

# The situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

During 1972, the General Assembly's Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples<sup>1</sup> continued to discharge its mandate as set forth by the General Assembly, and to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration in territories which had not yet attained independence.

In this chapter an account is given of the Special Committee's work in general during 1972, the consideration of its report by the General Assembly

and related action by other United Nations bodies. Details are given of the Special Committee's and the General Assembly's consideration of and recommendations on individual territories.

Information on the action taken in 1972 by the General Assembly, the Special Committee and other bodies on matters concerning Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the territories under Portuguese administration will be found in other chapters (see pp. 111-35, 602-25 and 584-601).

<sup>1</sup> See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50, resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960, containing text of the Declaration.

## General questions

### System of examination

During 1972, the General Assembly's Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples continued to use the methods of work developed

in preceding years and endorsed by the General Assembly.

Under this procedure, it examined special questions relating to the implementation of the Declaration as well as its implementation in individual

territories, the order of priority being decided on the basis of recommendations made by its Working Group.

To assist in its examination of conditions in each territory, the Special Committee normally has before it an information paper prepared by the United Nations Secretariat describing recent political and constitutional developments as well as current economic, social and educational conditions. This information is derived from published sources and, in relevant cases, from the information transmitted by administering powers under Article 73e of the United Nations Charter.<sup>2</sup>

In addition, the Special Committee requests the administering powers to submit information on political and constitutional developments in the territories they administer. The Committee hears statements from the administering powers, inviting those which are not members of the Committee to participate in its examination of the territories concerned; similar invitations may be extended to other States which are not members of the Committee and to the representatives of national liberation movements from colonial territories. Petitions are circulated and the Committee may decide to hear petitioners at its meetings. Also, the Committee is empowered to send visiting groups to territories for the purpose of obtaining first-hand information and to hold meetings away from United Nations Headquarters whenever required for the effective discharge of its functions.

The Special Committee adopts its recommendations in the form of a consensus formulated by its Chairman or a resolution adopted by vote. It establishes sub-committees whenever it considers them necessary.

Each year, the Special Committee adopts a report to the General Assembly which includes separate chapters on the situation in each territory

or group of territories which it has considered, as well as on special questions which it has decided to take up separately. It is on the basis of this report that the Assembly considers the implementation of the Declaration in general and with respect to individual territories.

The Special Committee held 61 plenary meetings and its Working Group and sub-committees a total of 55 meetings, between 21 January and 15 September 1972. The Committee considered general aspects of the implementation of the Declaration and also its implementation with respect to the following territories: Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, the territories under Portuguese administration, the Seychelles, St. Helena, Spanish Sahara, Gibraltar, the French Territory of the Afars and the Issas (formerly French Somaliland), the New Hebrides, Niue and the Tokelau Islands, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn, the Solomon Islands, American Samoa and Guam, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Papua New Guinea, Brunei, the Bahamas, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Montserrat, the Turks and Caicos Islands, the United States Virgin Islands, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and British Honduras. The Committee also carried out other tasks assigned to it by the General Assembly.

During 1972, the Sub-Committee on Petitions considered 55 communications, 52 of which it decided to circulate as petitions. It also submitted recommendations concerning petitions relating to Namibia and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

<sup>2</sup> For text of Article 73e of the Charter see APPENDIX II.

### Documentary references

Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, meetings 833-893. Sub-Committee on Petitions, meetings 170-184.

A/AC.109/L.762 (2 oral), 772, 773, 784-786, 792, 793, 806, 811, 816, 825. Reports (163rd-177th) of Sub-Committee on Petitions.

## General aspects of Implementation of the Declaration

### Consideration by Special Committee

That the goals laid down for dependent peoples in the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples<sup>3</sup> were still far from early, or in some cases peaceful, realization was noted with regret by a number of members when the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the

Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples convened in 1972. The majority of Committee members felt that the situation in the colonial territories in southern Africa, as well as in Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, had become in fact more acute and posed a most serious threat

<sup>3</sup> See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50, resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960, containing text of the Declaration.

to international peace and security. The members expressing this opinion stressed that the problems of those territories represented a challenge to the collective will and determination of the United Nations to assist effectively in the elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonialism.

