an additional 1,500 million escudos was authorized for the re-equipment of the air force, with 500 million escudos to be charged to the 1972 budget and 1,000 million escudos to the 1973 budget.
- 13. Table 3 below shows the military budgets of the overseas Territories, with revised figures for 1970 and provisional figures for 1971. i/ For Angola, the revised figures for 1970 showed a total increase of 99.5 million escudos, comprising 55.2 million escudos for the army, 31.3 million escudos for the air force and 13.0 million escudos for the navy. For Mozambique, the increase was 265.9 million escudos, comprising 115.0 million escudos for the army, 31.4 million escudos for the air force and 119.5 million escudos for the navy. This large increase was probably due to the special military campaigns conducted in 1970. There were also small increases in the military budgets of the other Territories, bringing the revised total for all Territories to 3,222.6 million escudos. This represents a 30 per cent increase over 1969.
- 14. In April 1971, a newspaper article in the Angola press, reporting on the accounts for 1969, noted that only 6,084.9 million escudos was spent on the expeditionary forces in 1969 and that this was 112.9 million escudos less than in 1968. The article did not, however, mention the increases in the military expenditures in the Territories, which increased by almost 400 million escudos between 1968 and 1969.

h/ Portugal. Rapport sur le Budget général de l'Etat pour 1971, Lisbon, 1971.

i/ The original allocations for 1970 were reported in Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-Fifth Sessi n, Supplement No. 23 (A/S023/Rev.1), chap. II, annex, appendix IV, table 2.

<u>Military budgets of the overseas Territories, 1967-1970</u>
(million escudos)

	\	on cocuaco,		
Year and Territory	Army	Air Force	Navy	Total
Angola				
1967 1968 1969 1970 <u>a</u> / 1971	533.0 678.9 974.7 1,356.2 1,533.0	180.0 200.5 220.0 271.7 266.0	69.0 71.9 94.9 119.0 119.0	782.0 951.3 1,289.6 1,747.0 1,918.0
Mozambique				
1967	609.4	166.0	63.0	838.4
1968 1969 1970 1971	667.3 674.0 886.1 829.2	180.0 202.0 261.4 230.0	63.0 69.0 198.5 86.0	910.3 945.0 1,346.0 1,145.2
Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea				
1967 1968 1969 1970 <u>*</u> / 1971	30.1 30.5 34.8 39.6 44.9	32.2 35.3 36.4 59.3 55.0	26.1 27.0 34.9 65.0 65.0	88.4 92.8 106.1 151.6 164.9
Cape Verde				
1967 1968 1969 1970 <u>a</u> / 1971	15.0 16.1 21.3 22.3 22.5	1.4 1.5 1.9 2.6 2.4	3.3 7.6 10.6 12.2 11.7	19.7 25.2 33.8 37.1 36.6
São Tomé and Príncipe	•			
1967 1968 1969 1970 <u>*</u> 1971	7.4 7.0 6.9 10.1 8.7	0.8 1.1 1.8 2.3 2.3	2.3 2.3 2.7 2.9 3.1	10.5 10.4 11.4 15.4 14.1
Macau and dependencies				
1967 1968 1969 1970 <mark>a</mark> / 1971	26.9 28.7 25.7 32.1 28.6	- - - -	1.2 0.9 1.3 2.0 1.8	28.1 29.6 27.0 34.1 30.4
Timor and dependencies				
1967 1968 1969 1970 a / 1971	31.5 31.6 32.7 40.3 50.3	- - - -	1.8 1.8 2.2 2.7 2.7	33.3 33.4 34.9 43.0 53.0
Total				
1967 1968 1969 1970 ¹ / 1971	1,253.3 1,460.1 1,770.1 2,208.7 2,517.2	380.4 418.4 462.1 597.3 555.7	166.7 174.5 215.6 257.3 289.3	1,800.4 2,053.3 2,447.8 3,222.6 3,362.2

Source: Portugal. Diário do Governo, Series I, 1967-1971.

a/ Figures for 1970 are revised.

Armed forces

15. According to The Military Balance 1970-1971 j/ Portugal's armed forces totalled 185,500 men, of whom about 57,000, including those locally enlisted, are in Angola; 43,000 are in Mozambique; and 25,000 are in Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea. The following table shows the growth of the Portuguese armed forces during the past four years.

Table 4

Portugal:	Growth of ar	med forces, 196	7 - 1971	
	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71
Army	120,000	150,000	148,000	150,000
Navy, including marines	15,000	15,000	16,500	18,000
Air Force	13,500	17,500	17,500	17,500
	148,500	182,500	182,000	185,500

Source: The Institute for Strategic Studies. The Military Balance, 1967-1968 to 1970-1971.

^{16.} Portuguese sources report that, as a matter of policy, increasingly more Africans are being organzied in the various military and paramilitary structures. The exact number of Africans in the different units in each of the three Territories is not known. For Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, available information has already been reported in the respective background papers. k/ In June 1971, it was reported that new African paratroop combat groups had been trained from former Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) guerrillas. These new paratroop groups are to be deployed on anti-guerrilla missions in northern Mozambique.

^{17.} In October 1970, the military academy was reorganized to meet the new needs of the army and the air force. Changes were also made in the regulations of the Naval Academy, among other things, eliminating final examinations for cadets who achieve a certain standard. A military engineering course will be created and provisions will be made to enable students to take certain preparatory courses in other universities. Cadets at the military academy and the naval academy will receive pay while in training, and graduates from the military academy will be entitled immediately to military status and corresponding pay.

j/ Published by the Institute for Strategic Studies, London.

k/ A/8423/Add.4, annex I.

18. In February 1971, a Higher Air Force Academy was created to train staff of air force commands and other senior officers. The Higher Air Force Academy will be under the direction of an Air Force Chief of Staff. It will provide general courses for engineers, navigators, medical technical and other staff. The Academy will also serve Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea.

Equipment and installations

Navy

- 19. A complete list of the Portuguese Navy in 1969/70 is contained in the previous report in this series. 1/ Since then four more of the six new corvettes have been put into service. Two of these, the Augusto Castilho and the Honório Barreto, were built in Spain; other new ships include three patrol launches, the São Tomé, the Cuanza and the Geba; and one landing craft. In May 1971, the Government authorized a contract for four more corvettes at a cost of 1,641 million escudos.
- 20. During 1970, the Government requisitioned 12 ships from the merchant marine for a total of 40 trips to carry troops and supplies to the overseas Territories. Under the merchant marine renovation and expansion programme, various units totalling 800,000 tons dw are to be added between 1971 and 1973, involving an investment of some 3,700 million escudos.

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. II, annex, appendix IV.

Air Force

21. The following table showing the structure of the Portuguese Air Force is from The Military Balance 1970-1971.

Table 5

Portugal: Air Force, 1970/71

	3.55	al mengemagan mengupungganya di terdah di Jampi Jalib yang dapat
Personnel	17,500	
Combat air craft	150	
Organized squadrons		
Light bomber squadrons <u>a</u> / with B-26 Invaders and PV-2 Harpoons	2	
Fighter bomber squadrons with F-84G	1	
Light strike squadron with G-91	1	
Interceptor squadron F-86F	1	
Maritime patrol squadron with P-2E Neptune <u>b</u> /	1	
Transport planes c/		
Noratlas planes	12	
C-47	<u>†</u> 0	
C-5 ¹ .	50	
DC-6 transports	•••	
C-45 transports	15	
Reconnaissance/trainers		
т-6	50	
Do-27	25	
T-33	15	
T-37 C	30	
Helicopters		
Alouette II	50	
Alouette III	30	

a/ There are 15-25 aircraft in a combat squadron.

b/ Assigned to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

c/ See para. 22 below.

- 22. The new data show that there has been an increase in the number of planes. In 1968/69, the Portuguese Air Force had 60 medium transport planes, including 12 Noratlas, 40 C-47s, C-54s and DC-6s, m/while, in 1970, the Portuguese Air Force had only one squadron of Alouette III helicopters.
- 23. The above list apparently does not include aircraft used by the army and the navy. In April 1971, a question was raised in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland concerning the supply of parts for the PUMA SA-330 helicopters used by the Portuguese Army, with particular reference to their operation in the wars in Africa. A government spokesman said that the helicopter was manufactured in France which was responsible for the export sales, "and only 20 per cent was produced in the United Kingdom."
- 24. A French source reported in 1970 that the Puma SA-330 was built jointly by the French firm Sud-Aviation, n/ in co-operation with an English company, Westland Aircraft, Ltd., the Italian firm Fiat, S.p.A. and the Belgian Société Anonyme Belge de Constructions Aéronautiques (SABCA). Another source reported that the PUMA air frame was built in the United Kingdom and the engine was manufactured in France.
- 25. There is no detailed information on the type of planes used by the Portuguese armed forces in Africa. Among others, the Noratlas and the Alouettes have been mentioned in Portuguese reports.
- 26. Despite the substantial increase in the number of transport planes and helicopters, increasing use is being made by the armed forces of the civil air services. In Mozambique, in 1970, the military command signed contracts engaging Direcção de Exploração dos Transportes Aéreos (DETA) and Empresa Moçambicana de Aviação Comercial (EMAC) as freight carriers. The contracts amount to some 50 million escudos annually. DETA, which is operated by Mozambique Harbours, Railways and Transport Administration, acquired two Boeing 737-200s in 1969. In March 1971, the Administration was authorized to contract a loan of \$US5,340,000 from the Banco Macional Ultramarino for the purchase of another Boeing 737 and parts (Decree 100/71, 24 March).
- 27. The Angola Comité in the Netherlands addressed an open letter to the Dutch Government in October 1970, in which, among other things, it charged that the Portuguese Army was using FOKKER F-27 planes supplied by the Netherlands. It claimed that these planes were being used by the civil airlines in Angola and Mczambique under contract to the armed forces. The Angolan domestic airline, Direcção dos Transportes Aéreos (DTA), was reported to have received its fourth FOKKER F-27 in July 1970, and a fifth one was to be delivered before the end of the year. The DETA in Mozambique was said to operate three FOKKER F-27s and a fourth one was to be delivered around the beginning of 1971. The complete fleet of planes of the Angolan and Mozambique government-owned civil airlines is not known.

m/ Ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. III, annex, appendix II, table l_1 .

n/ On l January 1970, Sud-Aviation was merged with Nord-Aviation and Societé pour l'Etude et la Réalisation d'Engins Balistiques S.A. (SEREB), forming the Société Nationale Industrielle Aérospatiale (SNIAS).

- 28. In February 1971, a question was raised in the lited States Senate about the sale of two Boeing 707 planes to Portugal. According to a report in the Washington Post (Washington, D.C.) of 5 January 1971, the 707 planes are long-range aircraft and would be of little use in Portugal. It was therefore expected that they would be used for flights to Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea. The newspaper article reported that the daily listings of export licences published by the United States Department of Commerce had shown that the sale had been approved in July 1970. Boeing officials had confirmed that the transaction was completed in Portugal with the Director of Civil Aviation, whereas past sales had been made directly to the Transportes Aéreos Portugueses (TAP). The planes, which cost around \$US9.2 million each, were expected to be delivered in July or August 1971.
- 29. A written statement by the Government, which was published in the Congressional Record of the United States of America said that the United States Government had not participated in the financing of the sale of the two 707's in question; and that the sale "was deemed not to come within the terms of the 1961 embargo on the export of arms for use in Africa". The statement also said that the only restriction normally placed on the sale of civil aircraft to foreign countries was that the approval of the United States Government had to be obtained before the planes were re-exported. The United States had not asked Portugal for any other assurances nor sought to place restrictions on the use of the aircraft.
- 30. According to available information, TAP ordered its first two Boeing 707's in 1964 and they were delivered in 1965. In September 1970, TAP had seven 707's and five 727's and three Caravelles. At the time, it had on order two Boeing 747-B's, at a cost of \$US58 million. These two planes are to be delivered in 1972. A Boeing 727, which was already on order last year, was delivered to TAP in March 1971; in May 1971, TAP increased its registered capital from 500 million to 800 million escudos. In August 1971, Noticias de Portugal reported that TAP had received three additional planes, one 727 and two 707's which brings the TAP fleet to a total of 18 planes.

The a industry and military supplies

- 31. Although Portugal claims to be largely self-sufficient as regards army supplies, it has to rely on foreign sources for much of its naval and air force material. o/ In 1970, several deputies raised questions about the purchase of war material from foreign countries. One deputy proposed an additional paragraph to the text of the Law of Way and Means for 1971 which would require the Government to link defence measures more closely with development, with a view to channelling expenditures on foreign purchases to the domestic market. Although this amendment was not approved, the debate served to give new emphasis to the national arms industry.
- 32. In March 1971, a Portuguese official source stated that the national arms industry employed over 16,000 persons, that its output was valued at 1,800 million escudos, although indirectly, many times this sum was involved. It was estimated that two thirds of the country's military expenditures were retained in the national economy.

o/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/7200/Rev.1), chap. IV, annex, appendix II, para. 23.

- 33. Available information indicates that the Government has decided to permit the establishment in the overseas Territories of various industries related to the military. In November 1970, for instance, the Lisbon Military Laboratories were authorized to establish two more factories in Mozambique, one at Nampula and one at Lorenço Marques. The Lisbon Laboratories manufacture chemicals and pharmaceuticals for troops and army hospitals. Two branch factories are expected to be established in Angola, one at Luanda and one at Nova Lisboa.
- 34. In April 1971, the local press in Mozambique reported that a Lisbon firm had been authorized to set up aircraft manufacturing industries in the Territory. An application for such a licence was made in 1970 by the Empresa Ibérica de Material Aeronautico. In this connexion, the Bell Aircraft Corporation of the United States which is supplying helicopters to the Zambezi Valley Development Office was reported to be shipping the aircraft for assembly in the Territory (see A/8398/Add.1, appendix II.B, para. 102-103). In January 1971, it was reported that a municions works was being built in Mozambique by a South African firm.

filitary co operation of Portugal with other countries

Southern Africa

- 35. In February 1971 the security chiefs of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia met in Salisbury, in what was reported in the press as "a routine meeting". The Portuguese delegation was headed by Major Silva Pais, head of the Portuguese Direcção-Geral de Segurança (DGS Directorate General of Security) and the chief security officers of Angola and Mozambique. South Africa was represented by Major General Hendrik van der Bergh, Chief of the Bureau of State Security. Reporting on this meeting, an English-language newspaper said "There have been claims but so far little evidence that the armies are free to enter each other's territories in pursuance of guerilla bands."
- 36. In June 1971, the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Rui Patricio, made an official visit to South Africa. Discussions between the two foreign ministers reportedly centred on three main topics: (a) economic co-operation between Portugal and South Africa in southern Africa; (b) maintenance of security in the region south of the 10th parallel, as well as the sea route around the Cape, with special reference to the Indian Ocean coast and the Mozambique canal; and (c) the political attacks both countries face, especially in the United Nations.
- 37. A number of statements made during the visit underline the close relationship of Portugal and South Africa. In one speech, the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hilgard Muller, expressed his country's great admiration for Portugal's determination in its struggle against "the terrorists". Mr. Patrício said that the frank co-operation which had long been established and continually strengthened between Portugal and South Africa in various fields of interest constituted an example which should be followed by others. On one occasion, he said that the strategic positions of Portugal and South Africa were important factors for the defence of western civilization by both countries, especially because they shared common ideas of peace and progress, were subjected to the same threats and were exposed to the same dangers.

- 38. In a press conference in South Africa, the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs declared that "Portugal controlled perfectly, and had never lost control, over the activities of the terrorists and the military situation". Portugal had fought for ten years alone without outside help and saw no need for such help now. Portugal also did not need help to protect the Cabora Bassa project. He added that, from a military point of view, "there was no war in Mozambique", as Portugal's enemy had no military campaign plan and limited itself to attacking isolated population centres.
- 39. Referring to the defence pact, he said that Portugal had never considered the idea of a defence pact for southern Africa. Nevertheless, the probability of the establishment of such a pact in the future would depend on the extent of foreign activities in the region. Such a pact would only become necessary if there were a concrete possibility of aggression on a large scale.
- 40. Charges continued to be made that South African troops were operating in both Angola and Mozambique, p/ and were helping to defend the Cabora Bassa dam. In February 1971, a spokesman for the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) reported that South Africa maintained two air bases in Angola and that South African troops were helping to guard the Cassinga mines. This report has been officially denied by South Africa.
- 41. In March 1971, the Special Committee received a cable from Mr. Agostinho Neto (MPLA), charging that Portugal was continuing to use chemical substances such as herbicides and defoliants in the liberated areas of Angola (A/AC.109/PET.1159).

NATO and the Azores

- 42. In October 1970, during the meeting in Lisbon of the Military Commission of NATO, the Portuguese Minister for Defence and the Army, General Sa Viana Rebelo, again raised the question of extending NATO activities to the southern hemisphere. He suggested that Portugal's naval and air bases in its overseas Territories could provide facilities for control of the vast area of the southern Atlantic. There is no information as to whether this question was discussed at the meeting of the NATO Council of Ministers which met in Lisbon in June 1971.
- 43. Negotiations between the United States and Portugal on the Azores base were reported to be "in progress" in May 1971. Prime Minister Caetano publicly stated that if the agreement between the two countries is not renewed, the Azores would become a NATO base "restricted to use by the Alliance and nothing more". He said that the use of the Azores by the United States without any formal agreement could not be based on the ground that Portugal had received Marshall Aid. If the United States needed the Azores base, it would have to formalize the terms of agreement.

p/ See <u>ibid.</u>, <u>Twenty-fifth Session</u>, <u>Supplement No. 23</u> (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. II, annex, appendix IV, para. 37.

APPENDIX IV

BAHAMAS, BERMUDA, TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS AND THE UNITED STATES VIRGIN ISLANDS

General

- 1. The largest military installations in the Non-Self-Governing Territories of the Caribbean region are situated in the Territories of the Bahamas, Bermuda and the United States Virgin Islands, and are operated by the authorities of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.
- 2. According to the statement on the United Kingdom defence estimates for 1970, published on 19 February 1970, and debated in the House of Commons on 4 and 5 March 1970, the United Kingdom operates in the Caribbean a force of two frigates, equipped with helicopters and carrying a detachment of Royal Marines.

Bahamas

Bahamas Long-Range Proving Ground

3. The Proving Ground comists of a main base and launching area in the vicinity of Cape Canaveral, Florida United States, and of a flight testing range, which extends to the south-east from the launching area through the Bahama Islands and the waters adjacent thereto. The Proving Ground operates under the provisions of the agreement concluded on 21 July 1950 between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the United States; the agreement provides, inter alia, that the ground should be used by both Governments for "testing the flight of guided missiles and associated equipment and for training with such missiles and equipment". a/

Atlantic Underwater Test and Evaluation Center

4. The largest installation in the Bahanas is the Atlantic Underwater Test and Evaluation Center (AUTEC) at Andres Islands, established under the provisions of an agreement between the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States, signed on 11 October 1963. The agreement qualifies the installation, which was formally opened on 14 April 1966, as a Center for "underwater research, testing and evaluation of anti-submarine weapons, sonar tracking and communications". b/ The 420-acre base complex of the Center has about 400 basic personnel, supported by more than 140 Bahamians, about 60 United States naval personnel, 60 British personnel and 25 United States civil service employees. The Center consists of three main ranges: a weapons range, an acoustic range and a sonar range.

a/ For other details and supplementary agreements, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. II, annex, appendix V, paras. 5-9.

b/ For other details, see ibid., paras. 10-14.

Other installations

5. The United States Air Force operates two missile tracking stations in the Territory which are a part of the Eastern Missile Test Range associated with Patrick Air Force Base at Cape Kennedy (United States). United States naval and coast guard installations are located on several of the Out Islands.

Dumping of nerve gas

6. In August 1970, the dumping by the United States of 1,260 lethal nerve gas rockets into the ocean off the coast of Florida - and 150 miles off Abaco Island - caused the Bahamas Government to lodge a strong protest with the United States and to criticize the United Kingdom for its failure to "properly consult" over the matter, as required by the Territory's Constitution.

Bermuda

Naval Air Station and the King's Point Naval Base

- 7. The United States operates two major military bases in the Territory, the Naval Air Station (former Kindley Air Force Base, transferred to the United States Navy on 1 July 1970) and the King's Point Naval Base. The bases occupy a total area of 2.97 square miles, or about one tenth of the surface of the island. In August 1968, the staff of the air force base amounted to 1,916 persons (1,360 military personnel, 237 United States civilian employees and 319 local civilian and foreign nationals); the base also accommodated 3,802 military dependants. The King's Point Naval Base housed about 1,080 persons (300 military personnel, 100 United States civilian employees, 180 local civilian and foreign nationals and 500 military dependants).
- 8. In a statement concerning the transfer of the operations at Kindley Air Force Base from the United States Air Force to the United States Navy, the United States Consul-General in Bermuda declared on 19 June 1969, inter alia:

"Officials of the United States Department of Defense have concluded that Bermuda is growing increasingly important to operations of the U.S. Navy, particularly for antisubmarine patrol operations, and decreasingly important to the Air Force. They cite the fact that longer range aircraft now in use by the Air Force have made stationing on Bermuda and refueling operations from it less necessary for routing operations over the Atlantic Ocean... the importance of both Kindley and Naval Station will continue for the unforeseeable future."

9. In 1948, the then air force base was opened to civil aircraft under an agreement between the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States. c/

c/ For details of the agreement and supplementary agreements see ibid., paras. 19 and 20.

Civil aircraft are handled in a small subleased area at the western end of the airfield. Both military and civil aircraft use the same runways and technical facilities. The civil air operations were not affected by the transfer of the base to the United States Navy in 1970.

West Indies Station

10. The Territory is the headquarters of the United Kingdom West Indies Station under the command of a commodore with the title of Senior Naval Officer, West Indies. The responsibilities of the Station include Territories under United Kingdom administration in the Caribbean area.

Turks and Caicos Islands

Air Force Guided Missile Base and the Naval Facility

11. There are two United States military establishments on Grand Turk - the United States Air Force Guided Missile Base and the United States Naval racility. In October 1969, the Administrator of the Territory stated that these establishments employed about 300 to 400 United States personnel. In 1969, a total of 66 islanders were employed at the bases.

Question of revenue

- 12. The Territory derives no revenue from the United States military establishments, which is a source of complaints in the Territory. The Administrator stated during a press conference held in October 1969 that it was felt "that the Americans should make some gesture in payment for the site one of the prime ones on Grand Turk"; he also stated that the authorities of the Territory had been "engaged for some months now in negotiations with the United States at a governmental level" on this question.
- 13. On 4 May 1970, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs was asked in the House of Commons "if he will make a statement on the progress of the redegotiations of the United States-United Kingdom bases agreement concerning the Turks and Caicos Islands". d/ In reply to this question, the Secretary made the following statement:

"The agreement is not being renegotiated. The review, for which provision is made in article XXIV (2) of the Agreement, began with a meeting between British and American representatives in Grand Turk in May 1967. Since then a system of severance and retirement pay for local employees at the United States base has been introduced. Other matters discussed at the meeting last year are still being pursued in correspondence with the United States Government. We hope to reach an early and satisfactory conclusion."

d/ For details see ibid., paras. 20.31.

Other installations

14. There is also a United States Coast Guard Station on South Caicos.

United States and Virgin Islands

Naval base and underwater demolition teams

- 15. The 197-acre United States Naval Base, located on St. Thomas, was deactivated during 1951 to 1953 and leased to the Virgin Islands Corporation (owned by the Government of the Territory) for economic development purposes. At the teginning of 1967, the Government of the United States, which had retained the right to reoccupy the facility, declared the base in excess of its needs, and on 28 February 1967, 196.3 acres of land, together with all improvements were transferred to the Government of the Territory.
- 16. The 33.32-acre site used by the United States Navy for the purpose of training underwater demolition teams (UDT) was deactivated in 1966. On 1 September 1966, the UDT properties were made available to the Government of the Territory under a 30-day revocable permit from the Navy.

Military Selective Service System

- 17. The male population of the Territory continued to be subject to the draft under the Military Selective Service System of the United States when they reach 18 years of age. In 1969/70, a new "calendar year lottery" method of selection was inaugurated; the total registration reached 11,597, compared with 10,481 in 1968/69 and 9,309 in 1967/68. According to the information transmitted by the administering Power "the heavy registration experienced in the last three years is a direct reflection of the unusually large number of aliens admitted for permanent residence falling within the required registration ages". The Territory's induction quota for 1969/70 was 97, compared with 135 in 1968/69 and 231 in 1967/68. Eighty-seven inductions were actually made, compared with 127 in 1968/69 and 220 in 1967/68.
- 18. The Governor of the Territory stated on 12 May 1970 that 22 Virgin Islanders had died in the Viet-Nam conflict and that this was the highest per capita rate anywhere in the nation, except possibly for Guam.
- 19. In 1971, the administering Power reported inter alia:

"Protests against the Selective Service System generated in the continental United States affected the Virgin Islands early in the fiscal year 1970. Students returning home for the summer, local student and teacher groups, and various youth groups began an active campaign against Selective Service. Some were opposed to the application of the law itself to residents of the Virgin Islands. Other organizations became more inquisitive into the Selective Service organization and how it functioned. From the College of the Virgin Islands, a group established a 'Draft Counseling' office in the downtown area. Considerable publicity was given these groups by public news media."

APPENDIX V

PAPUA AND THE TRUST TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA, GUAM AND THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACTFIC ISLANDS

Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea

- 1. Basic information on the armed forces of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea is contained in previous working papers prepared by the Secretariat for Sub-Committee I. a/ Subsequent information is set out below.
- 2. In the annual reports concerning these Territories for the year ended 30 June 1970, the administering Power states that regular units of the Papua and New Guinea Command established by the Australian Army at Port Moresby, consist of two battalions of the Pacific Islands Regiment (PIR) headquarters and support troops. At 30 June 1970, their total strength was 3,109 of which Papuans and New Guineans numbered 2,430, including 16 indigenous officers and 845 indigenous non-commissioned officers. The majority of officers in the Command are Australian, but a policy of replacing them progressively with Papuans and New Guineans is being followed.
- 3. Dr. Robert J. O'Neill, in a recently published article entitled "The Army in Papua-New Guinea", b/ has stated:
 - "... a compromise seems to have been reached whereby the /PIR/ strength... is pegged at 2,600, which is approximately two thirds the size of the total police establishment... Although 2,600 men should be ample for two full battalions, the various supporting units eat into this number too heavily to permit 2 PIR /the second battalion or the Regiment/ to be at full strength. There have been rumours circulating for a few years that a third battalion was about to be raised, but it would appear that this is impossible under the existing arrangements.... The Army can recruit only to make up wastage which is some 240 men per year.

"Indigenization of senior NCO /Non-commissioned/ and junior officer ranks has been proceeding since 1963. Mearly all PIR NCOs, from Regimental Sergeant Major downwards, are PIs. There are four PI captains c/... and 12 subalterns. By the end of 1970 there will be

a/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/7200/Rev.1), chap. IV, annex, appendix VI; ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. III, annex, appendix XVI: ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. II, annex, appendix VI.

 $[\]underline{b}/$ Published by the Australian National University Press for the Strategic and Defense Studies Centre.

 $[\]underline{c}/$ One of the captains was reported to have been promoted to major in May 1971.

approximately 30 PI officers. The rate of officer indigenization is being increased, both by sending more cadets to the Officer Cadet School at Portsea, Victoria /Australia/ and by... commissioning of Senior NCOs after a three months course at the Goldie River Training Depot /Papua/..."

- 4. Four such senior non-commissioned officers completed their training in November 1970 and were reportedly so commissioned.
- 5. According to the annual report under review, the Papua and New Guinea Division of the Royal Australian Navy (RAN) is being developed to form a security force for surveillance of the coastline and rivers. Five modern patrol craft have been provided for this purpose.
- 6. The present indigenous membership of the Division is 215. Assistance in the training of the Division is provided by RAN personnel based at Manus where a refuelling service is also provided. The first four indigenous officers are receiving training in patrol boats as sub-lieutenants and three cadet midshipmen are receiving initial training in Australia. At 30 June 1970, 41 Papuan and New Guinean sailors were serving in patrol craft, some 83 sailors were receiving specialist training and the remainder were employed on base support duties.
- 7. The Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) element in the Territory consists of a Resident Air Force Officer and a detachment of 24 personnel equipped with three Caribou aircraft. They are engaged in providing transport support for the army in Papua and New Guinea. Additional transport support is supplied from Australian based units when required.
- 8. The 1971 Visiting Mission stated in its report that while defence would remain the responsibility of Australia until independence, the present local forces should be given a focus of local loyalty through the early appointment of a ministerial member with responsibility for liaison with them.

Guam

- 9. Information on United States armed forces in Guam is contained in previous working papers prepared by the Secretariat for Sub-Committee I. d/ Further information is set out below.
- 10. The administering Power reports that since its establishment in 1951, the local Selective Service System has inducted 2,501 young men into the United States Armed Forces for military service. During the year under review, 137 registrants have been inducted into the United States military forces. At June 1970, 3,407 men registered in the Guam Selective Service were serving in the United States Army, Navy and Marine Corps.

d/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/7200/Rev.1), chap. IV, annex, appendix VII; ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. III, annex, appendix VII; ibid., Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. II, annex, appendix VI.

- 11. It is reported that the United States Naval Mobile Construction Battalion 133 was deployed to Guam in July 1970, the first time in more than 20 years that an Atlantic Fleet Seabee Battalion has been sent to the Pacific Islands. One of the projects of the MCB 133 was to construct a temporary 1,500-man Seabee base.
- 12. It is also reported that all previous agreements between the United States Navy and the Government of Guam on the joint use of Gaval Air Station facilities expired on 1 July 1971 and no new agreement has been signed. Draft agreements have been submitted by both sides, but according to Governor Camacho, the Navy seems reluctant to let Guam have what it wants two parcels of land adjacent to the present International Terminal which are vital to the expansion of local terminal facilities.
- 13. The lack of a new agreement apparently has led to the forfeiting of \$US500,000 in federal funds. Several funding sources are reportedly contingent on the joint use agreement. Among them are the Airport Development Act programme, federal rehabilitation loans and the terminal lease financing.
- 14. It is further reported that the United States Navy has opposed a bill submitted by United States Senator Henry Jackson to set up a one-year study by the Department of the Interior which would lead to a lands claims commission in Guam. The Navy reportedly objects to the idea of one United States department investigating another. It considers that the study should be conducted by the General Accounting Office or an appropriate congressional committee.
- 15. Guam's representative in Washington, D.C., Mr. Antonio B. Won Pat, has stated that the Department of the Interior is familiar with the situation in Guam and is better prepared to conduct the study. The dispute centres on land acquired during the period 1944 to 1950, before Guam's Organic Act was adopted. Mr. Won Pat said that the land in question involves about 36 per cent of the island and 1,000 families.
- 16. It is reported that the Pacific Representative of the Friends of the Earth, Mr. Robert Wenkam, has met with the Under-Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Charles Hill, in an effort to stop further proceedings in construction of the proposed \$US12.2 million ammunition pier at Sella Bay and the expansion of the Naval Magazine on Guam. According to a press report, the United States President's Council of Environmental Quality wrote to Mr. Hill stating that any work done, even surveying, on the Sella Bay project, is in violation of the law which requires public review and public hearings.
- 17. It was earlier reported that Governor Camacho had talked with Mr. John Chaffee, United States Secretary of the Navy concerning the Navy's acquisition of Sella Bay and had made it clear that he would not sign any agreement on Sella Bay unless a satisfactory arrangement on land exchange was made. The Governor had proposed an area for area and not value for value exchange. He further proposed that negotiations begin with an exchange of the Naval Air Station and the remaining one third of Cabras Island, as well as other sites for the Sella Bay property.
- 18. The Navy reportedly wants the exchange on a value for value basis. It considers removal of the ammuniton wharf from its present site at Apra Harbor to be essential to the safety of the harbour.

19. It was reported in July 1971 that the House of Representative Armed Services Committee of the United States House of Representatives (United States Congress) had approved \$US194,449,000 for Guam in the military construction authorization bill.

Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

- 20. Information on United States armed forces in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is contained in last year's working paper prepared by the Secretariat for Sub-Committee I. e/ Further information is set out below.
- 21. The Administering Authority informed the Trusteeship Council at its thirty-eighth session that the clean-up phase of the reseutlement programme for Bikini had been completed and that the Bikini Council, now the Kili Council, played an active role in the Atoll's rehabilitation. The Administering Authority also drew the Trusteeship Council's attention to the renegotiated agreement whereby the United States Army is paying displaced persons of the Mid-Corridor Islands of Kwajalein Atoll \$US420,000 a year.
- 22. In July 1969, the United States Department of Defense approved the use of military Civic Action Teams in Micronesia. The teams are working on over-all civic improvement programmes as determined within each district.
- 23. It is reported that the United States Department of State has opposed a bill which would allow residents of the Trust Territory to enlist in the United States Army and Air Force. Micronesians are allowed to enlist in the United States Navy and Marine Corps by leaving the Territory and obtaining permanent residence permits in the United States or its Territories. A representative of the Department of State reportedly told the United States House Sub-Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs that proposed provisions of the bill are inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations and the Trusteeship Agreement for the Trust Territory. The provision to expand enlistment for Micronesia is included in an omnibus bill for the Trust Territory which originated in the United States Senate. Action on the legislation is to be deferred until after the August (1971) recess of the Congress. During the recess, members of the Sub-Committee were to go to Micronesia to examine conditions there.

e/ <u>Ibid.</u>, <u>Twenty-fourth Session</u>, <u>Supplement No. 23</u> (A/7623/Rev.1), chap. III, annex, appendix X; <u>ibid.</u>, <u>Twenty-fifth Session</u>, <u>Supplement No. 23</u> (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. II, annex, appendix VI.

CHAPTER III

(A/8423 (Part III))

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES BY THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS

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CHAPTER III

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES BY THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS

A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

- 1. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March 1971, the Special Committee, by approving the fifty-eighth report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.687), decided, inter alia, to take up separately an item entitled "implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations". At the same meeting, the Special Committee, having regard to the relevant provisions of its resolution of 27 August 1970 1/ and of General Assembly resolution 2704 (XXV) of 14 December 1970, agreed that it should continue examination of the procedure most appropriate for consideration of the item.
- 2. At its 809th meeting on 16 July, the Special Committee, on the recommendation of the Working Group, in its sixty-second report (A/AC.109/L.721), decided that the item should be considered at its plenary meetings.
- 3. The Special Committee considered the item at its 809th, 823rd, 829th and 830th meetings, between 16 July and 21 October.
- In its consideration of the item, the Special Committee took into account the 4. provisions of General Assembly resolution 2704 (XXV) concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations, particularly paragraph 15 thereof, by which the General Assembly requested the Special Committee "to continue to examine the question and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session". The Special Committee also took into account the relevant provisions of the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration, contained in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970. The Special Committee was also guided by the relevant provisions of other General Assembly resolutions, particularly paragraph 10 of resolution 2652 (XXV) of 3 December 1970 concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia, paragraph 9 of resolution 2678 (XXV) of 9 December 1970 concerning the question of Namibia, and paragraph 11 of resolution 2707 (XXV) of 14 December 1970 concerning the question of Territories under Portuguese administration, by which the General Assembly called upon all States and the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. IV, para. 13.

render to the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination the financial and material assistance necessary to continue their struggle for the restoration of their inalienable rights. The Special Committee also took into account the relevant provisions of Security Cou cil resolutions 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970 concerning Southern Rhodesia and 283 (1970) of 29 July 1970 concerning Namibia. The Committee further took into account the relevant paragraphs of the observations contained in the report 2/ of its Ad Hoc Group which visited Africa in May 1971. Finally, the Special Committee took into account the results of the consideration of the item during the year by the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination 3/ and the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination 4/.

- 5. During its consideration of the item, the Special Committee had before it a report submitted by the Secretary-General in response to the request addressed to him by the General Assembly in paragraph 14 (a) of resolution 2704 (XXV) (A/8314 and Add.1-3).
- 6. At the 809th meeting, on 16 July, the Chairman informed the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.809 and Corr.1) that the Economic and Social Council had decided to postpone consideration of the item until its resumed fifty-first session and that, as a consequence, the consultations with the Council President envisaged under the Special Committee's resolution of 27 August 1970 would take place in October.
- 7. At the 823rd meeting, on 2 September, statements were made by the representative of Bulgaria and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.823).
- 8. At the 829th meeting, on 15 October, the representative of Bulgaria introduced a draft resolution on the item (A/AC.109/L.752) on behalf of Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ecuador, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Mali, Sierra Leone, the Cyrian Arab Republic and the United Republic of Tanzania. At the same meeting, the representative of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) made a statement (A/AC.109/PV.829). Statements were also made by the representative of India and by the Cr irman (A/AC.109/PV.829).
- 9. At the 830th meeting, on 21 October, following statements by the representatives of the Syrian Arab Republic, Ethiopia, Fiji, the United Republic of Tanzania, Sweden, Venezuela, the Ivory Coast, Trinidad and Tobago and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.109/PV.830), the Special Committee adopted the draft resolution without objection, it being understood that the reservations expressed by certain delegations would be reflected in the record of the meeting (see paragraph 12 below).
- 10. The report of the Chairman on his consultations with the Present of the Economic and Social Council, to which reference is made in paragraph 6 above, was circulated on 28 October (see annex to the present chapter).

^{2/} A/8423/Add.1, annex.

^{3/} E/5072.

^{4/} E/5012 (part I).

11. On 29 October, the text of the resolution (A/AC.109/387) was transmitted to OAU and, on 1 November, to the specialized agencies and organizations within the United Nations system.

B. DECISION OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

12. The text of the resolution (A/AC.109/387) adopted by the Special Committee at its 830th meeting, on 21 October, to which reference is made in paragraph 9 above, is reproduced below:

The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Having considered the item entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations",

Recalling the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration, contained in resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970,

Recalling further General Assembly resolutions 2311 (XXII) of 14 December 1967, 2426 (XXIII) of 18 December 1968, 2555 (XXIV) of 12 December 1969 and 2704 (XXV) of 14 December 1970, as well as other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly,

Taking into account the relevant resolutions of the Security Council on southern Africa, in particular resolution 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970 on the question of Southern Rhodesia, and resolution 283 (1970) of 29 July 1970 on the question of Namibia,

Expressing appreciation of the comprehensive report submitted by the Secretary-General in pursuance of paragraph 14 (a) of General Assembly resolution 2704 (XXV), 5/

Taking into consideration the reports of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination 6/ and the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination 7/ on the present item,

Having adopted the report of the Ad Hoc Group established by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples at its 789th meeting on 7 April 1971, 8/

^{5/} A/8314 and Add.1-3.

^{6/} E/5072.

^{7/} E/5012 (part I), paras. 44-52.

^{8/} A/8423/Add.1, annex.

Conscious of the urgent need of the peoples and the national liberation movements of several colonial Territories, particularly in the liberated areas of some of these Territories, for assistance from the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, especially in the fields of education, training, health and nutrition,

Recognizing the need for further and more effective measures to be taken for the speedy implementation of the Declaration and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council by all the organizations of the United Nations system within their respective sphere of competence,

Noting with deep concern that while several of the specialized agencies and organizations within the United Nations system have provided considerable assistance to refugees from the colonial Territories in Africa, many of them have not extended their full co-operation to the United Nations in the implementation of those provisions of the relevant resolutions relating to providing assistance to the national liberation movements and to discontinuing all collaboration with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, as well as with the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia,

Noting with appreciation that some of the organizations have embarked on or are taking steps to formulate, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, concrete programmes for providing assistance, within their spheres of competence, to the peoples of the colonial Territories striving to liberate themselves from colonial domination,

Mindful of the necessity to keep under continuous review the activities f the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system in the implementation of the various United Nations decisions relating to decolonization.

- 1. Reaffirms that the recognition by the General Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations bodies of the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples to achieve freedom and independence entails, as a corollary, the extension, by the United Nations system of organizations, of all the necessary moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements in those Territories, including especially the populations in the liberated areas of those Territories;
- 2. Expresses its appreciation to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and to those specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system which have co-operated in varying degrees with the United Nations in the implementation of the relevant General Assembly resolutions;
- 3. Reiterates its request that the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, including in particular the United Nations Development Programme and the International bank for Reconstruction and Development, should take measures, within their respective spheres of competence, to increase the scope of their assistance to refugees

from colonial Territories, including assistance to the Governments concerned in the preparation and execution of projects beneficial to these refugees, and to introduce the greatest possible measure of flexibility in the relevant procedure;

- 4. Reiterates its urgent appeal to the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to render all possible moral and material assistance to the peoples struggling for their liberation from colonial rule, and in particular, to work out, with the active co-operation of the Organization of African Unity and, through it, of the national liberation movements, concrete programmes for assisting the peoples of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the Territories under Portuguese administration, including in particular the populations in the liberated areas of those Territories;
- 5. Recommends that the General Assembly should once again urge the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to discontinue all collaboration with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, as well as with the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and those of the Security Council relating to the colonial Territories in southern Africa;
- 6. Urges once again the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, and in particular the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, to take all the necessary measures to withhold financial, economic, technical and other assistance from the Governments of Portugal and South Africa until they renounce their policies of racial discrimination and colonial domination.
- 7. Recommends that the General Assembly should urge all specialized agencies and other international institutions concerned, and in particular the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the Universal Postal Union, the International Telecommunications Union and the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization, to proceed to the urgent consideration of measures aimed at facilitating the effective implementation of the relevant provisions of the various Security Council resolutions on colonial Territories in southern Africa, and especially paragraphs 9 (b), 11 and 23 of resolution 277 (1970) of 18 March 1970 and paragraph 14 of resolution 283 (1970) of 29 July 1970;
- 8. Recommends that the General Assembly should invite the specialized agencies to examine, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, appropriate procedures for participation in conferences, seminars and regional meetings convened by them of representatives of the national liberation movements in the colonial Territories in Africa;
- 9. Recommends that the General Assembly should request all Governments to take the necessary steps in the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system of which they are members, to ensure the full and effective implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations;

- 10. Recommends that, in order to facilitate the implementation of paragraph 9 above, the General Assembly should invite the executive heads of the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to present to their respective governing and legislative organs, in a specific and systematic manner, recommendations on decolonization adopted by competent United Nations bodies, together with a full analysis of the issues and of the problems involved, if any, and concrete proposals for the implementation of these recommendations;
- 11. Recommends that the General Assembly should request the Secretary-General, with the assistance of the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, to prepare for submission to the relevant bodies concerned with the related aspects of the present item, a report supplementary to the above-mentioned comprehensive report on the implementation by the specialized agencies and organizations within the United Nations system of the Declaration and other relevant resolutions of the United Nations, including the present resolution;
- 12. Decides, subject to any directives the General Assembly might wish to give in this connexion at its twenty-sixth session, to continue its consideration of the present item in 1972;
- 13. Requests its Chairman, taking the foregoing into account, to continue his consultations with the President of the Economic and Social Council and to maintain contact, as appropriate, with the Organization of African Unity.

ANNEX*

REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN

- 1. At its 760th meeting, on 27 August 1970, the Special Committee, following its consideration of the item entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations" adopted a resolution concerning the item, a/ by paragraph 15 of which it requested its Chairman "to continue his consultations with the President of the Economic and Social Council".
- 2. At its twenty-fifth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2704 (XXV) of 14 December 1970 concerning the item, in paragraph 13 of which it requested the Economic and Social Council to continue to consider, in consultation with the Special Committee, appropriate measures for the co-ordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies in implementing the relevant General Assembly resolutions.
- 3. In the light of the foregoing, the Chairman of the Special Committee held consultations on the question with the President of the Council on 26 October 1971.
- 4. The Chairman informed the President of the Council that the Special Committee had concluded its consideration of the item and had adopted a resolution on 21 October 1971 (see paragraph 12 of the present chapter). In that connexion, the Special Committee had before it the comprehensive report of the Secretary-General submitted in pursuance of paragraph 14 (a) of resolution 2704 (XXV) (A/8314 and Add.1-3). The Special Committee had also taken into account the report on the item which the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination (CPC) had adopted during the first part of its tenth session (E/5072), as well as the relevant section of the thirty-seventh report of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination (ACC) (E/5012 (part I)). The views of the members of the Special Committee were fully reflected in the records of its meetings (A/AC.109/PV.809 and Corr.1, 815, 823, 829 and 830).
- 5. Following an exchange of views, the President of the Council and the Chairman of the Special Committee agreed that considerable progress had indeed been made under the aegis of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), in enlarging its participation of many of the organizations concerned in refugee assistance programmes benefiting the colonial peoples in Africa and that those organizations were to be commended for their initiative and for their positive response to the relevant recommendations of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. At the same time, the two presiding officers agreed that the

^{*} Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/388.

a/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8028/Rev.1), chap. IV, para. 13.

capacity of the United Nations High ommissioner to extend assistance to refugees would be enhanced if the host Governments were to accord high priority to development projects carried out in co-operation with the agencies concerned which would be beneficial to the refugees, and if the Governments could grant them an adequate legal status, including work permits and, where needed, travel documents with an appropriate return clause.