Thus, the Committee, in carrying out specific tasks entrusted to it by the General Assembly or arising from its own previous decisions, decided to give particular attention to the major colonial problems. At the same time, the Committee, as in previous years, considered a number of general questions arising in connexion with the implementation of the Declaration and of other General Assembly resolutions relating thereto. Therefore, the Committee continued its study of the activities of foreign economic and other interests impeding the implementation of the Declaration and its study of military activities and arrangements by colonial powers in territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration. It also considered the compliance of Member States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on the question of decolonization, the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations, the question of sending visiting missions to the territories, and the question of publicity to be given to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization.

Within the context of General Assembly resolutions by which it was authorized to meet elsewhere than at Headquarters whenever required for the effective discharge of its functions, the Special Committee held a series of meetings in Africa between 10 and 28 April 1972 in order to underscore the solidarity of the United Nations with the colonial peoples struggling for freedom and to enhance the Committee's capacity to assist those peoples in realizing their aspirations. These meetings took place at Conakry (Guinea), Lusaka (Zambia) and Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), at the invitation of the Governments concerned. At the meetings away from Headquarters, a number of representatives of the national liberation movements from colonial territories in Africa appeared before the Committee.

In addition, the Committee, on the basis of a recommendation made by the Ad Hoc Group which it sent to Africa in 1971,<sup>4</sup> and availing itself of an invitation extended to it by the Partido Africano da Independencia da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), dispatched in early April a special mission composed of three of its members to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) for the purpose of securing first-hand information on conditions in those areas. The mission—consisting of the

representative of Ecuador, as Chairman, and the representatives of Sweden and Tunisia—visited the liberated areas from 2 to 8 April 1972, and subsequently submitted a preliminary oral report to the Special Committee while the Committee was meeting at Conakry.

The mission's observations and conclusions, which were reflected in a resolution adopted by the Committee on 13 April (see page 587 for details) were later set out in a written report which the Committee endorsed at a meeting on 1 August 1972. Among other things, the Committee, noting that the Government of Portugal no longer exercised any effective control over large areas occupied by PAIGC and the evident support which the latter received from the population in those areas, affirmed its recognition of PAIGC as the only and authentic representative of the people of Guinea (Bissau).

During the year, the Special Committee also paid close attention to the implementation of the Declaration in the colonial territories in other parts of the world and adopted a series of recommendations which are described elsewhere in this chapter. At the invitation of New Zealand, the Committee, in June 1972, dispatched a visiting mission to Niue consisting of its Chairman (the United Republic of Tanzania) and two other members (Trinidad and Tobago, Sweden) in order to obtain first-hand information on conditions in the territory and on the wishes and aspirations of its people and also to recommend practical steps for their advancement as soon as possible towards self-government and self-determination.

As reflected in the mission's conclusions and recommendations, which were subsequently endorsed by the Committee, the visit enabled the Committee to become fully apprised of the conditions prevailing in Niue, whose particular problems arising from its small size and population, geographic isolation and limited economic resources called for specific solutions with respect to the goals set out in the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on granting independence.

On the basis of the information derived by the mission from its discussions with a large segment of the population, the Committee considered that it was able to confirm that the overwhelming majority of the Niuean people were clearly in favour of full internal self-government and of maintaining the island's close relationship with New Zealand. The Committee made a number of detailed recommendations concerning the problems confronting the island and its inhabitants (see p. 573).

<sup>4</sup> See Y.U.N., 1971, p. 516.

Also, in accordance with an earlier decision, the Committee was represented by two of its members (Afghanistan and Yugoslavia) in the special visiting mission dispatched by the Trusteeship Council to observe the elections to the Third House of Assembly of Papua New Guinea, which took place in February and March 1972 (see p. 522).

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 and stressed the need to arouse world public opinion in order to assist the colonial peoples to achieve their independence. The Committee called for intensified, continuous and widespread efforts to disseminate information on the evils and dangers of colonialism, and particularly on the struggle being waged by the colonial peoples in Africa and their national liberation movements, and requested all States and organizations within the United Nations system, as well as non-governmental organizations, to co-operate in these efforts.

In this connexion, the Special Committee continued actively to enlist the support of non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization. In addition to the appearance before the Committee of representatives of such organizations, close contacts were maintained by the Chairman of the Committee who, in the course of the year, consulted with several non-governmental organizations at their headquarters.

On the question of military activities and arrangements by colonial powers which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration, the Special Committee, on 31 August 1972, adopted conclusions and recommendations proposed by its Sub-Committee I. Reservations to these were expressed by the representatives of the Ivory Coast and Sweden.

By these conclusions, the Special Committee among other things noted with grave concern that there had been no compliance with the provisions of General Assembly resolutions on this question, in particular the resolution of 20 December 1971 by which the Assembly had requested the colonial powers to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial territories and to refrain from establishing new ones.<sup>5</sup>

Furthermore, nothing had been done to comply in this respect with the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, embodied in the General Assembly's resolution of 12 October 1970.<sup>6</sup>

Despite these resolutions, the colonial powers continued, particularly in the large colonial territories, to engage in ever-increasing military activ-

ities aimed at subjugating the colonial peoples, providing protection for foreign monopolies and perpetuating colonialist and racist régimes.

The Committee drew particular attention to the situation prevailing in southern Africa where, it stated, the colonial authorities concerned, acting in concert, continued to strengthen their hold over Namibia, the territories under Portuguese domination and Southern Rhodesia by intensifying their military activities against the national liberation movements of those territories. The Government of South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia had strengthened their military forces, the former with arms and equipment which, the Committee stated, South Africa continued to receive from certain Western powers.

The Special Committee considered that all such activities, particularly the repeated acts of harassment and aggression by Portugal against independent African States neighbouring Guinea (Bissau), had created a critical and explosive situation which seriously disrupted peace and security in that part of Africa. The Committee also declared that there was increasing co-operation between the Government of Portugal and some of its allies within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which had enabled that Government to intensify its efforts to suppress the liberation struggles in its colonial territories.

With regard to the smaller territories, the Committee noted that the colonial powers and their allies had continued to use military bases and other installations contrary to the interests of the indigenous peoples. Many small colonial territories were in fact being used for military and strategic purposes.

The Committee concluded that its study revealed once again that military activities by colonial powers in the territories under their administration constituted one of the most serious obstacles to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and posed a grave threat to international peace and security.

On the basis of the above conclusions, the Special Committee recommended to the General Assembly that it strongly condemn once again the military entente between the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia aimed at suppressing by armed force the inalienable right of the oppressed peoples of the colonial territories in southern Africa to self-determination and independence. The Committee also recommended that the Assembly call upon all States to withhold all

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 521-23, text of resolution 2878(XXVI).

<sup>6</sup> See Y.U.N., 1970, pp. 706-8, text of resolution 2621(XXV).

support and assistance to the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal minority regime of Southern Rhodesia.

Further, it asked the Assembly: to demand the cessation forthwith of all colonial wars to suppress national liberation movements, the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the dismantling of military bases in such territories; to condemn Portugal for using chemical weapons in its war against the freedom fighters; and to request once again that colonial powers cease forthwith from alienating land for military installations and return land already alienated.

The Special Committee also asked the Assembly to request all States responsible for the administration of colonial and Trust Territories to comply unconditionally with the provisions of the relevant United Nations resolutions and to desist from utilizing the economic and manpower resources of the territories for military installations.

Finally, the Committee asked that the Secretary-General be requested to give publicity to the information on military activities by colonial powers in territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration.

In response to a request by the General Assembly at its 1971 session, the Special Committee in 1972 undertook a study of the question of the compliance by Member States with the Declaration and with other resolutions on decolonization, particularly those relating to the territories under Portuguese domination, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. On 28 August 1972, the Committee adopted a preliminary report on the question prepared by its Rapporteur and endorsed the conclusions and recommendations contained therein. Reservations were expressed by the representatives of Venezuela and Sweden.