- The Chairman of the Special Committee noted that only a limited role had so far been played by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) in the field of refugee assistance and observed that, in view of the resources available to them, they should participate more actively in refugee assistance activities. connexion, the President of the Co noil stated that he had been informed of UNDP's readiness, subject to appropriate requests being submitted by Governments and to authorization by its Governing Council, to consider financing educational and training projects beneficial to refugees from within the resources available for interregional projects. The President added that, according to his information, UNDP was also considering, for submission to its Governing Council, proposals for an agreement for mutual co-operation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which might cover technical assistance to OAU, within agreed monetary limits and larger projects involving intercountry subregional or regional co-operation. Chairman of the Special Committee, in welcoming this development, stressed that these arrangements should not be regarded as an end in themselves but that they were a means for the implementation of the relevant provisions of resolution 2704 (XXV).
- 7. The Chairman of the Special Committee concurred in the view of the President of the Council that there was a need to bring into proper relationship the activities undertaken by the various organizations of the United Nations system in the field of education and training for the colonial peoples of southern Africa, and, in that connexion, to maintain close contact with the OAU Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees. Recalling that the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination has been provided with an oral progress report on the consultations which had taken place to this end, the two presiding officers expressed the hope that the matter would be covered in the Secretary-General's report to the General Assembly under paragraph 14 (b) of resolution 2704 (XXV).
- 8. As regards the extension of moral and material assistance, through OAU, to the national liberation movements in the colonial Territories in Africa, the two presiding officers noted that a number of agencies had sent special missions to consult with OAU as regards the needs and the possibilities. In their view, the active initiative of OAU and the closest liaison between it and the agencies concerned were essential for the formulation of the desired programmes of assistance; OAU was in a unique position to provide the agencies with a systematic assessment of the requirements of the national liberation movements and to act as a channel for assistance to the movements from those agencies. They also agreed that those agencies which had not as yet established contact with OAU or discussed with it the ways in which they could extend assistance to the peoples of the Territories should be urged to do so as soon as possible.
- 9. With respect to the provisions of resolution 2704 (XXV) calling for the discontinuance of all collaboration with and assistance to the régimes pursuing colonialist and racialist policies in southern Africa, the two presiding officers agreed that it was for the executive heads of the agencies to bring to the

attention of their respective legislative agencies, for the necessary decisions, any constitutional, legal or other difficulties that might exist. connexion, the President of the Council noted, with reference to paragraph 3 of resolution 2704 (XXV) that the decision of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to extend assistance to the liberation movements concerned had led to Portugal's announcement of its intention to withdraw from that agency. The President of the Council also noted, and commended, the resolution adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO which, inter alia, called for an investigation of international intergovernmental organizations enjoying relations with the agency and having branches, sections, affiliates or constituent parts in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia or Portuguesedominated African Territories, with respect to the practice of racial discrimination or segregation in their policies, activities or membership, or to their co-operation in any way with the South African Government's policy of apartheid. of the Council suggested, and the Chairman of the Special Committee agreed, that the Economic and Social Council might consider ways and means of enlisting the support of non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Council in the achievement of the objectives of resolution 2704 (XXV).

- 10. Both the President of the Council and the Chairman of the Special Committee noted the absence from the Secretary-General's comprehensive report of information on action taken or envisaged by the various units within the United Nations itself, including those concerned with technical assistance, in implementation of the above-mentioned provisions of resolution 2704 (XXV). They expressed the hope that such information would be included in future reports of the Secretary-General on the item.
- Referring to the provisions of the resolutions which concerned the possible participation of representatives of liberation movements of the Territories in agency conferences, seminars and meetings, the President of the Council regretted that the Secretary-General's comprehensive report did not contain adequate information on action taken by the agencies. As regards the legal and procedural problems encountered by some agencies in that connexion, to which reference is made in the report, the President of the Council shared the view of the Chairman of the Special Committee that they were not incapable of solution. The two presiding officers noted that it was the intention of the Secretary-General to include an analysis of those problems in his report to the General Assembly under paragraph 14 (b) of General Assembly resolution 2704 (XXV). In the same connexion, the Chairman of the Special Committee drew attention to a resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 9 September 1971 following its consideration of the situation in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese administration (A/8423/Add.1, chap. V, para. 19), by which it, inter alia, decided to study the possibility of associating representatives of the national liberation movements of those Territories more closely with its work. The President of the Council, for his part, referred to the arrangements, which were awaiting approval by the General Assembly, under which representatives of certain of those liberation movements would participate in meetings of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). The two presiding officers considered that those measures were useful examples of the ways in which effect could be given to the wishes of the General Assembly in the matter.

12. Stressing the importance of keeping these matters under review, and of following up the constructive discussions which had taken place on the item during the year in the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination and the Special Committee, the President and the Chairman agreed that it was desirable for those bodies to continue to give consideration to these matters at their sessions next year. In conclusion, the two presiding officers agreed that, guided by such decisions as might be taken by the Council and the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session, they should maintain contact with each other on the question.

CHAPTER IV

(A/8423 (Part IV))*

QUESTION OF SENDING VISITING MISSIONS TO TERRITORIES

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^{*} Incorporating document A/8423 (Part IV/Add.1) of 2 December 1971.

CHAPTER IV

QUESTION OF SENDING VISITING MISSIONS TO TERRITORIES

A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

- 1. At its 784th meeting, on 25 March 1971, the Special Committee, by approving the 58th report of the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.687), decided, inter alia, to take up the question of sending visiting missions to Territories as a separate item. The Special Committee further decided that the item should be considered at its plenary meetings and, as appropriate, by its sub-committees in connexion with their examination of specific Territories.
- 2. The Special Committee considered the item at its 789th, 796th, 799th to 801st, 809th, 813th, 816th, 819th to 822nd and 831st meetings, between 7 April and 5 November.
- 3. In its consideration of the item, the Special Committee took into account the relevant provisions of the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970. In paragraph (9) (c) of the programme of action, the General Assembly directed the Special Committee "to continue to send visiting missions to the colonial Territories...". The Special Committee also took into account the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2708 (XXV) of 14 December 1970 concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and resolution 2709 (XXV) of the same date concerning twenty-five Territories with which the Special Committee is concerned. By resolution 2708 (XXV), the General Assembly, in paragraph 15, called upon the administering Powers "to co-operate fully with the Special Committee by permitting the access of visiting groups to the colonial Territories in order to secure first-hand information concerning the Territories and to ascertad the wishes and aspirations of the inhabitants of those Territories under the administration". By resolution 2709 (XXV), the General Assembly, in pagraph 6, urged "the administering Powers to reconsider their attitude towards receiving of visiting missions to the... Territories and to permi access by such visiting missions to Territories under their administ ation
- 4. During its consideration of the item, the Special Committee are before it the report of the Chairman (see annex I to the present chapter) on he consultations which he had undertaken with representatives of the aministering Powers, in accordance with paragraph 3 of the resolution appear by the Special Committee at its 761st meeting, on 1 September 1970. 1/ The Special Committee also had before it a letter dated 15 July 1971 from the Alternate Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee (see annex II to he present chapter).

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twinty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. III, para. 12.

- 5. At its 789th meeting, on 7 April, the Special Committee, on the recommendation of its Sub-Committee on Petitions (A/AC.109/L.693 and Corr.1), decided to request Sub-Committee II to take into account during its consideration of the relevant item the contents of a written petition from the Congress of Micronesia (A/AC.109/PET.1160) containing a resolution adopted by the Senate of the Fourth Congress of Micronesia, by which the latter invited the Special Committee "to visit the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to examine and advise upon the present and future status of self-government for the Trust Territory...".
- 6. At its 796th meeting, on 5 May, the Chairman of Sub-Committee II, in a statement to the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.796), introduced the report of the Sub-Committee (A/AC.109/L.706) covering the latter's consideration of the matters raised in the petition under reference (A/AC.109/PET.1160). At the same meeting, the Special Committee, in adopting the report of Sub-Committee II, expressed the hope that the Chairman would at an early date obtain the views of the Administering Authority concerning the proposed mission to the Trust Territory and hold discussions with the President of the Trusteeship Council on the subject. An account of the Chairman's consultations in that regard is contained in paragraphs 14 to 17 of his report (see annex I to the present chapter).
- 7. At the 799th meeting, on 16 June, the Chairman, in a statement to the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.799), drew attention to a letter dated 11 June addressed to him by the President of the Trusteeship Council (A/AC.109/371) concerning an invitation extended to the Trusteeship Council by the Government of Australia to send a visiting mission to Papu: and the Trust Territory of New Guinea to observe the elections to be held in March/April 1972 to the Third Papua New Guinea House of Assembly. In transmitting his Government's invitation to the Trusteeship Council, the Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations, in a letter dated 11 June 1971 (T/1725), stated inter alia as follows:

"If the Trusteeship Council is prepared to agree in principle, my Government suggests that the composition of the Mission be determined in the manner requested by the General Assembly in operative paragraph 5 of resolution 2590 (XXIV) of 16 December 1969: namely, that in deciding to send a Mission to Papua New Guinea for this purpose the Trusteeship Council should decide also to include in the Mission non-members of the Council, who should be chosen on the basis of consultations between the Council, the Special Committee on the Situation with reg rd to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the Administering Authority. There is of course a precedent for this in the procedure adopted for selecting the members of the 1971 Visiting Mission.

"My Government envisages that the Mission which it now invites should comprise the traditional number of four members, and it suggests that the precedent established for the 1971 Mission of two members chosen from the Trusteeship Council and two chosen on the basis of consultation with the Special Committee might be followed."

8. At its colst meeting, on 18 June, the Special Committee, following consultations (see annex I to the present chapter, paragraphs 8-10) decided that,

should the Trusteeship Council accept the invitation extended to it by the Australian Government, the Special Committee would agree to participate in the proposed visiting mission with the composition as outlined in paragraph 7 above. In that connexion, the Special Committee agreed to authorize its Chairman to hold consultations as appropriate concerning the two members of the visiting mission to be chosen from its membership. In taking these decisions, the Special Committee reiterated its belief (see annex I, appendix B, to the present chapter) that, for the purpose of ensuring equitable geographic distribution and the necessary political balance, the mission should consist of at least five members, two to be drawn from the Trusteeship Council and three from the Special Committee.

- 9. At its 1387th meeting, on 18 June, the Trusteeship Council, by adopting resolution 2156 (XXXVIII), decided that the above-mentioned invitation of the Australian Government should be accepted and that the visiting mission should be composed of members from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America and from two other Member States to be designated by the President of the Trusteeship Council on the basis of consultations with the members of the Council, the Special Committee and the Administering Authority.
- 10. At its 813th and 816th meetings, on 9 and 16 August, respectively, the Special Committee considered the report of its Sub-Committee II concerning Niue and the Tokelau Islands 2/ which concerned an invitation extended to the Special Committee by the Government of New Zealand to send a visiting mission to Niue and the Tokelau Islands in 1972. At its 816th meeting, the Special Committee, by adopting the report of the Sub-Committee, decided to accept the invitation and to request its Chairman to take the necessary steps, in consultation with its members and the administering Power, to dispatch a visiting mission to the Territories at a suitable time in 1972. 3/
- 11. At its 819th meeting, on 23 August, the Special Committee, on the proposal of the Chairman, decided that Afghanistan and Yugoslavia should serve on the Trusteeship Council visiting mission to Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea in 1972. Statements in that connexion were made at the same meeting by the representatives of Sweden, Iraq, the Ivory Coast, Fiji and India (A/AC.109/PV.819) and, at the 820th meeting, on 24 August, by the representatives of Yugoslavia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and India, as well as by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.820). In his report dated 31 August 1971 to the Trusteeship Council (T/1729), the President of the Council stated that, on the basis of the consultations undertaken in pursuance of the above-mentioned resolution of the Council, he had designated Afghanistan and Yugoslavia as the two other States to provide members of the visiting mission.
- 12. At the 821st meeting, on 27 August, the representatives of Yugoslavia and Iran introduced a draft resolution on the item, which was finally sponsored by the following members: Afghanistan, Ecuador, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Mali, Sierra Leone, Sweden, Syria, Tunisia, Trinidad and Tobago, United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia (A/AC.109/L.735 and Add.1).

^{2/} The conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee concerning Niue and the Tokelau Islands are contained in chapter XV of the present report (A/8423/Adā.6 (part I), chap. XV, para. 9.

^{3/} Ibid.

- 13. At the 822nd meeting, on 1 September, the Special Committee adopted the draft resolution without objection (see paragraph 20 below).
- 14. On 2 September the text f the resolution (A/AC.109/381) was transmitted to the representatives of the administering Powers for the attention of their Governments.
- 15. Having regard to the invitation extended to it in the resolution of the Senate of the Fourth Congress of Micronesia to visit the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, to which reference is made in paragraph 5 above, the Special Committee, at its 831st meeting, on 5 November, by adopting the recommendations of its Sub-Committee II (A/8423/Add.6 (Part II), chap. XVIII)), took decisions as reflected in paragraph 21 below.
- 16. In addition to the consideration of the item at plenary meetings of the Special Committee, as described above, Sub-Committees I, II and III, in considering the specific Territories referred to them, took into account the provisions of the General Assembly resolutions mentioned in paragraph 3 above concerning the question of sending visiting missions to Territories, as well as previous decisions of the Special Committee relating to the item.
- 17. Subsequently, the Special Committee, in adopting the relevant reports of Sub-Committees I, II and III, as indicated below, endorsed a number of conclusions and recommendations concerning the sending of visiting missions to specific Territories.

Chapter	Territory	<u>Document</u>
IX	Seychelles and St. Helena	A/8423/Add.5 (Part I)
XIV	New Hebrides)	
XX	Niue and the Tokelau Islands)	A/8423/Add.6 (Part I)
XVI	Gilbert ard Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and) the Solomon Islands	
IIVX	American Samoa and Guam)	Δ/81:23/Add 6 (Part II)
IIIVX	Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands)	A/ 0425/Add:0 (1d10 11)
XIX	Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea	A/8423/Add.6 (Part III)
XXIII	Unit States Virgin Islands	A/8423/Add.7 (Part II)
XXIV	Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Montserrat and Turks and Caicos Islands	A/8423/Add.7 (Part III)

B. DECISIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

- 18. At its 801st meeting, on 13 June, the Special Committee decided to participate in the Trusteeship Council Visiting Mission to Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea to observe the elections to be held in March/April 1972 to the Third Papua New Guinea House of Assembly (see paragraphs 7, 9 and 11 above). At its 819th meeting, on 23 August, the Special Committee decided that Afghanistan and Yugoslavia should serve on the visiting mission (see paragraph 11 above).
- 19. At its 816th meeting, on 16 August, the Special Committee, in accepting the invitation extended to it by the Government of New Zealand in that regard, decided to request its Chairman to take the necessary steps, in consultation with its members and the administering Power, to dispatch a visiting mission to Niue a 1 the Tokelau Islands at a suitable time in 1972 (see paragraph 10 above).
- 20. The text of the resolution (A/AC 109/381) adopted by the Special Committee at its 822nd meeting, on 1 September 1971, to which reference is made in paragraph 13 above, is reproduced below:

The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Having considered the question of sending visiting missions to Territories,

Having examined the report of the Chairman on the question, 4/

Recalling that in resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, the General Assembly directed the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to send visiting missions to the colonial Territories,

Recalling further that in resolutions 2708 (XXV) and 2709 (XXV) of 14 December 1970 the General Assembly called upon the administering Powers to co-operate fully with the Special Committee by permitting the access of visiting groups to the colonial Territories for which they are respectively responsible, in order to secure first-hand information concerning these Territories and to ascertain the wishes and aspirations of their inhabitants,

1. Notes with satisfaction that the Government of New Zealand has responded positively to the requests contained in the relevant General Assembly resolutions by extending an invitation to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to send a visiting mission to Niue and the Tokelau Islands in 1972;

^{4/} See annex I to the present chapter.

- 2. Also notes that the Trusteeship Council, at its thirty-eighth session, decided, on the invitation of the Government of Australia and in consultation with the Special Committee, to dispatch a visiting mission to observe the elections to the Third Papua New Guinea House of Assembly in 1972, and that the membership of the mission will, with the agreement of the Special Committee, include two members of the Special Committee; 5/
- 3. <u>Deeply regrets</u> the negative attitude of certain administering Powers which continue to ignore the repeated appeals made in that regard by the General Assembly and the Special Committee, thereby impeding the full, speedy and effective implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with respect to the Territories under their administration;
- 4. <u>Calls upon</u> those administering Powers to co-operate fully with the Special Committee by permitting the access of visiting groups to the Territories under their administration;
- 5. Requests its Chairman to continue his consultations with the administering Powers concerned regarding the implementation of paragraph 4 of the present resolution and to report thereon as appropriate to the Special Committee.
- 21. At its 831st meeting, on 5 November, the Special Committee decided to request its Chairman to hold further consultations with the President of the Trusteeship Council and the representative of the Administering Authority concerning the invitation extended to it in the resolution of the Senate of the Fourth Congress of Micronesia (A/AC.109/PET.1160) to visit the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and in that connexion urged the Administering Authority to reconsider its negative position (see paragraph 15 above).
- 22. At its 832nd meeting, on 26 November, the Special Committee, further to its decision concerning the dispatch of a visiting mission to Niue and the Tokelau Islands, to which reference is made in paragraph 19 above, decided as follows: (a) the visiting mission should consist of three members of the Committee, to be nominated at an early date in 1972 by the Chairman on the basis of consultations with members of the Committee and the administering Power; (b) in the light of the information given by the representative of the administering Power at the 813th meeting, on 9 August, the mission should at this time visit only Niue; (c) bearing in mind the Committee's probable workload for 1972 and on the basis of the suggestion of the administering Power, the visit should take place in the second half of May 1972.

^{5/} See Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Thirty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 1 (T/1727), Mesolution 2156 (XXXVIII) of 18 June 1971.

ANNEX I*

REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN

1. At its 761st meeting, on 1 September 1970, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted a resolution concerning the question of sending visiting missions to Territories. a/ The operative paragraphs of the resolution read as follows:

"The Special Committee,

"

- "1. <u>Notes with regret</u> that the unco-operative attitude of the administering Powers concerned towards the sending of visiting missions by the Special Committee has continued to impede the full, speedy and effective implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- "2. Reiterates its appeal to the administering Powers to reconsider their attitude in regard to visiting missions and to permit such missions access to the Territories under their administration, in accordance with the decisions previously taken by the General Assembly and by the Special Committee;
- "3. Requests its Chairman to hold consultations with the administering Powers regarding the implementation of paragraph 2 of the present repolution and to report thereon as appropriate to the Special Committee."
- 2. In accordance with paragraph 3 of the resolution, the Chairman, on 3 September 1970, addressed identical letters to the Permanent Representatives of Australia, France, New Zealand, Spain and the United States of America, to the Acting Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and to the Chargé d'Affaires, a.i., of the Permanent Mission of Portugal, transmitting the text of the above-mentioned resolution and requesting the views of their respective Governments regarding the timing and modalities for the carrying out of the consultations envisaged in the resolution.
- 3. At its 789th meeting, on 7 April 1971, the Special Committee, by adopting the 156th report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions (A/AC.109/L.693 and Corr.1), agreed that the contents of a communication received from the Clerk of the Senate of the

^{*} Freviously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.722 and Corr.1.

a/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. III.

Congress of Micronesia (A/AC.109/PET.1160) should, as a matter of urgency, be taken fully into account by the Chairman in the discharge of the task entrusted to him in the above-mentioned resolution. That communication contained the text of a Senate resolution of the Fourth Congress of Micronesia, by which the latter, inter alia, invited the Special Committee "to visit the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to examine and advise upon the present and future status of self-government for the Trust Territory...". Further, at its 796th meeting, on 5 May, the Special Committee, in adopting the report of Sub-Committee II concerning the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, b/ expressed the hope that the Chairman would at an early date obtain the views of the Administering Authority concerning the proposed mission to the Trust Territory and considered that the Chairman should also hold discussions with the President of the Trusteeship Council on the subject.

- 4. On 5 May, the Chairman accordingly addressed a letter to the Permanent Representative of the United States of America requesting the views of the United States Government concerning the dispatch by the Special Committee of a visiting mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, as requested in the Senate resolution of the Fourth Congress of Micronesia referred to above. On the same date, the Chairman also addressed a letter to the President of the Trusteeship Council requesting the latter's views regarding the timing and modalities for the holding of the discussions referred to in paragraph 3 above.
- 5. Subsequently, the Chairman entered into consultations with those representatives of the administering Powers who, in response to his letters, had indicated their preparedness to hold discussions with him on the question, namely the representatives of Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States. During these consultations, the Chairman drew attention to the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, in particular resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, by which the General Assembly directed the Special Committee, inter alia, to continue to send visiting missions to the colonial Territories, and resolution 2708 (XXV) of 14 December 1970, in paragraph 15 of which the General Assembly called upon the administering Powers to co-operate fully with the Special Committee by permitting the access of visiting groups to the colonial Territories in order to secure first-hand information concerning the Territories and to ascertain the wishes and aspirations of the inhabitants of those Territories under their administration.
- 6. The Chairman also recalled the considerations underlying the previous decisions of the Special Committee on the question, which were briefly reiterated as follows in its report to the General Assembly at the twenty-fifth session: \underline{c} /

"The Special Committee, aware of the vital importance of securing adequate and first-hand information regarding political, economic and social conditions in the Territories and as to the views, wishes and aspirations of the people, once again re-examined the question of sending visiting missions

b/A/AC.109/L.706. See also A/8423/Add.6 (Part II), chap. XVIII.

c/ Official Records of the General Assembly Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. I, para. 169.

- to Territories. The Committee was particularly mindful of the constructive role played by previous United Nations visiting missions in assisting colonial Territories to achieve independence in conditions of peace and stability. It was regretted, in that connexion, that the unco-operative attitude of the administering Powers concerned towards the sending of visiting missions by the Committee had continued to impede the full, speedy and effective implementation of the Declaration."
- 7. In addition, the Chairman drew attention to the programme established by the Special Committee as regards the sending of visiting missions during the current year and approved by the General Assembly in resolution 2708 (XXV); that programme was set out as follows in the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly at the twenty-fifth session: \underline{d} /
 - "... the Committee intends to continue to seek the full co-operation of the administering Powers in this respect to enable it to obtain such information through the sending, as appropriate, of visiting groups to the Territories in the Caribbean, Indian and Pacific Ocean areas, and to the Territories in Africa. In that connexion, the Committee believes that the General Assembly will wish once again to address an appeal to the administering Powers to extend their co-operation by facilitating visits to Territories in accordance with the decisions previously taken by the Committee and with other decisions in that regard which the Committee may adopt in 1971."
- 8. The representative of Australia informed the Chairman that his Government had decided to invite the Trusteeship Council to send a visiting mission to Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea to observe the elections to be held in March/April 1972 to the Third Papua Nev Guinea House of Assembly and had suggested that, as regards the composition of the mission, it should comprise four members, two from the Trusteeship Council and two non-members of the Council to be chosen in the manner prescribed in paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 2590 (XXIV) of 16 December 1969, namely, on the basis of consultations between the Trusteeship Council, the Special Committee and the Administering Authority.
- 9. The Chairman, recalling the views expressed by many members of the Special Committee during the consultations undertaken in 1970 within the context of the implementation of the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2590 (XXIV), expressed the belief that, in order to ensure equitable geographic distribution and the necessary political balance, the mission should be composed of at least five members, three to be drawn from the Special Committee and two from the Trusteeship Council. Further, as regards the terms of reference of the mission, the Chairman expressed the hope that the administering Power would agree to terms broad enough to enable the mission to obtain first-hand information on the conditions prevailing in the Territories and on the wishes and aspirations of the peoples therein.

d/ Ibid., para. 177.

- 10. Subsequently, in the light of a letter dated 11 June addressed to the Chairman by the President of the Trusteeship Council (A/AC.109/371), the Special Committee held two informal meetings to have an exchange of views among its members concerning the proposed mission (T/1725). An account of these consultations as well as the decisions taken by the Special Committee in this connexion at its 801st meeting on 18 June, is set out in the two aide-mémoires submitted by the Chairman to the President of the Trusteeship Council on 17 and 18 June respectively (see appendix to the present report).
- The representative of New Zealand informed the Chairman that, at the meeting 11. of Sub-Committee II on 10 June (A/AC.109/SC.3/SR.129), the New Zealand representative had stated New Zealand's willingness to receive a small visiting mission to Niue and the Tokelau Islands in 1972. New Zealand had made a practice of keeping the Special Committee fully informed about developments in its two remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories. It had placed before Sub-Committee II (A/AC.109/SC.3/SR.129) the report of the Constitutional Adviser to the Niue Assembly, e/ who late last year discussed with the Niue Assembly and people matters concerning Niue's future constitutional status. In the light of that review and at that stage of their political development, the New Zealand Government had decided that it might be appropriate for the Special Committee, if it so wished, to send a small visiting mission to Niue and the Tokelau Islands, at a suitable time next year, in order that the United Nations might obtain first-hand information on the wishes of the people of, the situation prevailing in, and the problems being faced by these two Territories. The Chairman welcomed the New Zealand announcement and expressed the view that the initiative taken by the New Zealand Government in this regard was particularly relevant to the work of the Special Committee, especially in the light of the increasing attention being paid by the Special Committee to the problems affecting these and other similar Territories.
- 12. The representative of the United Kingdom stated that, while his Government did not deny the useful role played by some of the visiting groups dispatched in the past by the United Nations, its basic position on the question remained unchanged, as frequently explained by his delegation to the Special Committee and its Sub-Committees. The position was that the United Kingdom Government had again considered the question of visiting missions in the light of the Committee's discussion last year, and although there was no question of the the Government categorically excluding for all time the possibility of any visiting mission, little encouragement could be given to the Committee to believe that the United Kingdom Government could agree to such proposals. It considered that the material already at the disposal of the Committee was not in any way insufficient. The representative of the United Kingdom assured the Chairman that the representations made by the Chairman on behalf of the Special Committee on the question would nevertheless be communicated to his Government for its attention.
- 13. The representative of the United States stated that his Government remained of the view that visiting missions to the Non-Self-Governing Territories under its administration, namely, American Samoa, Guam and the United States Virgin

 $[\]underline{e}$ / See A/8423/Add.6 (Part I), chap. XV, annex II.

Islands, were not warranted at the present time. Accordingly, it could not at the present stage respond favourably to any request to permit a visiting mission to these Territories, although it did not exclude the possibility in the future of making appropriate arrangements for a United Mations presence in Territories under its administration.

- 14. As regards the invitation addressed to the Special Committee in the Senate resolution of the Fourth Congress of Micronesia, to which reference is made in paragraph 4 above, the United States Government would be unable to agree to a visit of the Special Committee to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Article 1 of the Trusteeship Agreement designated the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands a strategic area as provided for in Article 82 of the Charter of the United Nations; Article 83 provided that all functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas should be exercised by the Security Council, which in turn should avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council. Special Committee, on the other hand, was a subsidiary body of the General Assembly and was specifically given responsibilities for the Non-Self-Governing Territories and for the Trust Territories established by agreement with the General Assembly. Of the latter, only the Trust Territory of New Guinea remained. As the Security Council and the Trusteeship Council rather than the General Assembly were clearly responsible for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the Special Committee lacked jurisdiction to undertake the requested mission to the Trust Territory.
- 15. The Chairman for his part drew attention to Article 83 (2) of the Charter in which it was provided that the basic objectives set forth in Article 76 should be applicable to the people of each strategic area. One of the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System, as set out in Article 76 (b), was "to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement;". Without prejudice to security considerations, therefore, the objectives of the Trusteeship System set out in the Charter and under the terms of the relevant Trusteeship Agreement were largely co-extensive with the principles embodied in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in particular paragraphs 2 and 5 thereof, which read:

"...

"2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

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

The Chairman also recalled a statement made by the representative of the United States to the Trusteeship Council at its thirtieth session in this regard, in which was contained the following passage: "... we subscribe to the purposes of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the so-called anti-colonial resolution, and we firmly support its second operative paragraph, which declares that: 'All peoples have the right of self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.' It is our objective that the people of the Trust Territory shall be given a free and an informed choice of the type of government they wish for themselves." In the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly, the Special Committee gave consideration to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, with the participation, until its withdrawal from the Committee membership in 1971, of the United States delegation, and annually submitted to the General Assembly a series of conclusions and recommendations thereon. Indeed, in resolution 2708 (XXV), the General Assembly once again requested the Special Committee to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration "in all Territories which have not yet attained independence". In view of the foregoing, the Chairman had no doubt about the Special Committee's competence not only to consider the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, but to dispatch a visiting mission as appropriate to that Trust Territory.

- 16. The Chairman wishes to draw attention in this connexion to the views expressed on the subject matter by the Co-Chairmen of the Joint Committee on Future Status of the Congress of Micronesia at the 798th meeting, on 4 June 1971 (A/AC.109/PV.798).
- 17. Subsequent to the consultations with the representative of the United States, and having regard to the desire expressed by the Special Committee in this regard (see paragraph 3 above), the President of the Trusteeship Council and the Chairman also held discussions on the subject matter. The President of the Trusteeship Council informed the Chairman that the general view of the majority of the Council members seemed to be that in principle the question of the dispatch of visiting missions to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands fell within the exclusive competence of the Security Council and the Trusteeship Council, in terms of the relevant provisions of Article 83 of the Charter. The President of the Council also drew attention to the Council's consideration of the related matters during its thirty-eighth session (T/PV.1372 to 1376).
- 18. Further reports by the Chairman on this question will, as necessary, be issued as addenda to the present document.

APPENDIX

- A. Aide-Mémoire dated 17 June 1971 submitted to the President of the Trusteeship Council by the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples
- 1. Having regard to the invitation extended to the Trusteeship Council by the Government of Australia to send a visiting mission to Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea to observe the elections to be held in March/April 1972 to the Third Pap New Guinea House of Assembly (T/1725), the Special Committee, at an informal meeting on 16 June 1971, held, in the light of the letter dated 11 June 1971 from the President of the Trusteeship Council addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee (A/AC.109/371), a preliminary exchange of views concerning the various aspects of the proposed visiting mission.
- At the outset, the Chairman drew attention to the text of a draft resolution which he had received from the President of the Trusteeship Council shortly before the Committee's 799th meeting held in the same afternoon. The draft resolution, according to the President of the Council, represented the views of the majority of the members of the Trusteeship Council. The Chairman also drew attention to a decision taken by the Trusteeship Council on the question at its 1385th meeting on 15 June 1971, by which the Trusteeship Council had authorized its President to proceed with informal consulcations with the officers of the Special Committee on the question of the composition, the terms of reference, the timing and the duration of the proposed visiting mission.
- 3. During the ensuing debate, many members, while noting with satisfaction the initiative taken in this regard by the Government of Australia, expressed regret that, owing to the lack of time, they were in no position to give full consideration to the matter or to receive instructions from their respective Governments. As regards the composition of the proposed mission, several members recalled the views expressed by members during the consultations undertaken in 1970 within the context of the implementation of the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2590 (XXIV) of 16 December 1969. These views were to the effect that in order to ensure expectable geographic distribution and the necessary political balance the mission should be composed of at least five members, three to be drawn from the Special Committee and two from the Trusteeship Council. Others believed that the composition suggested by the Australian Government would suffice in view of the specific purpose of the mission, which was to observe the elections.
- 4. With respect to the terms of reference, some members considered that the proposals submitted by the Government of Australia in this regard were not sufficiently broad to enable the mission to obtain first-hand information on the conditions prevailing in these Territories and, accordingly, they suggested that the terms of reference as set out in the draft resolution should be modified to reflect this consideration. In addition, the same members suggested that since the itinerary of the mission included visits to Papua and the Trust Territory of

New Guinea, the mission be requested to submit its report not only to the Trusteeship Council but also to the Special Committee. Others considered that the terms of reference proposed by the Administering Authority were flexible enough to enable the mission to establish direct contacts with the peoples of the two Territories and to ascertain their wishes and aspirations concerning the future of the Territories. Moreover, the report of the 1971 Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory a/ contained comprehensive information on the conditions prevailing in these Territories.

- 5. With regard to the duration and the timing of the visiting mission, members felt that the mission should arrive in the Territory at least ten days prior to the date of the elections and, in this connexion, they welcomed the indication given by the representative of Australia at the informal meeting to the effect that he did not foresee insurmountable difficulties in the extension of the mission's stay in the Territory.
- 6. After discussion, the Special Committee agreed that more time was needed in order to conclude the necessary consultations on the various aspects of the question and that the President of the Council should be so informed. The Chairman expresses the hope that the foregoing consensus of the Special Committee, as well as the preliminary views expressed by the members of the Committee would be conveyed in full to the Trusteeship Council.
 - B. Aide-Mémoire dated 18 June 1971 submitted to the President of the Trusteeship Council by the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples
- 1. In an <u>aide-mémoire</u> dated 17 June 1971 to the President of the Trusteeship Council, the Chairman of the Special Committee transmitted, for the information of the Trusteeship Council, a preliminary consensus reached at an informal meeting of the Special Committee held on 16 June 1971, concerning the invitation extended to the Trusteeship Council by the Government of Australia to send a visiting mission to Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea to observe the elections to be held in March/April 1971 to the Third Papua New Guinea House of Assembly (T/1725). Also included in the <u>aide-mémoire</u> were the views expressed at that meeting by members of the Committee on the question.
- 2. In the light of a further clarification given by the representative of Australia to the Trusteeship Council at the latter's 1386th meeting on 17 June 1971, the Special Committee held a further exchange of views on the question at an informal meeting on the same day.
- 3. Members of the Committee expressed their appreciation of the flexible approach taken by the Administering Authority to the various aspects of the question raised by members of the Committee, to which reference was made in the above-mentioned aide-mémoire. In particular, members took note with satisfaction of the suggestion put forward by the representative of Australia at the above-mentioned meeting of the Trusteeship Counci? that "whatever resolution the Council agrees to on this

a/ Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Thirty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 2 (T/1728).

subject should include also some final paragraph to the effect that the Fresident of the Council should transmit a copy of the Mission's report to the Chairman of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four immediately after he has received it".

- After discussion, members were in general agreement that, with a view to enabling the Trusteeship Council to proceed with the necessary arrangements relating to the proposed visiting mission, the Special Committee might wish at its next meeting to adopt decisions by which (a) it would agree to participate in the proposed visiting mission to Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea to observe the elections to be held in March/April 1972, should the Trusteeship Council decide to accept the invitation extended to it by the Government of Australia in this regard; (b) it would agree to accept the composition proposed by the Australian Government in view of certain technical difficulties which, according to the explanation given by that Government, a mission with a larger membership would encounter, while it remained of the view that, for the purpose of ensuring equitable geographic distribution and the necessary political balance, the mission should consist of at least five members, two to be drawn from the Trusteeship Council and three from the Special Committee; (c) it would authorize its Chairman to continue consultations concerning the two members of the proposed mission to be chosen from the Special Committee.
- 5. At its 801st meeting held on 18 June 1971, the Special Committee took the above decisions.
- 6. The Chairman wishes to express the hope that the foregoing decisions of the Special Committee will be conveyed in full to the Trusteeship Council.

ANNEX II*

LETTER DATED 15 JULY 1971 FROM THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMUTTEE

I have the honour to refer to your report on the question of sending visiting missions to Territories cont ined in document A/AC.109/L.722. a/ Paragraphs 13, 14 and 15 concern our exchanges of views regarding the sending of visiting missions to Territories under the administration of the United States. In paragraph 15 of your report, you state inter alia, "In the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly, the Special Committee gave consideration to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, with the participation, until its withdrawal from the Committee membership in 1971, of the United States delegation, and annually submitted to the General Assembly a series of conclusions and recommendations thereon." (Underlining added)

From a reading of the foregoing, it would appear that the United States delegation concurred in the consideration by the Special Committee of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and shared in the formulation of the Special Committee's conclusions and recommendations thereon to the General Assembly. facts, as shown by the records of Sub-Committee II and of the Special Committee are quite otherwise. As the United States representative in Sub-Committee In repeatedly stated, the United States delegation, a member of Sub-Committee II, elected out of courtesy to its fellow members in the Sub-Committee to attend the Sub-Committee's meetings when it considered the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. In doing so, however, the United States delegation clearly indicated its view that the Special Committee lacked competence to consider the United States administration of the strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Article 83 of the Charter clearly providing that all functions of the United Nations relating to this Territory should be exercised by the Security Council which in turn had delegated responsibility to the Trusteeship Council. The United States delegation did not support the conclusions and recommendations drawn up by the Sub-Committee and reiterated its reservations when the Special Committee considered this item. That was and remains the view of my Government.

It would be appreciated if you will have copies of this letter circulated as a document 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.

^{*} Freviously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/377.

a/ See annex I to the present chapter.

CHAPTER V

(A/8423/Add.1)

MEETINGS IN AFRICA OF THE $\underline{\mathsf{AD}}\ \mathsf{HOC}$ GROUP OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

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MEETINGS IN AFRICA OF THE AD HOC GROUP OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

- In its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session, 1/ the Special Committee envisaged, as part of its programme of work for 1971, the possibility of holding another series of meetings away from Headquarters during that year within the context of General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVII) of 27 November 1961 which, in establishing the Special Committee, authorized it "to meet elsewhere than at United Nations Headquarters wherever and whenever such meetings may be required for the effective discharge of its functions". In reaching that decision, the Special Committee was also guided by paragraph (9) (c) of the programme of action contained in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, which directed the Special Committee, inter alia, "to hold meetings at places where it can best obtain first-hand information on the situation in colonial Territories, as well as to continue to hold meetings away from Headquarters as appropriate". The Special Committee was also mindful of the constructive results achieved by its previous sessions away from Headquarters. Further, the Special Committee recalled that it had not held meetings away from Headquarters during 1970, although the General Assembly had made the necessary financial provision for that purpose.
- 2. By paragraph 3 of resolution 2708 (XXV) of 14 December 1970, the General Assembly approved the programme of work envisaged by the Special Committee during 1971, including the possibility of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters.
- 3. During the discussions on the organization of the work of the Special Committee, which took place at its meetings held between 11 February and 25 March 2/ and at its informal meetings held at the outset of the year, the majority of the members expressed the view that the Special Committee should envisage holding a series of meetings in Africa or, alternatively, dispatch to countries in Africa a small group of its members during the current year. Members considered it imperative that the Special Committee maintain contact with the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories on that continent and obtain direct and up-to-date information on conditions in those Territories. They recalled in that connexion that the contact established and consultations undertaken with officials of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) by an ad hoc group sent to Africa in 1970 had greatly facilitated the work of the Special Committee. The Special Committee would thus enhance its capacity to make further effective contribution to the speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with respect to those Territories.
- 4. At its 784th and 789th meetings, on 25 March and 7 April, respectively, the Special Committee considered and adopted the following recommendations of its Working Group (A/AC.109/L.688 and A/AC.109/L.692/Rev.1):

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. I, para. 179.

^{2/} A/AC.109/PV.781 and Corr.1, PV.783, PV.784 and Corr.1.

- (a) The Special Committee should dispatch an ad hoc group, consisting of not more than six members of the Special Committee, to countries in Africa for the purpose of maintaining contact with representatives of national liberation movements from colonial Territories on that continent and obtaining first-hand information on the situation in those Territories;
- (b) The ad hoc group should envisage a visit to OAU to hold consultations with officials of that organization on matters of common concern;
- (c) The <u>ad hoc</u> group might seek the views of the representatives of the national liberation movements appearing before it on the possibility of the Special Committee holding a special session away from Headquarters during 1972;
- (d) The <u>ad hoc</u> group should visit the capitals concerned for the approximate duration indicated below, beginning 10 May 1971:

Lusaka: 4 to 5 working days

Dar es Salaam: 4 to 5 working days

Addis Ababa: 2 to 3 working days

- (e) In order to apprise the national liberation movements of the visit of the Ad hoc group to Africa, the Chairman might issue a communiqué concerning the proposed visit, which should be disseminated as widely as possible by the Office of Public Information, particularly in the areas to be visited.
- 5. In arriving at the above decision, the Special Committee was once again guided by the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 1654 (XVI) and 2621 (XXV), as well as by the views expressed by the majority of its members during the discussions on the organization of the work for the current year, to which reference is made in paragraphs 1 and 3 above. Prior to its decision, the Special Committee had before it the report of the Secretary-General (A/AC.109/L.689) on the administrative and financial implications of the recommendations of the Working Group. Statements on the recommendations of the Working Group were made at the 784th meeting by the representatives of Iraq, Mali, the Ivory Coast, Ecuador, Syria, Yugoslavia, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Bulgaria, Madagascar, Iran, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, India, Afghanistan and Poland and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.784 and Corr.1) and at the 789th meeting by the representative of Yugoslavia and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.789 and Corr.1).
- 6. At its 789th meeting, the Special Committee, by endorsing the nominations by the Chairman, decided that the <u>ad hoc</u> group would be composed of the representatives of Bulgaria, Ethiopia, Sweden, Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania and Venezuela.
- 7. At its 789th to 791st meetings, held between 7 and 13 April, the Special Committee considered the 156th report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions (A/AC.109/L.693), in which the Sub-Committee recommended that the Special Committee should draw the attention of the Ad Hoc Group to a petition dated 18 March 1971 from Mr. Agostinho Neto, President of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) (A/A~.109/PET.1159) and should request the Ad Hoc Group to discuss the

matters raised in the communication with the representative of the MPLA during its visit to Africa. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the matter, leading to the eventual adoption of a resolution thereon, is contained in chapter VIII of the present report (see A/8423/Add.4).

- 8. On 14 April, the Chairman, in pursuance of the Special Committee's decision referred to in paragraph 4 above, issued on behalf of the Committee a communiqué concerning the meetings in Africa of the Ad Hoc Group. 3/
- 9. At the 796th meeting, on 5 May, statements concerning administrative arrangements for the mission of the Ad Hoc Group were made by the representatives of Yugoslavia, Iraq, Mali, Afghanistan, Sierra Leone and Syria and by the Officer-in-Charge of the Office of Conference Services, as well as by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.796).
- 10. The Ad Hoc Group held meetings in Lusaka, Zambia, from 10 to 14 May; in Dar es Salaam, the United Republic of Tanzania, from 17 to 21 May; and in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 24 to 25 May.
- 11. At the 813th meeting, on 9 August, the Chairman, in a statement to the Special Committee (A/AC.109/PV.813), submitted the report of the Ad Hoc Group for its consideration (see annex to the present chapter).
- 12. The Special Committee considered the report at the same meeting and at its 814th meeting on 11 August. Statements in that connexion were made at the 813th meeting by the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Sweden and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.813), and at the 814th meeting by the representative of Sweden and by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.814).
- 13. At the 814th meeting, the Special Committee decided, without objection, to adopt the report of the Ad Hoc Group and endorsed the observations contained therein, it being understood that those observations, together with the views expressed by representatives of the national liberation movements and of officials of the OAU would be taken into account by the Special Committee in connexion with its consideration of the various relevant items on its agenda. The observations of the Ad Hoc Group, as endorsed by the Special Committee, are set out in paragraph 18 below.
- 14. In accordance with the above-mentioned decision, the Special Committee took the report of the Ad Hoc Group into account in its consideration of the various relevant items, including, in particular, the items listed below. An account of the Special Committee's consideration of these items is contained in the relevant chapters of the present report, as follows:

^{3/} See appendix I to the Ad Hoc Group's report, annexed to the present chapter.