On the basis of this study, the Committee concluded that, whereas the majority of Member States had scrupulously fulfilled the requests contained in those resolutions and in many cases had taken positive steps to assist the colonial peoples, an impasse had been created owing to the open defiance of United Nations resolutions by the colonialist and racist powers concerned and the refusal of certain States, particularly the major military allies and trading partners of those powers, to co-operate with the United Nations.

In view of the extremely serious situation in such territories as Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and territories under Portuguese administration, as well as the slow progress of decolonization in other territories, the Committee considered it imperative that the General Assembly should, among other things, call upon the Governments of Portugal and the United Kingdom to take

steps forthwith to transfer all effective powers to the peoples of the territories under Portuguese administration and Southern Rhodesia on the basis of majority rule.

The Committee recommended that the General Assembly should call upon the Government of Portugal to cease all military operations and repressive measures in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and withdraw all its forces from those territories, and also call upon the Government of the United Kingdom to bring down the rebellious minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and convene a representative constitutional conference of all leaders and national liberation movements. The Committee further recommended that the Assembly call upon the Government of South Africa to withdraw from Namibia immediately and unconditionally.

The Special Committee recommended that the General Assembly should request all States to comply strictly with the provisions of its relevant resolutions and with those of the Security Council. To that effect, States should be requested, *inter alia*: to mount a sustained campaign against the activities and practices of foreign economic, financial and other interests operating in colonial territories, as well as against all military activities and arrangements by colonial powers in those territories; to take measures aimed at enhancing public awareness of the need for increased assistance to the peoples of those territories and their national liberation movements, including in particular the populations in the liberated areas; and to intensify their efforts in the field of dissemination of information on decolonization.

In addition, the Committee considered that the General Assembly should again recommend to the Security Council that it urgently consider taking effective action under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter<sup>7</sup> in order to give full effect to the Council's own resolutions and those of the Assembly concerning these territories and, in particular: (a) to widen the scope of the sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia to include all the measures envisaged in Article 41 of the Charter; (b) to give consideration to the question of imposing sanctions against South Africa and Portugal; (c) to give consideration to the question of imposing fully and unconditionally, under international supervision, an embargo on arms of all kinds to the Government of South Africa and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia; and (d) to consider the adoption of measures to prevent the supply of arms of all kinds to Portugal.

<sup>7</sup> For text of Chapter VII of the Charter, including Article 41, see APPENDIX II.

As for the remaining territories, the Committee considered that the General Assembly should urge the administering powers concerned to apply without delay the principle of self-determination in accordance with the Declaration on granting independence, and that it should request those powers, having regard to the specific problems of many of these territories, to take effective measures to strengthen their economic infrastructure and to promote to the fullest possible extent their economic, social and educational advancement.

During its consideration of the question of visiting missions to territories, the Special Committee had before it a report by its Chairman on his consultations on the subject with representatives of the administering powers.

The Chairman advised that New Zealand had expressed its appreciation of the Committee's acceptance of its invitation to send a visiting mission to Niue and the Tokelau Islands. Although the mission which visited Niue in 1972 (see p. 540 above) had been unable, owing to circumstances beyond the control of either the Committee or the administering power, to include the Tokelau Islands in its itinerary, the Chairman had conveyed the hope that a mission to the latter might be undertaken in the future.

The representative of Australia, the Chairman's report continued, referring to arrangements whereby members of the Special Committee had participated in the visiting missions sent by the Trusteeship Council to Papua New Guinea in 1971 and 1972, considered that such joint missions were most appropriate in view of the fact that Papua New Guinea fell within the competence of both the Trusteeship Council and the Special Committee.

Further, the Chairman reported, the United Kingdom representative had stated that the basic position of his Government on the question of sending visiting missions to colonial territories remained unchanged. Although the United Kingdom did not categorically exclude for all time the possibility of receiving a visiting mission, little encouragement could be given to the Special Committee to believe that it would agree to such proposals. His Government considered that the material already at the disposal of the Committee was not in any way insufficient.