Chapter	<u> Item</u>	Document
İ	Publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization	A/8423 (Part I)
	Question of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters	A/8423 (Part I)
III	Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations	A/8423 (Part III)
IV	Question of sending visiting missions to Territories	A/8423 (Part IV)
VI	Southern Rhodesia	A/8423/Add.2
VII	Namibia	A/8423/Add.3 (Parts I and II)
VIII	Territories under Portugese administration	A/8423/Add.4

In addition, Sub-Committee I of the Special Committee took the report into account in its consideration of the item entitled "Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portugese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa". 4/

- 15. With respect to the questions of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese administration, the Special Committee, in addition to adopting a separate resolution dealing with each item, considered and adopted a resolution covering aspects common to those Territories. Thus, at the 824th meeting, on 8 September, the representatives of Afghanistan and India introduced a draft resolution (A/AC.109/L.741 and Corr.1 relating to the questions of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the Territories under Portuguese administration, which was finally sponsored by Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia. Statements in that connexion were made by the representatives of the Ivory Coast and Ethiopia, as well as by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.824).
- 16. At the 825th meeting, on 9 September, following statements on the draft resolution by the representatives of the Ivory Coast, Sweden, Venezuela and Ethiopia (A/AC.109/PV.825 and Corr.1) the Special Committee adopted the draft resolution by a roll-call vote of 17 to none, with 1 abstention (see para. 19 below). The result of the voting was as follows:

⁴/ An account of the Special Committee's consideration of the item will be included in a separate report, to be issued in document A/8398.

In favour: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ecuador, Ethiopia, India, Iran,

Iraq, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Poland, Syria, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United

Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Sweden.

At the same meeting, statements in explanation of vote were made by the representatives of Madagascar and Ecuador (A/AC.109/PV.825 and Corr.1).

17. On 10 September, the text of the resolution (A/AC.109/383) was transmitted to the President of the Security Council (S/10312). Copies of the resolution were also transmitted to States and to OAU.

B. DECISIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

- 18. The text of the observations endorsed by the Special Committee at its 814th meeting, on 11 August, to which reference is made in paragraph 13 above, is reproduced below.
- (1) The testimony given by the representatives of the national liberation movements from the colonial Territories in southern Africa once again underlines the anomaly that several million people in these Territories are still subject to colonial rule and that they live under régimes that offer them no hope whatsoever of peaceful emancipation. Indeed, the authorities in these Territories, acting in collaboration with one another and supported by foreign economic and other interests, are resorting to increasingly harsh measures, including military operations and forcible imposition of racialist policies, to stifle the legitimate struggle of the African peoples to achieve freedom and independence. These authorities have sought and received from their military allies and trading partners, political, economic, military and other kinds of assistance which have enabled them to keep the people in their Territories under forcible subjugation and to commit acts of aggression against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of neighbouring African States, designed to intimidate those States into withdrawing their assistance from the liberation movements in fulfilment of the obligations of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU).
- (2) Having developed an entente dedicated to achieving the permanent subordination of the African populations, the régimes in southern Africa are determined to attain complete control over the human and material resources of the Territories for the purpose of utilizing these resources to their exclusive advantage. In this endeavour, these régimes continue to receive the active support of international economic and financial interests, the activities of which have repeatedly been condemned by the General Assembly as a violation of the economic and social rights of the African people and as a major obstacle to the achievement of the goals embodied in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).
- (3) The findings of the Ad Hoc Group corroborate the further deterioration, in the course of the past year, of the situation obtaining in the Territories of southern Africa. The régimes concerned have considerably increased their military activities and repressive measures against the African population and the national liberation movements. The intensification of armed repression and the co-ordinated escalation of military activities and other arrangements, in open defiance of repeated United Nations resolutions, constitute a grave and increasing threat, not only to the security of neighbouring African States but to international peace in general.
- (4) Exasperated over its inability to defeat the forces of liberation, Portugal is increasingly resorting to the most inhuman thods of warfare, such as the use of chemical substances in the liberated zones of the Territories under its administration, thereby causing added hardships to the civilian population in these areas. These activities have been coupled with deceitful political manoeuvres such as the reforms purported to be giving an increased measure of autonomy to the Territories.

- (5) South Africa has continued to take measures for the complete annexation of Namibia and for the extension in the Territory of its <u>apartheid</u> system. Pretoria has at the same time initiated policies which, in the view of representatives of national liberation movements, are designed to divide Africa and undermine the positions of the national liberation movements.
- (6) The economic and other sanctions of the Security Council against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia are falling short of achieving their purposes because they are being subverted by South Africa, Portugal and their friends and allies. The talks begun and pursued by the United Kingdom Government with the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia are enhancing the position of the latter, and encouraging it to persist in its defiance of the United Nations resolutions.
- (7) It is particularly disturbing that, in spite of appeals and decisions to the contrary by various United Nations bodies, many countries have continued to give the colonial racialist régimes in southern Africa political, economic and military support and even to increase it. To this testify such facts as the decision of the United Kingdom Government with regard to the sale of arms to the Republic of South Africa, the uninterrupted supply of arms to Portugal by some of her allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the holding of the NATO Ministerial Council meeting in Lisbon.
- (8) It was against the above background that the General Assembly, in its programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (resolution 2621 (XXV) of 20 October 1970) declared the "further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations a crime which constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the principles of international law" and reaffirmed the inherent right of colonial peoples to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against colonial Powers which suppress their aspiration for freedom and independence. Member States pledged themselves to render all necessary moral and material assistance to the peoples in colonial Territories in their struggle to attain freedom and independence, and the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations were called upon to intensify their activities related to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). The General Assembly further affirmed, in resolution 2704 (XXV) of 14 December 1970 that the recognition of the legitimacy of that struggle entails, as a corollary, the extension by the United Nations system of organizations, of all the necessary moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements in colonial Territories, including especially the liberated areas.
- (9) Representatives of national liberation movements and officials of OAU expressed appreciation for the work being carried out by the Special Committee and other organs of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. The exposure and condemnation of the crimes of the colonial and racialist régimes against the peoples of the Territories in Africa and also the efforts aimed at the discontinuance of the military, economic and other assistance which those régimes receive from their allies and from foreign economic and other interests hould continue to be the centre of attention at the United Nations, as should the political and moral support which the peoples of the colonial Territories and their liberation movements need on a continuous basis. It is of particular importance that the economic and other sanctions instituted by the Security Council with regard to the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia should be

strengthened, effectively supervised and extended to cover South Africa and Portugal in order to bring about the desired results. At the same time, however, OAU and the liberation movements felt that at this particular juncture, when the people of southern Africa have no other recourse but to fight for their liberation, the international community and the Special Committee, while pursuing their diplomatic and political campaign, should pay special attention to their efforts at creating "objective conditions which would make it possible for African nationalists to intensify their struggle and increase their means of resistance. It should be recalled, in this regard, that many Security Council and General Assembly resolutions call upon all States to render material assistance to the peoples in the colonial Territories and the national liberation movements. It also should be noted that General Assembly resolution 2704 (XXV) contains a specific call to the specialized agencies and the other international institutions within the United Nations family "to render all possible moral and material assistance to the peoples struggling for their liberation from colonial rule and, in particular, to work out, with the active co-operation of the Organization of African Unity and, through it, of the national liberation movements, concrete programmes for assisting the peoples of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the Territories under Portuguese administration, including in particular the populations in the liberated areas of those Territories". States Members of the United Nations and the Organization itself, including the international institutions associated with it, should therefore continue to strengthen their efforts to extend all assistance to the peoples in the colonial Territories in their struggle to attain freedom and independence.

- (10) It is to be noted that, as regards refugee assistance, many of the United Nations family of organizations have, in close co-operation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and in consultation with OAU, increased their assistance, introduced greater flexibility in procedures and strengthened interagency co-operation. Under the aegis of UNHCR, considerable progress has been made in enlarging the participation of many of these organizations in this area of endeavour. It would help further to enhance the capacity of UNHCR in extending assistance to refugees from colonial Territories, however, if the Government of countries of residence of refugees were invited to accord a high priority to projects of organizations of the United Nations system which are being carried out in the areas where refugees are located, or may in any other way be of benefit to refugees. As regards the situation of the refugees from Southern Rhodesia, despite the reported agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom and UNHCR for the latter to extend assistance on an emergency basis to the persons concerned, it seems that some serious practical problems remain to be resolved. It is to be hoped that UNHCR will introduce greater flexibility in existing procedures in order to enable a large number of people from the colonial Territories to benefit from its programmes.
- (11) With respect to the extension of assistance to the national liberation movements from colonial Territories, it is regrettable that only a few of the specialized agencies have so far responded positively. A course of action to be taken by the agencies in implementation of the above-mentioned provisions of General Assembly resolution 2704 (XXV) is exemplified in a way by the recent decision taken by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), by which the agency has worked out, with the sative co-operation of OAU, specific programmes of assistance in the field of education to the national liberation movements, with an initial budgetary provision of \$40,000. Moreover, it is to be noted, with reference to paragraph 8 of General Assembly resolution 2704 (XXV), that UNESCO's decision to assist the liberation movements concerned has led to Portugal's announcement to withdraw from UNESCO.

- (12) It is to be hoped that other agencies and organizations concerned will follow the positive steps taken by UNESCO in this regard. The need for assistance is manifestly increasing, while the available financial resources remain extremely limited. It must be reaffirmed at the same time that the intent of the General Assembly, as referred to in paragraph (11) above, cannot be fully met if States members of the governing bodies and deliberative organs of the specialized agencies and organizations of the United Nations system fail to take effective action, as did members of UNESCO's Executive Board and of its General Conference, along the lines indicated in paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 2704 (XXV). that paragraph, the General Assembly requested all Governments to intensify their actions in the organizations concerned to ensure the full and effective implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions. Further, such organizations as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), in view of the resources available to them, should consider expanding the scope of their participation, within their respective spheres of competence and activities, in programmes to assist the peoples struggling for liberation from colonial rule as well as refugees from the colonial Territories, in accordance with the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions.
- (13) In addition, the efforts being made in this field by a number of non-governmental organizations should be further encouraged. Non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council having a special interest in the elimination of colonialism should be invited to intensify and co-ordinate their activities to assist the peoples struggling for liberation from colonial rule.
- (14) The formulation of the desired programmes of assistance requires above all the active co-operation of OAU, which is in a unique position to ascertain, co-ordinate and recommend to the organizations concerned the needs of the dependent peoples. It is gratifying to note in this regard that OAU has devoted considerable attention to practical means of assisting the national liberation movements and the formulation of further concrete programmes of assistance, in particular in the fields of education, health, nutrition and training. Without the active initiative of and the closest liaison with OAU, no programmes of assistance by the institutions concerned would be likely to bring about the desired results. special importance is the role being played and to be played by OAU in providing assisting agencies and organizations with a systematic assessment of the needs of the national liberation movements as well as a continuous evaluation of the programmes of assistance. In this regard, it should be made clear, as indicated in various United Nations resolutions on the subject, that OAU should be the channel for assistance from the institutions concerned to these peoples, as it is the regional organization directly concerned with these colonial Territories.
- (15) The establishment in February 1971 of the OAU Assistance Fund for the Struggle Against Colonialism and Apartheid will no doubt pave the way further for an increased level of assistance to the peoples concerned. There is a need to ensure that the activities of the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, renewed under General Assembly resolution 2706 (XXV), of 14 December 1970 and, when operational, the United Nations Fund for Namibia, envisaged under General Assembly resolution 2679 (XXV), of 9 December 1970 as well as the relevant training and educational programmes of the organizations of the United Nations system, should be brought into proper relationship with one another and also with the activities of the OAU Bureau for the Placement and Education of African refugees, with a view to avoiding overlapping.

- (16) In its annual resolution on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (resolution 2708 (XXV) of 14 December 1970), the General Assembly requests the Secretary-General to continue to take concrete measures through all the media at his disposal, including publications, radio and television, to give widespread and continuous publicity to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, to the situation in the colonial Territories and to the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by the colonial peoples. In the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration, contained in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV), all States are requested to intensify their efforts in the field of public information. It should be noted that these repeated requests for intensified public information activities are a reflection of the value which the United Nations attaches to wider publicity in all media for the efforts of the Organization in this respect and to the mobilization of world opinion in the cause of decolonization.
- (17) Public information efforts of the United Nations must be further intensified, in particular, through reinforcement of the activities and structure of the various United Nations information centres located in the regions near the areas where the colonial wars are being fought. Here again, closer co-operation with OAU is also essential for the fulfilment of the action envisaged in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV), by establishing systematic and continuous consultations and exchange of information between the two bodies - information on the work of the United Nations and OAU in the field of decolonization, on the one hand, and current information on the situation obtaining in the colonial Territories, including in particular the information concerning the struggle of the peoples in these Territories, on the other. The level of co-ordination and co-operation between the secretariats of the United Nations and OAU should be increased in this regard, in the context of General Assembly resolution 2011 (XX) of 11 October 1965. The co-operation and assistance of every competent national and international non-governmental organization should be sought to build up world public opinion against the evils of colonialism in all its manifestations and to bring about the effective and complete isolation of those régimes which continue to pursue colonial and racialist policies, in violation of the various relevant United Nations resolutions.
- (18) Having in mind the constructive results achieved by its previous sessions in Africa, the Special Committee should give most serious consideration to the plan to hold a session away from Headquarters in 1972, after consulting with OAU. It will be recalled, in this regard, that the General Assembly, in resolution 1654 (XVI) of 27 November 1961, which established the Special Committee, authorized the Committee to meet elsewhere than at United Nations Headquarters whenever and wherever such meetings might be required for the effective discharge of its functions. The holding of a session as proposed will provide the Special Committee with a new occasion to demonstrate the solidarity of the United Nations with the African peoples fighting for their liberation from colonial bondage and to give them further encouragement to pursue their just struggle. It would also provide an opportunity for it to continue to maintain contacts with the national liberation movements and to initiate consultations with the non-governmental organizations concerned on matters of common interest, such as the publicity to be given in the field of decolonization and assistance programmes to the struggling peoples of the colonial Territories. It would be noted at the same time that OAU is already engaged in active preparation for an international conference in support of the peoples in southern Africa fighting for their freedom from colonial and racialist

rule, to be held in 1972 either in Africa or in Europe. The Special Committee may wish to take into account the desirability of its presence at this international conference, when preparing its work programme in 1972.

- (19) Proceeding from its conviction that the sending of visiting missions to the colonial Territories is vitally important for securing adequate and first-hand information regarding political, economic and social conditions in these Territories and ascertaining the views, wishes and aspirations of the people, the General Assembly continues to call upon the administering Powers concerned to co-operate fully with the United Nations by permitting such missions access to the Territories under their administration. Bearing in mind the constructive role played by previous United Nations missions sent to colonial Territories elsewhere, the invitations extended to the Special Committee by the representatives of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) and the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) to visit liberated areas of Angola and Mozambique should be accepted in principle. The modalities for such visits could be worked out subsequently with OAU and these movements.
- (20) The co-operation between OAU and the Special Committee is characterized by active participation, on the basis of the standing invitation extended to OAU by the latter and by the representation of OAU at the Committee's meetings at Headquarters. It is to be hoped that the present level of co-operation will be further increased through systematic and continuous contact between the two bodies, and equally through a simultaneous reinforcement of the co-ordination of work at the secretariat level.
- 19. The text of the resolution adopted by the Special Committee at its 825th meeting, on 9 September (A/AC.109/383), to which reference is made in paragraph 16 above, is reproduced below:

The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Having considered the situation in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese administration,

Having adopted the report of the Ad Hoc Group established by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples at its 789th meeting on 7 April 1971, 5/

Recalling the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970,

Strongly deploring the continued refusal of the authorities concerned to implement the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning those Territories,

^{5/} See the annex to the present chapter.

Conscious of the urgent need to extend all possible assistance to the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories in southern Africa in their struggle to attain freedom and independence, and, in particular, in their development of the liberated areas in some of those Territories,

Noting with satisfaction the decisions of the Economic Commission for Africa concerning the representation of Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) as its associate members,

Noting that a number of United Nations bodies are concerned with various aspects of the conditions in those colonial Territories,

- 1. Reaffirms the legitimate right of the peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against the colonialist authorities which deny them their freedom and independence, and the obligation of Member States to render all necessary moral and material assistance to those peoples;
- 2. <u>Condemns</u> the increasing collaboration between Portugal, South Africa and the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, designed to perpetuate colonialism and oppression in southern Africa;
- 3. <u>Urges</u> all States to increase, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, their financial and material assistance to the peoples of those Territories in their struggle for the restoration of their inalienable rights, and in that connexion draws attention to the OAU Fund for Assistance for the Struggle Against Colonialism and <u>Apartheid</u> established by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at its fourteenth ordinary session in February/March 1970:
- 4. Requests all States, directly and through their action in the specialized agencies and other international organizations within the United Nations system of which they are members, to discontinue all collaboration with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, as well as with the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia;
- 5. Draws the attention of the Security Council to the urgent need to take effective measures to put an end to the grave situation created by the continued defiance on the part of the authorities concerned in respect of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the Territories under Portuguese administration of their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, which threatens international peace and security;
- 6. Decides to request its Working Group to study the possibility of associating representatives of the national liberation movements of those Territories more closely with the work of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and to report thereon to the Special Committee in early 1972;
- 7. Requests the Secretary-General to keep the Special Committee fully informed of all developments in other United Nations bodies relating to the colonial Territories in southern Africa.

ANNEX*

REPORT OF THE AD HOC GROUP ESTABLISHED BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AT ITS 789TH MEETING ON 7 APRIL 1971

Chairman: Mr. Germán NAVA-CARRILLO (Venezuela)

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^{*} Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.723 and Add.1.

^{**} The observations of the Ad Hoc Group, adopted by the Special Committee at its 814th meeting on 11 August, are set out in paragraph 18 of the present chapter.

INTRODUCTION

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- 5. On 14 April 1971, pursuant to the decision of the Special Committee, the Chairman issued a communiqué on the Ad Hoc Group's meetings in Africa (see appendix I below).
- 6. The members of the Ad Hoc Group, accompanied by members of the Secretariat, arrived at Lusaka on 8 May 1971 and held meetings from 10 to 14 May at the secretariat of the former National Assembly; it arrived in Dar es Salaam on 15 May 1971 and held meetings from 17 to 21 May in Karimjee Hall and the conference room of the Kilimanjaro Hotel; it arrived in Addis Ababa on 22 May and held consultations with officials of the administrative secretariat of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) from 24 to 25 May at Africa Hall.
- 7. Mr. Vernon Johnson Mwaanga, the Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations, addressed the Ad Hoc Group at its opening meeting in Lusaka, on behalf of the Government of Zambia (see appendix II below). The Ad Hoc Group was also received by Mr. E.H.K. Mudenda, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
- 8. Mr. Mohammed Ali Foum, Director of the Africa and Middle East Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, addressed the Ad Hoc Group at its opening meeting in Dar es Salaam on behalf of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania (see appendix III). The Ad Hoc Group was also received by Mr. Mwinyi Ali, Minister of State, Office of the President.
- 9. In Addis Ababa, the Ad Hoc Group had the honour of being received by His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia. The Ad Hoc Group was also received by Ato Ketema Yifru, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
- 10. At its opening meeting in Addis Ababa, Mr. Diallo Telli, Administrative Secretary-General of OAU, addressed the Ad Hoc Group (see section B below). The Ad Hoc Group was also able to meet Mr. Robert Gardiner, Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA).
- 11. At the opening meetings held in Lusaka, Dar es Salaam and Addis Ababa the Chairman made statements on behalf of the Ad Hoc Group concerning the work of the Special Committee (see appendix IV below).
- 12. During its visit to Africa, the Ad Hoc Group held thirteen public meetings and seven private meetings with representatives of national liberation movements and with officials of OAU. The Ad Hoc Group heard ten groups of representatives of national liberation movements and received three written petitions. The public meetings were devoted to general statements by representatives of the liberation movements on recent developments in the Territorics concerned. The private meetings were held at the specific request of the organizations concerned to discuss matters of common concern related to the work of the Committee and the best

way to assist the national liberation movements in their struggle for freedom and independence. An account of the Ad Hoc Group's meetings and contacts with the national liberation movements is set out in section A and an account of the consultations with OAU is given in section B below.

- 13. During their stay in the United Republic of Tanzania, the Ad Hoc Group, at the invitation of representatives of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), visited the Mozambique Institute, now the administrative and operational headquarters of FRELIMO in Dar es Salaam, and the FRELIMO secondary school at Bagamoyo.
- 14. The Ad Hoc Group wishes to place on record its appreciation to the Governments of Ethiopia, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia for their kind hospitality and the facilities they afforded the Ad Hoc Group during its visit. Further, the Ad Hoc Group wishes to express its gratitude to the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU and other officials of that organization and to the Executive Secretary of ECA for their kind co-operation and assistance. The Ad Hoc Group also wishes to record its gratitude to the Secretary-General for making available the necessary supporting staff and facilities and, in that connexion, to acknowledge with appreciation the services and dedication of the staff as well as the assistance extended to the Ad Hoc Group by United Nations offices at the capitals concerned.

A. MEETINGS AND CONTACTS WITH NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Programme of meetings

15. The Ad Hoc Group, in the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it, established contacts with the following national liberation movements and heard statements by their representatives, as shown below:

Lusaka

M	Mr. Pascal Luvualu Member of the Central Committee Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA)	private meeting
S	Mr. N.M. Shamuyarira Secretary of External Affairs Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)	public and private meetings
A	Mr. Moses M. Garoëb Administrative Secretary South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)	public meeting
M	Mrs. Ray E. Simons Member of the Executive Committee South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU)	public meeting
Л	Mr. G.B. Nyandoro National Secretary Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU)	public and private meetings
F	Mr. Paulo J. Gumane President Comité Revolucionario de Moçambique (COREMO)	public meeting
	Mr. Miniban J. Ntundumula Member of COREMO	
	Mr. A. Fataar Joint Secretary Unity Movement of South Africa (UMSA)	public meeting
	Miss Jane Gool Representative of UMSA in Lusaka	

13 May	- Mr. Grielme Chippia, Captain Uniao Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA)	public and private meetings
14 May	- Film show and circulation of general statement by MPLA	public meeting
Dar es Salaam		
18 May	- Mr. Duma Nokwe Director of Political Affairs African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)	public meeting
19 May	- Mr. Joaquim Chissano Chief Representative FRELIMO in Tanzania	public and private meetings
	- Mr. Sergio Vieira Representative of FRELIMO in the United Arab Republic	
20 May	- Mr. Ahmed G. Ebrahim Deputy Secretary for Foreign Affairs Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	public meeting
20 May	- Mr. Andreas Chipanga Acting Secretary for Information and Publicity of SWAPO	public meeting
	Mr. Jesaya Nyamu Information Officer of SWAPO	
21 May	- Mr. Agostinho Neto President of MPLA	private meeting

16. The Ad Hoc Group as a rule held its meetings in public. Those meetings conducted in private, as indicated above, were held at the request of the representative of the movements concerned. Statements made at both public and private meetings have been taken fully into account by the Ad Hoc Group and are reflected in the relevant sections of the present report. In addition, statements made in public meetings by representatives of the movements have been placed in the files of the Secretariat and are available upon request to members of the Special Committee.

Comments and suggestions made by representatives of national liberation movements

17. All the representatives of national liberation movements appearing before the Group expressed their support for the work of the Special Committee and urged it to continue to discharge the functions entrusted to it by the General Assembly.

They strongly criticized the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for their withdrawal from the Committee. Some representatives of national liberation movements stated that they were not aware of the relevant resolutions and other documents of the Special Committee in 1970 and requested that the Committee's documentation in the future should be sent regularly to the liberation movements concerned both for their information and action and for the purpose of wide dissemination.

- 18. The leaders of national liberation movements were particularly grateful to the Committee for the initiative it had taken to have the legitimacy of their struggle recognized by the United Nations and for calling on all States to give material assistance to the liberation struggle in colonial Territories. They stressed that in view of the limitations of the United Nations and the intransigence of the colonial Powers concerned, armed struggle was the only means available to them to achieve self-determination and independence. They therefore urged the Special Committee to support the armed struggle and to explore further ways and means for aiding liberation movements. In this connexion, they expressed their gratitude for the assistance they had received from friendly countries and international institutions that had supported them.
- 19. All the representatives of national liberation movements condemned the policy of dialogue with South Africa, which they said had been introduced by South Africa to cause division amongst independent African States and to weaken their support for national liberation movements. In view of the intransigence of the Republic of South Africa on the question of <u>apartheid</u>, a dialogue would serve no useful purpose the liberation struggle was the only sure means of ending <u>apartheid</u> in South Africa. The liberation movements also condemned the decision of the United Kingdom Government to resume arms sales to the Republic of South Africa, as constituting a further threat to international peace and security in southern Africa. The decision of the United Kingdom Government clearly showed its support for the apartheid régime of South Africa, which was aimed at suppressing the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of South Africa.
- 20. Concerning the question of Namibia, representatives of SWAPO emphatically rejected any plebiscites in the Territory under the auspices of the Republic of South Africa. In so doing, they stated that South Africa was occupying the Territory illegally and that any such plebiscite under the auspices of South Africa would be manipulated by that régime to endorse its annexation of the Territory.
- 21. In view of the armed conflict in southern Africa and the inhuman treatment of African nationalist prisoners by the reactionary régimes of South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia, the liberation movements called on the United Nations to ensure the application to that situation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War and of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War both dated 12 August 1949, a/ called on the United Nations to launch an international campaign for the liberation of prisoners of war in southern Africa; and called for the discontinuance of military and economic assistance to the colonialist and racist régimes of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Some of the representatives of liberation movements also called for the expulsion of South Africa and Portugal from the United Nations.

a/ United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 75 (1950), No. 972 and ibid, No. 973.

- 22. Representatives of the liberation movements were unanimous in their view that in spite of the intensification of the colonialist wars in southern Africa, they were making progress towards their objective. In the case of the Territories under Portuguese domination, the Ad Hoc Group was informed that armed struggle was being waged concurrently with programmes of reconstruction in the areas that had already been liberated. The Ad Hoc Group was assured by representatives of the liberation movements that through action they were concretely reinforcing the United Nations recognition of the legitimacy of their right to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against the colonial Powers and also that they would continue to fight until total victory was achieved.
- 23. Representatives of FRELIMO and MPLA reported that their movements controlled approximately one third of their respective territories, where they had established a political, economic and social structure to meet the needs of the people hitherto not met by the Portuguese colonialist authorities. The immediate aim of the administration in the liberated areas was directed at the restructuring of the economy, in particular, by providing programmes of instruction in crop raising and improved agricultural methods, and at the establishing of educational, health and welfare facilities, which had never existed under Portuguese administration.
- The liberation movements stated that it was naive to believe that the liberation of their countries would ever come by peaceful means as long as the colonialists and racists refused to grant the people under their domination the right of self-determination and independence. However, they also reiterated their preparedness to negotiate with Portugal, subject to the recognition by that country of the right of the peoples in the Territories to self-determination and independence, the cessation of the repressive acts and also the withdrawal of its troops from the Territory. Even though the possibility of negotiating with Portugal on those conditions had never been excluded and despite their wish of obtaining independence through pacific means, owing to the attitude of Portugal they were forced to resort to armed struggle. They rejected the recent decision of Portugal to grant "self-government" to Angola and Mozambique. In so doing, they pointed out that the so-called self-government was limited to decentralizing the Portuguese administrative machinery to win broader support from the upper strata of the settlers. For their part, the liberation movements stated that they were not interested in becoming black Portuguese and that nothing short of complete self-determination and independence would be acceptable to them. The representatives of national liberation movements strongly criticized the visit of Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, to Lisbon and the ministerial meetings of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Lisbon as further proof of the support and encouragement that Portugal received from its allies. Representatives of FRELIMO also informed the Ad Hoc Group that information available to them indicated that the allies of Portugal were considering direct military intervention in Mozambique to buttress Portuguese domination.
- 25. As regards the military activities by the colonial Powers in those Territories, representatives of the movements reported an over-all intensification of repressive acts against their movements. These acts were being carried out by the colonial Powers both separately and in collaboration with one another, as evidenced by the presence of South African forces in Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia. Furthermore, these representatives held States members of NATO in particular, the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and France responsible for the continuing provision of arms and other military and

logistic equipment and supplies to the colonial Powers, which enabled them to pursue their policies of colonial and murderous oppression of the dependent peoples. It was pointed out that the continuance of these colonialist wars not only threatened the security and violated the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the neighbouring independent States but constituted a serious threat to the peace and security of southern Africa as a whole.

- 26. With respect to the use of herbicides and defoliants, the liberation movements from Angola reported that, despite the denial by Portugal, the Portuguese forces had indeed continued to resort to such chemical warfare, which had caused an untold amount of damage, destroying food crops and other vegetation and creating an acute food shortage in many areas. Liberation movements from Mozambique also reported the use by the Portuguese forces of chemical weapons since December 1970. They stated that a large number of people had died from crop and water poisoning and from starvation due to food shortages. In that connexion, representatives of these liberation movements expressed their appreciation for the action taken by the Special Committee, at its 791st meeting on 13 April 1971, in adopting a resolution (see A/8423/Add.4, paragraph 30) concerning a communication it had received from MPLA on the use ágainst their peoples of chemical and biological methods of warfare by the Portuguese forces.
- 27. Representatives of the national liberation movements stated that foreign economic and other interests from the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, other western European countries and Japan, which were entrenched in the Territories' economy, continued to give aid to colonialist régimes in southern Africa. Those foreign economic and financial interests were assisting the colonialist and minority racist régimes in order to create a new military and paramilitary industrial complex under the aegis of the Government of South Africa. The proof was not too far to seek: the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique, the Cunene River Basin project in Angola and the Oxbow scheme on the Orange River. Once those schemes were completed, colonialist control of the region would be further consolidated and strengthened. Representatives of MPLA stated that the Cunene River Basin project, although at the present time suspended, had the same sinister purpose as the Cabora Bassa dam scheme, to which the particular attention of the Special Committee should be drawn.
- 28. Representatives of the national liberation movements stated that they were disappointed that the United Nations continued to regard the colonialist and racist minority régimes as the representatives of the people in the Territories dominated by them. The two movements from South Africa, the PAC and the ANC, repeated their strong call for expulsion forthwith of South Africa and Portugal from the United Nations and from all its agencies. They also pointed out to the Ad Hoc Group that it was anomalous for the United Nations, on the one hand, to have allowed the liberation movements the use of its facilities to inform the world of the atrocities of the colonialist and racist régimes and at the same time to have allowed the latter the same facilities to defend their moribund policies. The liberation movements strongly appealed to the United Nations through the Ad Hoc Group to declare itself fully in support of the people in the colonial Territories and to deny the colonialists and racists the use of United Nations facilities for their propaganda.
- 29. The representatives of the PAC and ANC expressed the opinion that there was no obligation whatever on the part of the United Kingdom to supply arms to

South Africa under the Simonstown Agreements, and that this action was further evidence of the support which colonialists and racists in southern Africa were receiving from some countries.

- 30. Representatives of the liberation movements from Southern Rhodesia believed that no economic sanctions against the illegal régime would ever achieve the desired results unless extended to cover South Africa and Portugal, backed by the use of force. Furthermore, the United Nations must make adequate arrangements to ensure strict enforcement of such sanctions. The policy of sanctions of the United Nations, even though it had failed so far to achieve its chief purpose, had nevertheless had the merit of increasing the political and moral isolation of the illegal minority régime. They also expressed their opposition to the holding of discussions between the United Kingdom Government and the illegal régime which represented only minority white interests in the Territory. In this connexion, they reaffirmed that such discussions should rather be held between the United Kingdom Government and the representatives of political parties in Zimbabwe favouring a majority rule. They also did not approve of the five principles formulated by the United Kingdom as a basis for settlement, as they did not envisage the establishment of majority rule on the basis of "one man, one vote" prior to independence.
- 31. While appreciative of the efforts being made by the Special Committee and other United Nations bodies to increase the level of assistance extended to them through the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, the representatives of the national liberation movements appealed to the Special Committee to seek further ways and means of meeting, both bilaterally and through international undertakings, their urgent need for material assistance.
- 32. The representatives of the movements expressed their particular appreciation of the recent decisions of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to initiate through OAU a number of assistance programmes in the field of education and training. They requested the Special Committee to draw the particular attention of the other specialized agencies and organizations in the United Nations system to the pressing need for the extension through OAU of immediate assistance to the peoples of the colonial Territories in southern Africa.
- 33. The representatives of the national liberation movements from Southern Rhodesia informed the Ad Hoc Group of the dilemma they were placed in with regard to assistance from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). They told the Ad Hoc Group that whenever they went to UNHCR they were told that they did not qualify for refugee status because they were subjects of Britain and that they should ask for assistance from the Litish Government. The British authorities, on the other hand, told them that the only assistance that they could give was to return them to Southern Rhodesia. They therefore called upon the Ad Hoc Group and the United Nations to find a way of breaking this impasse so that they could benefit from the assistance that was available to other refugees through UNHCR.
- 34. The representative of national liberation movements recognized by OAU called upon the United Nations to give them recognition as sole representatives of the people in the Territories under foreign colonial and racist domination. Such

recognition should enable the national liberation movements to participate in the work of the Special Committee and of other organizations associated with the United Nations. In addition, it would form an important political base for establishment of bilateral links with States which currently continued to recognize the colonialist and racist régimes. Furthermore, it would give them greater possibilities for getting assistance from other countries. In the case of FRELIMO and MPLA, their representatives urged that, since they were in effective control of the liberated Territories, Portugal should be condemned for perpetrating criminal acts in areas out of its control. The liberated zones should be recognized as already free and while the liberation movements and the population in those Territories continued to fight in order to liberate the rest, they should be recognized as sole representatives of their respective territories and peoples. The representatives were of the view that, following recognition by the United Nations of the legitimacy of their struggle, the next step should be to confer recognition on them. They questioned the wisdom of recognizing the colonialist and minority racist régimes in southern Africa which spoke only for a few oppressors. The majority was silenced by brutal force and the minority which had consistently violated the United Nations Charter therefore could not replace the voice of those who were the true believers in the principles of the United Nations.

- 35. Representatives of national liberation movements considered that the most effective means of obtaining first-hand information on the situation in their respective Territories would be to send a visiting group from the Special Committee to the liberated areas of these Territories. The representatives of MPLA and FRELIMO, which controlled approximately one third of their respective countries, reiterated their invitation to the Special Committee to send a visiting group to the liberated areas in Angola and Mozambique. The Special Committee would benefit greatly from sending such a mission, which would ascertain for the whole Organization and world opinion that the liberation movements were gaining victories against the Portuguese colonialists and thereby destroying the myth that Portugal had perpetuated about the so-called "terrorists" disturbing "peace" in the Territories under its domination. It would also give the Special Committee an opportunity to assess the needs of the liberation movements and the population in those Territories, thus enabling it to see how effectively it could assist them. Finally such a visit would also give the United Nations evidence of the need for recognizing the liberation movements as the sole representatives of the people, as it would amply reveal the trust and confidence which the people in the Territories had in the respective movements.
- 36. Representatives of the liberation movements expressed their support for the Special Committee's plan to hold a special session away from United Nations Headquarters in 1972. Citing the successes achieved by the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Portuguese Colonies, held in Rome in 1970, they expressed the confidence that a special session, if held by the Special Committee, would achieve even greater success. With respect to the question where such a session should be held, representatives believed that it could be either in Africa or in Europe. However, if the aim of the session was to foster a better understanding of the liberation struggle where it was most needed, it would be preferable to hold it in Europe.

b/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Supplement No. 23 (A/8023/Rev.1), chap. VII, annex II.

37. Some representatives expressed the view that contacts with the national liberation movements could further be strengthened by securing possibilities for their spokesmen to visit United Nations Headquarters more often, where they would be in a position to get in touch with all the members of the Organization.

Communication from Mr. Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC)

- 38. On 25 May, in Addis Ababa, the Chairman of the Special Committee received a communication (A/AC.109/PET.1178) addressed to him by Mr. Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), in which the Special Committee was requested to take any steps it might deem useful in order to denounce and condemn the NATO session scheduled to open in Lisbon on 3 June 1971 "as a further manifestation of political support and irrefutable evidence of the complicity of certain States members of NATO in the colonial wars and genocide being carried out by the Portuguese Government against Africa".
- 39. On the same day, the Ad Hoc Group of the Special Committee decided to refer the above communication to the Special Committee for its urgent consideration and appropriate action. At the same time, the Chairman issued the following press communiqué:

"The Chairman of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four today received a cable from Mr. Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC (Partico Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde), requesting the Committee to take any initiative it might deem useful to denounce and condemn the forthcoming NATO meeting in Lisbon.

"The Ad Hoc Group of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, meeting in Addis Ababa on 25 May, takes a serious view of the decision of NATO to hold its meeting in Lisbon at a time when Portugal has intensified its military activities and atrocities in Territories under its domination.

"The Ad Hoc Group has therefore decided to refer the communication from Mr. Amilcar Cabral to the Special Committee in New York for its urgent consideration and appropriate action."

40. On 26 May, the text of the communication was forwarded by cable to Headquarters for the attention of the Special Committee. At its 797th meeting, on 2 June 1971, the Special Committee considered the communication and adopted a resolution on the question (see A/8423/Add.4, paragraph 31).

Written petitions

41. During its visit to Africa the $\underline{\text{Ad Hoc}}$ Group received the following written petitions:

Lusaka

14 May - Petition from Mr. Joseph Siliveli, President United National Angolan Party (UNA)

Addis Ababa

- 24 May Petition from Mr. Aden Roble Awale, Secretary-General of the Front de Libération de la Côte des Somalis (FLCS)
- 25 May Petition from Mr. Ahmed Bourhan Omar, Secretary-General of the Mouvement de Libération de Djibouti (MLD)
- 42. The text of these communications has been forwarded to the Sub-Committee on Petitions for its consideration.

- B. CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)
- 43. Pursuant to the mandate entrusted to it by the Special Committee, the Ad Hoc Group, on 24 and 25 May, held meetings with officials of the OAU secretariat. Representing the OAU secretariat at these meetings were Mr. Diallo Telli, Administrative Secretary-General, Mr. Mohamed Ahmed Sahnoun, Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. D. Ouattara, Director, Political Department, and Mr. Samuel Alemayehu, Head of the Decolonization Section. Several African ambassadors were present at the meetings in an observer capacity, diplomatic representatives of four States members of the Ad Hoc Group in Addis Ababa (Bulgaria, Ethiopia, Sweden and Venezuela) also attended the meetings.

Statement by the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU

- 44. At the opening meeting, the Administrative Secretary-General stated that it was gratifying for him to perform the pleasant duty of welcoming the members of the Ad Hoc Group, more especially as the Group's visit was taking place on the eve of the celebration of 25 May, the eighth anniversary of the founding of OAU and Africa Liberation Day. He therefore invited the Ad Hoc Group, in the context of the common struggle of the two organizations against colonial domination and racial oppression, to celebrate the occasion with OAU, in earnestness and with renewed hope that this would be the prelude to concrete steps that would enable the two bodies to make real progress in the actual liberation of the African peoples an objective that the United Nations and OAU were endeavouring to achieve.
- 45. He also wished to take the opportunity to extend to the Ad Hoc Group, and through it to the Special Committee, the sincere appreciation and support of OAU for the Committee's continued efforts to ensure the liberation of Africa despite the withdrawal from the Committee of certain Powers, which, for purely selfish reasons, had decided to shirk their responsibilities as permanent members of the Security Council, thereby betraying the ideals, principles and objectives of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.
- 46. During its stay in Lusaka and Dar es Salaam, the Ad Hoc Group had met not only with the government officials of Zambia and of the United Republic of Tanzania and officials of the OAU Liberation Committee but also with the representatives of the liberation movements. These contacts and the talks held with them had undoubtedly thrown considerable light on the situation of the liberation struggle and on the multiple needs dictated by the continuation and intensification of efforts in that vital field.
- 47. In view of the solemn undertaking given by the policy-making bodies of OAU with regard to the total and unconditional liberation of the African continent to sustain, in every respect, the efforts and sacrifices of the liberation movements, OAU fully endorsed all concrete requests submitted to the Ad Hoc Group in Lusaka and Dar es Salaam.
- 48. For some years, the Special Committee had been following the practice, by OAU, of undertaking fact-finding missions to Africa with a

view to appraising the situation in the Territories under foreign and racist domination. At the conclusion of these numerous missions, reports and recommendations had been submitted to the General Assembly, on the basis of which the latter had adopted resolutions or issued directives and declarations which OAU considered pertinent and attuned to the requirements of the liberation struggle. On the basis of such proposals, many further resolutions had been adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly in an effort to seek a new approach towards the solution of the problem of southern Africa. That course, clearly set out since 1960, had been amply elaborated through the joint efforts of the United Nations and OAU. Today, the aim was to have the United Nations ensure the effective implementation of the resolutions and directives of both the General Assembly and the Security Council. Unfortunately, however, the Special Committee and OAU knew only too well the reactionary attitude of certain permanent members of the Security Council and certain other Powers, without whose co-operation the decisions taken and resolutions adopted could not be effectively applied and whose unconditional assistance to the white minority and racist régimes of southern Africa had helped to slow down the process of decolonization and the elimination of racial discrimination and apartheid.

- 49. By recognizing the legitimacy of the liberation struggle launched by the African nationalists in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, the General Assembly had committed itself to supporting that struggle. The OAU, therefore, looked to the Special Committee to continue to exert every effort to lead the way for the General Assembly, the Security Council and all the organs of the United Nations family to lend practical support to that struggle.
- 50. In that respect, OAU was pleased with the initiative taken by UNESCO, in the context of the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2555 (XXIV), of 12 December 1969, to send a mission of experts to OAU in order to study practical ways and means of assisting the refugees and national liberation movements. In accordance with the terms of that mission, the Secretary-General of the United Nations had been informed by the Director-General of UNESCO of an assistance programme amounting to \$400,000 (A/8314 and Add.1-3). In like manner, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) planned to send a similar mission to OAU in the very near future. The OAU called on the Special Committee to offer its good offices and make all necessary efforts with a view to urging other specialized agencies to give, within their various fields of competence, practical assistance to the victims of colonial occupation and racial oppression.
- 51. In the face of the blind obstinacy of the exponents of colonialism and racism in Africa, who had rejected the many offers of a peaceful settlement on several occasions, it was not necessary to repeat that the African nationalists had been compelled to resort to armed struggle. For, alas, experience had shown that it was the only language that the colonialist and racist régimes could understand.
- 52. Despite the condemnations by world opinion and the adoption of numerous resolutions by the United Nations and OAU, and despite the successes scored by the liberation movements, those racist minorities, with the many and varied forms of assistance from their western allies, continued to strengthen their instruments of oppression of the African peoples and to show their contempt for the international community.

- 53. The meeting of NATO, scheduled to be held on 3 June in Lisbon, was, if there was need for one, a further and overwhelming proof of imperialist collusion with Portuguese colonialism. The holding of that meeting in Lisbon not only was an act of provocation against Africa and the millions of victims of Portuguese colonialism, which made abundant use of NATO material, financial and military resources, but undoubtedly constituted the greatest encouragement given to Portuguese colonialism in order to continue its genocidal activities in Africa against African peoples whose only crime was their desire to lead a free and dignified life as did other peoples of the world. That situation should not leave the Special Committee and the United Nations indifferent.
- 54. It was therefore important that, while pursuing its diplomatic and political campaign, the international community, through the Special Committee and in close co-operation with OAU, should create the objective conditions which would make it possible for African nationalists to intensify their struggle and increase their means of resistance. In the international year for concrete action against colonialism and racism, that would be an absolute minimum.
- 55. In the course of the consultations with the Ad Hoc Group, the OAU secretariat would review and develop its previous proposals for more concrete action by the United Nations and, having in mind the latest situation in southern Africa, would submit fresh suggestions in the same spirit of close co-operation which had always characterized relations between OAU and the United Nations in the past in the vital field of decolonization.
- 56. For its part, OAU had created, as its specific contribution to the success of the International Year to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, an Assistance Fund for the victims of colonialism and racism (see appendix V below). That Fund was intended for the financing of humanitarian activities: economic, social and cultural advancement, and improvement of health and nutritional standards in areas liberated by the liberation movements. The OAU was of the opinion that the United Nations could and should make a substantial contribution to this Fund, whose aim tallied perfectly with the preoccupations already clearly stated by the General Assembly and the Security Council. The OAU hoped, therefore, that the Special Committee would undertake to give publicity to this Fund and exercise its authority and all its influence with a view to lending it concrete support. The OAU would highly appreciate any practical and concrete action which the Group might suggest in that connexion in order to strengthen the efficiency of the OAU efforts and sustain the sacrifices of the national liberation movements.
- 57. In conclusion, the Administrative Secretary-General expressed the hope that the Ad Hoc Group's mission, to which OAU wished every success, would make to the appropriate United Nations authorities all the necessary proposals for concrete action which could effectively reinforce the liberation struggle in Africa, a common concern and a main objective of OAU and the Special Committee.

Statement by the Chairman

58. Following the opening statement of the Administrative Secretary-General, the Chairman, on behalf of the Ad Hoc Group, made a statement concerning the work of the Special Committee (see appendix IV below).

Discussions with officials of the Administrative Secretariat of OAU

- 59. During the ensuing discussions, members of the Ad Hoc Group brought to the attention of the officials of OAU a number of matters which were of common concern and which had been raised by some of the representatives of the national liberation movements during the Group's meetings with them. These matters related mainly to the questions of the extension of assistance to the national liberation movements from the colonial Territories in Africa, the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and the level of co-operation between the Special Committee and OAU. Further, members of the Ad Hoc Group emphasized that they would be grateful for any additional information which the officials of OAU might wish to give them which would be of assistance to the work of the Special Committee.
- 60. Mr. Mohamed Ahmed Salmoun, Assistant Secretary-General of OAU, together with Mr. D. Ouattara, Director, Political Department, and Mr. Samuel Alemayehu, Head of the Decolonization Section, were good enough to furnish to the Ad Hoc Group a number of suggestions and useful information during the discussions, a brief summary of which is given below.
- 61. The work of the Special Committee was very important for OAU, since the latter relied heavily on the reports and other documents prepared by the Committee. However, for reasons both administrative and technical, co-ordination between OAU and the Special Committee was almost non-existent at the present stage. For its part, OAU had tried to improve the situation and had instructed its New York office to continue to follow closely the work of the Committee. In this connexion, it was emphasized that OAU would appreciate receiving on a regular basis up-to-date information on the work of the Committee, whose decisions and other documents had often been unduly delayed in reaching OAU.
- 62. Effective publicity for the work of the Special Committee was lacking and it was suggested that the Committee should give serious consideration to the question. It was recalled that this question had been raised during the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly but that the Fourth Committee had decided to postpone its consideration to the next session. To date, the publicity material prepared by the Office of Public Information (OPI) was often too academic and was not geared to reach the masses. Consequently, it was important that, in preparing its publicity material, OPI should also focus its attention on the people in the Non-Self-Governing Territories in order to create an informed public force in those Territories. In that connexion, it was pointed out that OAU had access to radio stations in the neighbouring African countries which broadcast in local languages. Subject to the availability of the necessary publicity material, OAU could arrange for United Nations programmes to be broadcast from those stations to the colonial Territories. For United Nations publicity to be effective, it would be necessary to involve United Nations offices in the field, particularly the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), as they were sometimes in a better position than OAU to provide information.
- 63. Regarding its substantive work, the Special Committee should continue to exert political pressure on the colonial Powers and their allies as it had done in the past. However, OAU felt that the Committee should revise its strategy from time to time in order to take into account changing conditions. That suggestion was not to be taken as a criticism of the Committee, as it was intended to render the work of the Committee more effective.

- 64. Regarding assistance to liberation movements, it was stated that the extension of concrete material assistance was urgently required and that the Special Committee should give priority to the examination of this matter. It was preferable that assistance should be channelled through OAU so as to be more effective, but the Organization had no objection to direct assistance either. In that connexion, there should be no distincition between humanitarian and other types of assistance, and it should be left to the liberation movements concerned to decide what percentage of aid they wished to earmark for humanitarian purposes. As far as assistance by the specialized agencies was concerned, only UNESCO had approved concrete projects for the liberation movements, after a delegation, including a deputy director, had visited Dar es Salaam and had held talks with representatives of OAU and the liberation movements. Consequently, the Special Committee should impress on other specialized agencies the necessity of sending similar missions to Africa for discussions with OAU and the liberation movements concerned.
- 65. On the question of the recognition of liberation movements, the opinion was expressed that only those movements recognized by OAU should be recognized by the United Nations. For its part, OAU recognized liberation movements solely on the basis of their effectiveness and their commitment. Recognition was never based on idealogical or tribal grounds. Sociological and other problems sometimes accounted for the fact that two movements existed in one country; however, to long as these did not fight each other, OAU recognized both of them. It was pointed out that it might not be wise for the Special Committee to recognize movements not recognized by OAU, as some of those were puppet movements financed by colonial Powers and bent on disorganizing the liberation struggle. Other movements represented nothing at all. Consequently, when hearing such movements, the Committee should make it clear to them that hearing did not imply recognition by the United Nations.
- 66. Regarding the possibility of the Special Committee holding a special session away from Headquarters, in 1972, OAU would lend its full support to such a session since it was itself considering organizing a conference which would bring together as many organizations and institutions as possible. To that end, it had already, in April 1971, met in Dar es Salaam with a number of non-governmental organizations from the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States to discuss problems of co-crdination in the fields of information and assistance. It had been evnsiaged that the conference would be held in Africa but soundings were also being made with some European countries to find out whether conditions existed for convening it in Europe. The OAU was therefore in a position to assist the Special Committee in the preparation of a session away from Headquarters, to which non-governmental organizations should be invited to attend. It was the considered view of OAU that the proposed meeting of the Special Committee would have greater impact if it were held in Europe. A preparatory committee representing OAU, the Special Committee and other interested bodies could prepare the agenda.
- 67. A visit to the liberated areas of Angola and Mozambique by members of the Special Committee would make a major contribution to the work of the Committee. Should the Committee decide to send some members to the liberated areas, OAU would like to be informed in advance so as to prepare for the visit. In this connexion, it was pointed out that OAU had in the past sent missions to the liberated areas of Mozambique and Angola.

Meeting with the Executive Secretary of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa

- 68. During its stay in Dar es Salaam, the Ad Hoc Group held a meeting with Mr. George Magombe, the Executive Secretary of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa. At the meeting, Mr. Magombe and members of the Ad Hoc Group exchanged views on matters of common concern, and, in particular, on some of the points raised by representatives of the national liberation movements during the Group's consultations with them. A brief summary of the views expressed and the suggestions made by the Executive Secretary on matters of common concern arising from the Group's discussions with the representatives of the national liberation movements and on those relating to the work of the Special Committee is set out below.
- 69. The OAU, particularly its Liberation Committee, attached great importance to the work of the Special Committee, which performed a very useful political function in furtherance of the liberation struggle in Africa. The Liberation Committee, which was responsible for organizing the liberation struggle in the colorial territories in Africa, was particularly grateful to the Special Committee for championing the cause of the oppressed peoples in Africa and creating a better understanding in the international community of their needs and legitimate aspirations while at the same time exposing the evil activities of the colonial Powers in the Territories concerned. The Special Committee's efforts in the political sphere enabled the Liberation Committee to give its full attention to the physical aspect of the liberation struggle. Consequently, the Liberation Committee fully supported the work of the Special Committee and urged it to continue further to explore ways and means of combating colonial problems in Africa.
- 70. The Special Committee had made a very positive contribution to the liberation struggle by having the United Nations recognize the legitimacy of the struggle of the colonial countries and peoples to exercise their right to self-determination and independence by all necessary means at their disposal, and by calling on all States to give moral and material assistance to liberation movements. This decision of the Special Committee had given recognition to the efforts of the liberation movements and had also given them an appropriate status which enabled them to receive assistance from friendly countries to pursue the struggle.
- 71. In view of the fact that the legitimacy of the armed struggle had been recognized by the United Nations, the liberation movements recognized by OAU should be given commensurate status at the United Nations to enable them to participate in discussions. In this connexion, the Executive retary stated that the Liberation Committee's only criterion for recognizing a liberation movement was the latter's effectiveness in the Territory concerned, and that recognition was not necessirily permanent and could be withdrawn.
- 72. Referring to material assistance to the liberation movements, the Executive Secretary stressed the necessity for such assistance to be channelled through OAU, which, through its Liberation Committee, was in direct and continuous contact with the movements and was thus in a position to determine and evaluate their needs. The OAU, however, realized that some countries had important reasons to prefer the bilateral approach and it did not object to those countries rendering direct assistance to the national liberation movements. The Liberation Committee

was ready to accept any form of aid from any quarter, and would appreciate it if the Special Committee could have the General Assembly recommend support for the OAU Assistance Fund for the Struggle Against Colonialism and Apartheid.

- 73. Regarding the co-ordination of anti-colonial activities, the Executive Secretary of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa stated that the work of the Special Committee and that of the Liberation Committee were complementary and called for the establishment of firm relations between the two bodies in order to facilitate the exchange of views on matters of mutual interest. He suggested that communications addressed to OAU in Addis Ababa should, where appropriate, also be made available to the Liberation Committee in Dar es Salaam to facilitate contact with liberation movements. Further, in order to keep the liberation movements in Africa informed of the activities of the Special Committee, the Liberation Committee could be used as a medium for channelling relevant United Nations documents and publicity material to the liberation movements concerned. Regarding the work of the Liberation Committee itself, the Special Committee could be invited, where necessary and appropriate, and subject to satisfactory arrangements being made through OAU, to participate in some of the meetings of the Liberation Committee which would be of interest to the Special Committee. In addition, the Liberation Committee would be prepared to send to the Special Committee and the Department of Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories of the United Nations such information as they might require to enable them to discharge their responsibilities more effectively.
- 74. The Executive Secretary also commended the Special Committee for the initiative it had taken regarding the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies. As a result of that initiative, the Liberation Committee had had very fruitful discussions with UNESCO, which had subsequently approved projects submitted to it for assistance to liberation movements in southern Africa. He called on the Special Committee to continue to put pressure on the other specialized agencies to follow the example set by UNESCO.
- 75. Concerning the armed struggle in colonial Territories in Africa, the Executive Secretary stated that, on the whole, satisfactory progress was being made, particularly by PAIGC, FRELIMO and MPLA in the Portuguese Territories. Referring to the invitations extended by FRELIMO and MPLA to the Special Committee to visit the liberated areas of Angola and Mozambique, he expressed the belief that, should the idea of a visit be accepted, details should be kept confidential but that the decision to accept the invitation in principle should be made public. The Liberation Committee would guarantee the safety of the members of the Special Committee undertaking such a visit.
- 76. On the question of the possibility of the Special Committee holding a special session away from Headquarters in 1972, he stated that the Liberation Committee would lend its support for the holding of such a session, which might be held either in Europe or in Africa. The Liberation Committee had already done some preparatory work in connexion with holding a conference to which non-governmental organizations would be invited. Such a conference would not only boost the morale of the liberation movements but also would result in a better understanding of their struggle by peoples of the world. For its part, the Liberation Committee was ready to assist the Special Committee in the preparation and organization of such session away from Headquarters.
- 77. The Executive Secretary stated that the Liberation Committee considered the Comoro Archipelago to be a Non-Self-Governing Territory falling within the context of the Declaration and accordingly urged the Special Committee to take action on the question, as appropriate.

C. OBSERVATIONS

/See paragraph 18 of the present chapter/

- D. ADOPTION OF THE REPORT
- 98. The Ad Hoc Group adopted its report on 12 July 1971.
- 99. The representative of Sweden reserved the position of his delegation on the observations contained in the report. He stated that the observations were rather of the nature of recommendations or conclusions which fell outside the scope of the mandate of the Ad Hoc Group as defined in the decisions taken by the Special Committee at its 784th and 789th meetings, on 25 March and 7 April 1971. It was the opinion of his delegation that it should, in accordance with previous practice, be left to the members of the Special Committee themselves to draw their conclusions from the report in the course of the ensuing deliberations of the Special Committee.

APPENDIX I

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY THE CHAIRMAN ON 14 APRIL 1971

- 1. On 7 April 1971, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples decided to send an ad hoc group comprised of six of its members to Africa in order to obtain first-hand information on the situation in the colonial Territories in that continent and to consult with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and with the representatives of national liberation movements from the colonial Territories.
- 2. The decision of the Special Committee was taken within the context of General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI) of 27 November 1961 establishing the Special Committee, by which the General Assembly authorized the Committee to meet elsewhere than at United Nations Headquarters whenever and wherever such meetings might be required for the effective discharge of its functions. In arriving at its decision, the Special Committee was also guided by the programme of action adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970 on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Committee was mindful, in particular, that the programme of action contained a directive from the General Assembly to the effect that the Committee should continue to hold meetings at places where it can best obtain first-hand information on the situation in colonial Territories.
- 3. As it has pointed out in its previous reports to the General Assembly, the Special Committee holds the view that the best means for obtaining first-hand experience of the realities of the situation in the colonial Territories would be to visit these Territories themselves. Regrettably, such visits have not been possible, owing to the negative attitude of the administering Powers concerned. Nevertheless, by holding meetings away from United Nations Headquarters, or alternatively by sending small groups of its members to Africa, the Special Committee was able in the past to acquire a more direct knowledge of conditions in the colonial Territories in Africa and a deeper understanding of the wishes and aspirations of their peoples than would otherwise have been possible.
- 4. The Special Committee was particularly mindful of the constructive results achieved by sending an <u>ad hoc</u> group to Africa in 1970 to obtain information which would assist the Committee in the discharge of the tasks assigned to it by the General Assembly in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Declaration. The knowledge and understanding of the wishes and aspirations of the peoples of the colonial Territories in Africa which the Special Committee acquired as a result of that initiative furnished a very important element for the preparation of the above-mentioned programme of action. Moreover, the co-operation thereby established with OAU, and in particular with its Co-ordination Committee for the Liberation of Africa, as well as with its Administrative Secretary-General and of the Special Committee.

- 5. It is the confident hope of the Special Committee that the forthcoming visit of the Ad Hoc Group to Africa will further enhance the Committee's capacity to assist colonial peoples in their legitimate struggle to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. The information which the Group will obtain will no doubt enable the Committee to make specific recommendations to meet the urgent need of these peoples and of the national liberation movements, especially in areas which have been liberated, for assistance from Member States and the specialized agencies and enter organizations within the United Nations system, particularly in respect of education, training, health and nutrition.
- 6. The Ad Hoc Group of the Special Committee, consisting of the representatives of Bulgaria, Ethiopia, Sweden, Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania and Venezuela, and headed by the Chairman of the Special Committee, visited the following capitals for the approximate duration indicated below, beginning 10 May 1971:

Lusaka - 4 to 5 working days
Dar es Salaam - 4 to 5 working days
Addis Ababa - 2 to 3 working days

APPENDIX II

SUMMARY OF THE OPENING STATEMENT MADE IN LUSAKA, ZAMBIA BY MR. VERNON JOHNSON MWAANGA, REPRESENTATIVE OF ZAMBIA

- 1. On behalf of the Party, Government and people of the Republic of Zambia, Ambassador Mwaanga welcomed the members of the Ad Hoc Group to Lusaka and stated that his country was always happy to play host to the Special Committee and indeed to all committees of the United Nations. The Committee's effort to keep abreast of developments in dependent Territories deserved praise. It was a political imperative for the Committee continuously to maintain contacts with the liberation movements in order to keep in touch with the ever-changing stages of their respective struggles for freedom and independence. The Ad Hoc Group's presence in Zambia would afford the representatives of all liberation movements represented in Zambia an opportunity to provide members with first-hand information relating to the situation in their respective fatherlands. For its part the Government of Zambia would do its utmost as it had always tried to do in the past to make the Ad Hoc Group's stay both enjoyable and productive.
- 2. His Government had authorized him to state that it attached the greatest importance to the work of the Special Committee. The Government of Zambia was convinced beyond any doubt that the Committee had a vital and indispensable role to play in the continuing struggle to rid the continent of Africa of all vestiges of colonialism and oppression.
- 3. United Nations statistics showed that there were 28 million people still under colonial rule in various parts of the world. This was a clear indication of the grave task still confronting the Special Committee. It was his fervent hope that at the close of its deliberations, the Group would come out with a clearer picture of the situation in the dependent Territories of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe, Namibia, the Comoro Archipelago and Djibouti. This should be of great assistance to the Special Committee in its efforts to devise effective measures to hasten the road to freedom and independence in those Territories.
- 4. The international community had entrusted the Special Committee with the grave responsibility of ensuring that the obnoxious systems of colonialism, racism and racial discrimination were erased from the face of the earth. The Government of Zambia recognized that the mandate given to the Committee by the General Assembly of the United Nations would not directly dislodge the forces of evil in southern Africa but it was confident that the Committee would contribute in no small measure to the achievement of that worthy objective.
- 5. There had recently been a lot of criticism directed against the Special Committee Committee for being ineffective and worthless. That campaign against the Committee was being pioneered by imperialist Powers and their supporters who did not want the Committee to continue its important task of exposing the evils of colonialism and keeping the all-important question of colonialism alive in the eyes of the world. He was authorized to state categorically that Zambia did not

subscribe to the notion held in reactionary circles that the Committee had outlived its usefulness and that it should be disbanded. Nothing would be further from the truth. The Government of Zambia held the view that at this point in time, the existence of the Committee was absolutely vital. If the Committee was ineffective, the responsibility for that state of affairs could only be attributed to some Member States which gave the Committee half-hearted support at best and indulged in a policy of prohibitive procrastination. It was the considered judgement of the Government of Zambia that the Committee could make a positive contribution to the struggle for freedom and justice in the world.

- 6. The situation in dependent Territories in Africa was a source of grave concern to his Government and in sed to all peace-loving and free-loving people in the world. In Namibia, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and in all the other dependent or minority-ruled areas, the principles of human equality continued to be flouted with impunity of an unprecedented nature. Prospects for peaceful change in southern Africa were slowly but surely becoming remote, and unless the international community moved with deliberate speed to arrest the wrongs that had been inflicted on the inhabitants of these Territories, a major war of attrition was bound to erupt in that part of the world whose consequences would go far beyond the immediate frontiers of southern Africa sooner than the world was prepared to concede.
- 7. It was by no sheer coincidence that in 1971 the year specifically designated as the International Year to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination stock was once again taken of the situation in colonial Africa. Zambia appreciated and commended the Special Committee's efforts to speed up the process of decolonization in that troubled part of the world. The Ad Hoc Group's task was certainly not easy but he was confident that with the co-operation and encouragement of the international community the Group should be able to achieve the noble objectives of its mission. For its part, the Government of Zambia would continue to give fullest support to all efforts engaged in the liberation of southern Africa from the illegal and oppressive grip of minority régimes and would continue to regard the struggle against colonialism, racism and racial discrimination as a matter of national priority.

APPENDIX III

SUMMARY OF THE OPENING STATEMENT MADE IN DAR ES SALAAM, UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA, BY MR. MOHAMMED ALI FOUM, DIRECTOR OF AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST DIVISION, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

- 1. After welcoming the Ad Hoc Group to Dar es Salaam on behalf of the Government and people of Tanzania, and on his own behalf, the Director of the Africa and Middle East Division stated that the members of the Group would be meeting with representatives of the national liberation movements and other parties fighting against colonialism and imperialism in Africa and he wished the Group fruitful exchanges.
- 2. The Government of Tanzania had followed with great interest the work of the Ad Hoc Group in the great anti-colonialist city of Lusaka and it whole-heartedly congratulated the Group for it.
- The Government of Tanzania, the RANU and the Afro-Shirazy parties from which it received its guidance, and the entire population of the country were resolutely committed to the struggle against all forms of colonialism and imperialism. They gave their whole-hearted support to the just struggles of all peoples still under colonial domination and would continue to give such support in the future. They were united with all those who genuinely supported this cause and would continue unceasingly to promote this unity. knew that in spite of the hindrances put in its way by the enemies of freedom for the oppressed peoples that the Special Committee remained anti-colonial. The Government of Tanzania was convinced that within the limitations arising from the structure of the United Nations itself the Committee had played an important part in supporting the just struggles of the oppressed people in the colonies. while it understood and even appreciated the frustration of those who genuinely wished the Committee to do more in implementing its own resolutions, it wished to say to them again that it was not the Committee that was to blame. The finger should be pointed at those who, having the power and influence to render assistance to the anti-colonial movement, chose to give lip-service to it and even openly flouted the United Mations decisions on the question; those who, by their actions and attitudes, by economic and other sinister considerations, had chosen the enemies of the oppressed peoples to be their friends and had supported them even in the face of the rising tide of world public opinion against colonialism.
- 4. The task of the Special Committee was a great one. The work of the Ad Hoc Group in coming to Africa to meet with the representatives of the national liberation movements, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa in order to obtain first-hand information on the situation in the colonial Territories in the continent was also worth while. It was to be hoped that the Ad Hoc Group would find its visit useful and that the information it would be able to gather would be of help to the Committee in its work.

- 5. The colonial situation in Africa was the most dangerous one obtaining today. In the Territories under Portuguese domination, Portuguese colonialists had intensified their barbarous activities in reply to the victorious war initiative of Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) in Mozambique, the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MELA) in Angola and the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) in Guinea (Bissau). In Angola and Guinea (Bissau), Portuguese fascists were using chemical agents such as herbicides and defoliants as a last resort. In spite of the growing international support against the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique, the Portuguese bandits with support from South Africa and other imperialist countries were frenziedly carrying on work on that sinister project. But no force whatever would save Portuguese colonialism from its imminent doom. No weapons of whatever nature would suppress the people of southern Africa from wringing power out of the hands of the minority clique of white racists.
- 6. The Ad Hoc Group would have occasion to discuss with the liberation movements concerned with each of the colonial Territories, the specific questions related to that Territory. It would have an opportunity to discuss with them ways and means in which the Special Committee could render moral and material assistance to them, and it would also learn from them how best the Committee could meet its obligations to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.
- 7. If, therefore, he did not deal in any great detail with the situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination, Rhodesia, South Africa, the Comoro Islands, or the so-called French Somaliland, it was because the Ad Hoc Group would undoubtedly hear more from the liberation movements from those areas. He wished, nevertheless, to make a few observations about the situation in southern Africa.
- The nature of colonialism had not changed and would not change. The people of southern Africa were still exploited and oppressed. In fact, he had already alluded to the increased oppression in those countries arising from the fear that the oppressors had of the struggle of the people. It was imperative for the liberation movements in those Territories and for those who supported their struggle to increase their vigilance in dealing with the colonialists and imperialists. The Government of Tanzania condemned in an all-round way the British imperialists for having hatched the plot and prepared the ground for Ian Smith's illegal declaration of independence. That the British Government had looked on while the illegal independence in Rhodesia was consolidated by the racist minority was no accident. The Government of Tanzania squarely placed the consequences of that treachery against the Zimbabwe people on the British Government which up to that time had refused to take any concrete and positive action to end the rebellion in Rhodesia. Its withdrawal from the Special Committee was a further evidence of their cynical intentions to sabotage efforts of freedomloving people all over the world to end colonialism in that country. could be no other basis for independence acceptable to the Zimbabwe people except that of majority rule. Whatever deals the British Government chose to make with the rebels in Rhodesia, the Government of Tanzania would look at those deals as it had done in the past, and it rejected in advance any developments designed to legalize the minority régime and sell once and for all the rights of the African majority.

- 9. The United Nations, through the recommendations and reports of the Special Committee had condemned the imperialist countries whose economic and other interests in southern Africa impeded the decolonization of that region. While in Dar es Salaam, the Ad Hoc Group would learn more about the activities of these countries in South Africa, in Namibia, Angola and in the other Territories under Portuguese domination. The Government of Tanzania wished to point out most emphatically that the activities of foreign monopolies from the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, France, Italy and Canada were a stumbling block to the decolonization of the region. It called upon the international community to declare itself against those activities and give all round support to the struggle of the people in these countries. This was the most effective way in which the international community could show its commitment to justice and freedom.
- 10. South Africa had become an imperialist country and in seeking to find markets for its products outside its own borders, it was selling its so-called outward-looking policy. It was posing itself as a peaceful country and dangling the carrot of so-called co-operation to those who were willing to take it. The United Nations and the international community as a whole should beware of that sinister design. There could be no peace while the majority of the people in South Africa were oppressed. There could be no dialogue between that country and the rest of the world until the fascists in South Africa abandoned the maniacal and insane policy of apartheid. Those who supported that so-called approach should take heed and resist joining hands with those who had enslaved their brethren and who intended by deceit to recolonize independent Africa.
- ll. Finally, the Government of Tanzania hoped that the Ad Hoc Group would find ways and means by which the Special Committee and the United Nations as a whole could increase support for the national liberation movements in Africa. The United Nations and its specialized agencies had been giving assistance to the liberation movements but there were areas where more could be done by improving and eventually perfecting the machinery for co-operation. The Government of Tanzania called upon the specialized agencies to take more initiative in finding out the needs of the national liberation movements and responding to those needs quickly and positively.
- 12. The Government of Tanzania gave its whole-hearted support to the work of the Special Committee and, therefore, to the work of the Ad Hoc Group. The latter was most welcome in Dar es Salaam and it would find all the co-operation it needed to accomplish its task. In conclusion, he wished to pay homage to the gallant sons and daughters of Africa who had taken up arms to recover their rights from their oppressors and who by their initiative, were creating the foundation of lasting freedom in Africa and in the world.

APPENDIX IV

STATEMENTS BY THE CHAIRMAN

Statement_at the opening meeting in Lusaka, Zambia

- 1. On behalf of all the members of the Ad Hoc Group of the Special Committee, and on my own behalf as Chairman, I wish to express our deep appreciation to Ambassador V.J. Mwaanga for his statement, which merits the Group's most careful attention. The views expressed by Ambassador Mwaanga will undoubtedly be of great assistance to the Ad Hoc Group in its work.
- 2. The Ad Hoc Group is deeply grateful to the President, the Government and the people of Zambia for making it possible for us to hold our meetings in this historic capital, Lusaka. Since its establishment in 1962, the Special Committee has had the singular honour of forging special relations with the Government and people of Zambia by its periodic meetings in this beautiful country. The very fact of our meeting here today is a clear affirmation of the importance the Government and people of Zambia attach to the work of the Special Committee and the recognition on the part of the Committee of the important place occupied by Zambia in the struggle for the total liberation of the African continent.
- 3. Under the dynamic and able leadership of President Kaunda, the Government and people of Zambia, at great sacrifice to themselves, have championed and continue to champion the cause of self-determination and independence for all colonial countries and peoples, particularly in southern Africa. Sharing a common border with the reactionary régimes of southern Africa, Zambia has faced the bitter realities of this political confrontation with a courage and fortitude that have made it a haven and a focal meeting place for national liberation movements on the African continent. It is for these very reasons that meetings of the Special Committee in Zambia have been so fruitful, and it is for these reasons too that the Ad Hoc Group of the Special Committee is here to hold meetings with leaders of national liberation movements.
- 4. In declaring open the first meeting of the Ad Hoc Group of the Special Committee, I wish to take this opportunity to welcome the leaders of national liberation movements who are gathered here today in this conference hall to hold discussions with us on the present state of the struggle for self-determination and independence in colonial Territories in Africa. I also wish to take this opportunity to assure them of the full co-operation of the Group in the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it by the Special Committee.
- 5. For the Special Committee, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations last year had added significance in that it coincided with the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. As you are all aware, this historic Declaration gave birth to the Special Committee, which has since its inception championed the cause of all subjugated and oppressed peoples at the United Nations and given them a forum for making their views known to the international community. Notwithstanding its positive contribution to the decolonization of the countries that became

independent in the last decade, the Special Committee viewed the tenth anniversary of the Declaration as a period for serious stock-taking. It was fully aware at the time that ten years after the adoption of the Declaration there were still some 28 million people in 44 dependent Territories who still lived under alien rule and were thus deprived of their fundamental rights to freedom and independence. The serious situation in southern Africa today is a cause of deep concern to the Special Committee. More than 18 million people remain enslaved by the oppressive régimes of colonialists and racists and suffer inhuman conditions of discrimination and repression. The problem of colonialism is thus compounded by the denial of elementary human rights.

- 6. During the lifetime of the United Nations great progress has been made in the sense that many States have achieved independence; but it is none the less extraordinary and distressing to see the continuing resistance to the final elimination of colonialism and the long delay in the culmination of the process whereby many peoples have secured and exercised the right of self-determination. The situation in Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Namibia the persistence of colonial oppression in these countries entails an intolerable form of political, social and economic stagnation which is a denial of the will of the vast majority of the members of the international community who want to see the triumph of liberty, independence and progress for all men and peoples.
- 7. To change the situation and give new impetus to the drive for self-determination and independence, the General Assembly, on the initiative of the Special Committee, adopted on 12 October 1970 in resolution 2621 (XXV) a new programme of action for the full implementation of the Delcaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and peoples. In this resolution, the Assembly declares that the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations is a crime constituting a violation of the Charter and resolution 1514 (XV), and reaffirms the inherent right of colonial peoples to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against colonial Powers which suppress their aspiration for freedom and independence. Special attention is given to the problems of southern Africa as follows:

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- "(3) (a) Member States shall intensify their efforts to promote the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council relating to Territories under colonial domination;
 - "(b) In this conrexion, the General Assembly draws the attention of the Security Council to the need to continue to give special attention to the problems of southern Africa by adopting measures to ensure the full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and its own resolutions, and in particular:
 - "(i) To widen the scope of the sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia by declaring mandatory all the measures laid down in Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations;
 - "(ii) To give careful consideration to the question of imposing sanctions upon South Africa and Portugal, in view of their refusal to carry out the relevant decisions of the Security Council;

- "(iii) To give urgent consideration, with a view to promoting the speedy elimination of colonialism, to the question of imposing fully and unconditionally, under international supervision, an embargo on arms of all kinds to the Government of South Africa and the illegal régime of Jouthern Rhodesia;
- "(iv) To consider urgently the adoption of measures to prevent the supply of arms of all kinds to Portugal, as such arms enable that country to deny the right of self-determination and independence to the peoples of the Territories under its domination.
- "(c) Member States shall also intensify their efforts to oppose collaboration between the régimes of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal racist régime of Southern Rhodesia for the preservation of colonialism in southern Africa and to end the political, military, economic and other forms of aid received by the above-mentioned régimes, which enables them to persist in their policy of colonial domination."
- 8. Here I might mention that the programme of action was drawn up by the Special Committee only after a similar ad hoc group had visited Africa last year to ascertain the wishes of the leaders of national liberation movements in the matter. The knowledge and understanding of the wishes and aspirations of the people of colonial Territories which the Special Committee acquired through the visit of the ad hoc group are fully reflected in the new programme of action. The programme is therefore not only the work of the Special Committee but also that of the national liberation movements which provided the ad hoc group with the needed information.
- 9. Bearing in mind the new dimensions given to the Declaration by the programme of action, and particularly the contribution of the leaders of national liberation movements to the realization of the programme, the Special Committee authorized us to visit Africa as an Ad Hoc Group to maintain contact with representatives of national liberation movements and obtain first-hand information on the situation in colonial Territories in Africa. After hearing representatives of liberation movements here at Lusaka, and at Dar es Salaam, the Ad Hoc Group will proceed to Addis Ababe for consultations with senior officials of the Organization of African Unity on matters of common concern. Under the mandate given to the Ad Hoc Group by the Special Committee we have also been requested by the Committee, in pursuance of the new programme of action, to seek the views of national liberation movements on the possibility of the Special Committee holding a special session away from Headquarters during 1972.
- 10. In sending the Ad Hoc Group to Africa, the Special Committee decided to postpone taking final decisions on the Territories concerned until the report of the Ad Hoc Group becomes available, The Special Committee will thus be in a position to take into account the views of leaders of the national liberation movements of southern Africa when it formulates specific decisions and recommendations on African colonial problems. The Ad Hoc Group therefore looks forward to holding fruitful discussions with national liberation movements to fulfil the mandate entrusted to it by the Special Committee.

11. In conclusion, I should like to reiterate that it is indeed a great pleasure for the Ad Hoc Group of the Special Committee to be in Zambia. It is our hope that our meetings here in Lusaka will throw new light on colonial problems in Africa and enable the Special Committee to arrive at conclusions and recommendations which will contribute to a speedy solution consistent with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Statement at the opening meeting in Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania

- 1. On behalf of all the members of the Ad Hoc Group of the Special Committee, I wish to express our sincere thanks to Mr. Mohammed Ali Foum for attending our opening meeting, and to express our deep appreciation for his important statement which will of course be given the most serious consideration by the Group.
- 2. I also wish to express our profound gratitude to President Mwalin. Nyerere and to the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania for their co-operation and assistance, making it possible for the Ad Hoc Group to hold its meetings in Dar es Salaam. As members of the Special Committee, we feel particularly welcome to the capital of a Member State which has contributed so much to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Special Committee, which we have the honour to represent, is no stranger to Dar es Salaam. Through the kind invitation of the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, the Special Committee has in the past held many fruitful meetings in this capital city.
- The total commitment of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania to 3. the liberation struggle in southern Africa has been recognized both at the United Nations and on the African continent. As Chairman of the Special Committee, I am even more aware of the importance Tanzania attaches to the work of the Committee and the dynamic and forceful role it has played in the implementation of the Declaration. Moreover, as the headquarters of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, the United Republic of Tanzania has added significance for the Special Committee. The fact that international and regional structures can both be found here confers a definite quality of universalism on the effort to liberate the peoples still under colonial rule and still suffering the domination which denies millions of human beings their fundamental human rights. If we think about the gravity of the situation in southern Africa and the suffering of 18 million men, women and children deprived of their essential rights and held under inhuman conditions of repression and discrimination, if we think about the threat it represents for world peace and co-operation, it becomes immediately understandable that the United Nations must formulate practical recommendations and suggest possible means of supplementing, as quickly and appropriately as possible, the moral and mat rial assistance available to those peoples fighting to be free and to secure the benefits to which each one is entitled in accordance with the principle of human dignity and equality. The Ad Hoc Group looks forward to strengthening still further the ties established by the Special Committee with the United Republic of Tanzania and the national liberation movements based in this country.
- 4. For the Special Committee, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations last year had added significance in that it coincided with the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial

Countries and Peoples. As you are all aware, this historic Declaration gave birth to the Special Committee, which has since its inception championed the cause of all subjugated and oppressed peoples at the United Nations and given them a forum for making their views known to the international community. Notwithstanding its positive contribution to the decolonization of all the countries that became independent in the last decade, the Special Committee viewed the tenth anniversary of the Declaration as a period for serious stock-taking. It was fully aware at the time that 10 years after the adoption of the Declaration there were still some 28 million people in 44 dependent Territories who still lived under alien rule and were thus deprived of their fundamental rights to freedom and independence.

- 5. The situation in Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Namibia the persistence of colonial oppression in these countries entails an intolerable form of political, social and economic stagnation which is a denial of the will of the vast majority of the members of the international community who want to see the triumph of liberty, independence and progress for all men and peoples.
- determination and independence, the General Assembly, on the initiative of the Special Committee, adopted on 12 October 1970 in resolution 2621 (XXV) a new programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In this resolution, the Assembly declares that the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations is a crime constituting a violation of the Charter and resolution 1514 (XV), and reaffirms the inherent right of colonial peoples to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against the colonial Powers which suppress their aspiration for freedom and independence. Special attention is given in the resolution to the problems of southern Africa.
- 7. Here I might mention that the programme of action was drawn up by the Special Committee only after a similar ad hoc group had visited Africa last year to ascertain the wishes of the leaders of national liberation movements in the matter. The knowledge and understanding of the wishes and aspirations of the people of the colonial Territories which the Special Committee acquired through the visit of the ad hoc group are fully reflected in the new programme of action. The programme is therefore not only the work of the Special Committee but also that of the national liberation movements which provided the ad hoc group with the needed information.
- 8. Bearing in mind the new dimensions given to the Declaration by the programme of action, and particularly the contribution of the leaders of national liberation movements to the realization of the programme, the Special Committee authorized us to visit Africa as an Ad Hoc Group to maintain contact with representatives of national liberation movements and obtain first-hand information on the situation in colonial Territories in Africa. Following the hearing of representatives of liberation movements at Lusaka and Dar es Salaam, the Ad Hoc Group will proceed to Addis Ababa for consultations with senior officials of OAU on matters of common concern. Under the mandate given to the Ad Hoc Group by the Special Committee we have also been requested by the Committee, in pursuance of the new programme of action to seek the views of national liberation movements on the possibility of the Special Committee holding a special session away from Headquarters during 1972.

- 9. In sending the Aa Hoc Group to Africa, the Special Committee decided to postpone taking final decisions on the Territories concerned until the report of the Ad Hoc Group becomes available. The Special Committee will thus be in a position to take into account the views of leaders of the national liberation movements of southern Africa when it formulates specific decisions and recommendations on African colonial problems. The Ad Hoc Group therefore looks forward to holding fruitful discussions with national liberation movements to fulfil the mandate entrusted to it by the Special Committee.
- 10. The Ad Hoc Group is confident that its meetings in Dar es Salaam with the OAU Co-ordinating Committee and the leaders of national liberation movements will contribute still further to a better understanding of Africa's colonial problems, thus enabling the Special Committee to reach conclusions and formulate recommendations that will promote a speedy solution consistent with the Declaration.
- ll. In declaring this meeting in Dar es Salaam open, I wish to take the opportunity to welcome the members of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee, with whom we look forward to holding very fruitful talks. I also wish to welcome to our meeting the leaders of national liberation movements who are gathered here today to deliberate with us. On behalf of the Ad Hoc Group I wish to assure them of our full co-operation in the discharge of the mandate entrusted to us by the Special Committee.

Statement at the opening meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

- 1. I have already had an opportunity to express the sincere gratitude of the Ad Hoc Group of the United Nations Special Committee for the hospitality and kindness shown to us in Addis Ababa.
- 2. I wish also to thank Mr. Diallo Telli for the thoughtfulness that has been displayed ever since our arrival and for the help we have been given in making our mission here a success. I am certain that the members of the Ad Hoc Group will wish to study carefully the important statement just made by OAU's Administrative Secretary-General.
- 3. The purpose of our visit to Addis Ababa is to hold consultations with OAU with a view to the adoption of better and more efficient procedures for co-ordination and collaboration with that Organization. The more knowledge we acquire, the better will be the Special Committee's understanding of the adjustments needed to ensure the best possible co-ordination of international and regional action to secure the early exercise of the right to self-determination by peoples still under colonial domination.
- 4. It will be recalled that at the outset no international supervisory machinery was established in the United Nations system for Non-Self-Governing Territories or Territories under colonial domination. In 1961, one year after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Committee on Decolonization was set up: it is that body which instructed this Ad Hoc Group to come to Addis Ababa, for the reasons already stated. The Committee has a mandate from the General Assembly to submit suggestions and recommendations in order to promote the implementation of the Declaration. It therefore has a duty to sustain the interest of the great majority of States in the elimination of colonialism and to press their demands for it; it also has a duty to provide a forum in which the desire of colonially subjugated peoples for

freedom and independence may be voiced. In the light of the wishes of colonial peoples, it makes appropriate recommendations and indicates to the Security Council the action that is required in each case. This explains the relationship between the Special Committee, which is an organ of the General Assembly, and the Security Council, which is the United Nations organ with the power to adopt mandatory action.

- 5. The Special Committee keeps alive the political struggle for the liberation of peoples under colonial domination. Even 25 years after the founding of the United Nations, this continent is still afflicted with a situation such as that in southern Africa, where racist and colonial régimes deny the fundamental human rights of 18 million men, women and children, together with their enjoyment of the benefits which equality and dignity confer on human beings.
- 6. While the United Nations can feel proud of what has been done to help bring independence and freedom to millions of human beings, it is disturbing and also disappointing to note that even now more than 28 million human beings are still denied their fundamental rights including that of self-determination, on which the enjoyment of the other rights depends. That is why, on the tenth anniversary of the Declaration, the Special Committee prepared a programme of action which the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session adopted in order to support and give new impetus to the efforts being made by the international community to ensure the full implementation of the Declaration. The programme of action unequivocally declares the further continuation of colonialism to be a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, and reaffirms the right of colonial peoples to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against the colonial Powers which suppress their aspiration for freedom and independence.
- 7. We all know that liberation is a task for these peoples themselves. The Special Committee and the United Nations do not claim to be leading this struggle. Nor do these peoples want direction from the outside. They have to decide on the methods and time-table of their own liberation struggle. The role of the anti-colonial forces at the United Nations is auxiliary and supplementary, but none the less essential: it is that of bringing constant political pressure to bear on those few States which are trying to thwart the wishes of the great majority of members of the international community in the matter of freedom and independence.
- 8. Furthermore, now that the United Nations has recognized the legitimacy of the independence struggle of peoples under colonial rule, and has urged States and the organizations within the United Nations system "to provide, in consultation, as appropriate, with the Organization of African Unity, moral and material assistance to national liberation movements in the colonial Territories", it is our responsibility to make suitable recommendations in order to improve co-ordination and co-operation between the international and the regional organization, the purpose being to establish the best conditions and the most appropriate machinery for this assistance to have the maximum effect. The main object of our consultations here is to put this General Assembly decision into practice.
- 9. We are confident that in co-operation with the OAU we will be able to establish the procedures best suited to the purpose of ensuring that our common efforts towards the liberation of peoples living in Non-Self-Governing Territories and our devotion to their cause, will produce greater results.



APPENDIX V

STATEMENT BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY ON THE OAU ASSISTANCE FUND FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIALISM AFT AFT THEID

- 1. The struggles of the people of South Africa, Muribia, Zimbabwe, the Territories under Portuguese domination and of other colonial peoples for freedom and dignity have been universally recognized as legitimate struggles deserving the support of the international community.
- 2. These struggles have been bitter and prolonged, and have reuslted in extreme hardships because of the intransigence and brutality of the oppressors, who have used their military and economic power to deny the rights of African people and have continued to receive assistance in various forms from their allies and from certain powerful economic and financial interests. Bloody colonial wars are being conducted by Portugal in its African Territories, and ever more repressive measures are being implemented by the Vorster and Smith régimes against the African peoples and all opponents of racism.
- 3. The OAU has pledged from its inception full support to the movements struggling for freedom in Africa.
- 4. The United Nations has repeatedly, and by overwhelming majorities, recognized the legitimacy of these struggles and appealed for moral, political and material assistance to the liberation movements through OAU.
- 5. While the African States have established an African Liberation Fund for support to the liberation movements, OAU has also welcomed support from outside Africa, bearing in mind that these struggles are of concern to all humanity.
- 6. The OAU has commended the assistance given by the socialist States and certain Asian and other States to the liberation movements.
- 7. The OAU has been heartened by the recent contributions made by Nordic countries and by the World Council of Churches and a number of church, trade union and other organizations to the movements struggling against colonialism and apartheid.
- 8. In order to facilitate and encourage widest support from all sources, OAU is setting up the Fund for Assistance to the Pecples Struggling against Colonialism and Racism, as called for in OAU resolution CM 209 (XIV) and resolution NAC/CONF.3/RES.6 of the Lusaka Conference Non-Aligned on States. This fund is distinct from the African Liberation Fund, administered by the OAU Co-crdinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa in Dar es Salaam. It will be limited to providing assistance for non-military purposes, in particular for economic and social reconstruction and for educational facilities in areas liberated from colonial rule. It will also be distinct from the Fund for the Placement and Education of Refugees, which is only concerned with certain urgent needs of the refugees, irrespective of their political activities.

- 9. The OAU hopes that this Fund will receive support from freedom-loving peoples from all parts of the world as it enables them to demonstrate by action their opposition to colonialism and apartheid.
- 10. The OAU welcomes direct contributions to the liberation movements. The Assistance Fund, however, will supplement such contributions by enabling donors who do not have direct contacts with the movements to participate in assistance.

Purposes of the Assistance Fund

- 11. The Assistance Fund will be utilized for:
- (a) Supply of food, educational materials, medicines, clothes, farm implements and other essential needs to the areas liberated from colonial rule;
 - (b) Assistance to the victims of oppression and apartheid in South Africa;
- (c) Informing the peoples of the world on the situation in the colonial Territories and South Africa;
- (d) Other appropriate economic, social and humanitarian assistance to the movements struggling against colonialism and apartheid.

Contributions

- 12. Contributions are invited from Governments, organizations and individuals. Contributions to the Fund may be made in convertible currency, or in kind (medicines, clothes, notebooks etc.). When offers in kind are received, the administration of the Fund will advise the donors to which addresses they may be shipped.
- 13. Contributions may be earmarked, if the donors so desire, for one or more of the purposes indicated above, or for one or more of the African Territories.
- 14. The Assistance Fund will acknowledge the contributions and provide information to the donors on the utilization of their contributions.

Administration

- 15. The Assistance Fund will be administered by the Bureau of Decolonization of the OAU Secretariat in consultation with an Advisory Committee.
- 16. Contributions and offers of contributions in kind should be addressed to: Organization of African Unity, OAU Assistance Fund for the Struggle Against Colonialism and Apartheid, P.O. Box 3243, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- 17. This is the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. A contribution to the Fund is one of the most meaningful ways to observe the International Year.
- 18. By your contributions, you will not only be assisting the oppressed African peoples in the most difficult days of their struggle, but also participating in the reconstruction of regions liberated from the ravages of colonialism.

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