Finally, the Chairman advised, the United States representative had stated that his Government had again given careful consideration to the matter and, while it did not exclude the possibility in the future of making appropriate arrangements for a United Nations presence in the territories under its administration, it continued to believe that visiting missions to those territories were not warranted at the present time.

On 14 August 1972, the Special Committee unanimously adopted a resolution by which it noted the constructive results achieved in 1972 as a consequence of the dispatch of the visiting mission to Niue at the invitation of New Zealand and the Committee's participation in the special mission to Papua New Guinea at the invitation of Australia. The Committee, however, deeply regretted the negative attitude of certain administering powers which continued to ignore the repeated appeals of the General Assembly and the Special Committee in that regard, thereby impeding the full implementation of the Declaration on granting independence with respect to the territories under their administration. It called upon those administering powers to co-operate fully with the Committee by permitting the access of visiting missions to the territories under their administration, and requested its Chairman to continue his consultations with the administering powers concerned.

The Special Committee also continued its review of the list of territories to which the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was applicable.

The Special Committee adopted a recommendation, embodied in its report to the General Assembly, that Hong Kong and Macao and dependencies be excluded from the list of territories to which the Declaration on the granting of independence was applicable. The decision was taken without objection, it being understood that the reservations expressed by Fiji, Sweden and Venezuela would be reflected in the record of the meeting. The Committee adopted its recommendation on the basis of a proposal by its Working Group, which had received a letter dated 8 March 1972 from China stating that Hong Kong and Macao were part of Chinese territory occupied by the British and Portuguese authorities. The settlement of the questions involved, the letter had stated, was entirely within China's sovereign right. Consequently, they should not be included in a list of colonial territories covered by the Declaration on the granting of independence. China requested that they be removed from that list. (See also pp. 625-26.)

With regard to the Comoro Archipelago, the Committee, on the basis of a study by its Rapporteur, decided on 25 August 1972, by a roll-call vote of 17 to 0, with 2 abstentions (the Ivory Coast, Sweden), to recommend its inclusion in the list of territories to which the Declaration was applicable.

The Committee also considered the question of the applicability of the Declaration to Puerto Rico, in the light of communications addressed to it by Cuba, the United States and Chile.

In letters dated 9 February and 25 March 1972, Cuba maintained that Puerto Rico was not an independent territory but was under the colonial domination of the United States; the Assembly's resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960 (on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples) fully applied to Puerto Rico. On 7 June, Cuba transmitted a statement of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

In letters dated 28 February and 18 August 1972, the United States maintained that Cuba's request constituted interference in the affairs of the United States and of Puerto Rico and was a violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter.<sup>8</sup> The United States declared that the people of Puerto Rico had chosen their form of government in free and open elections. They had chosen to live in a democracy, under a Constitution of their choosing in free association with the United States. By its resolution of 27 November 1953, the General Assembly had acknowledged that Puerto Rico had achieved self-government.<sup>9</sup>

On 23 August 1972, Chile transmitted a statement by its Foreign Minister expressing the hope that the Special Committee would decide that the Declaration on the granting of independence was applicable to Puerto Rico.

On 28 August, the Committee, after discussion, adopted a resolution by which, recognizing the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence in accordance with the General Assembly's resolution (1514(XV)) of 14 December 1960, it instructed its Working Group to submit at an early date in 1973 a report relating specifically to the procedure to be followed by the Committee for the implementation of that resolution with respect to Puerto Rico. This resolution was adopted by a roll-call vote of 12 in favour (Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, India, Iraq, Mali, Sierra Leone, the Syrian Arab Republic, the USSR, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia) to 0 opposed, with 10 abstentions (Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Fiji, Indonesia, Iran, the Ivory Coast, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Venezuela).

In another action, the Committee—bearing in mind the progress towards independence made by the national liberation movements in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Mozambique, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, and mindful particularly of the need to maintain contact with these movements in the effective discharge of the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly—decided to consider inviting, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and through it, the representatives of the liberation movements concerned to participate, whenever necessary and

in an observer capacity, in its proceedings relating to their respective countries. The Committee further decided to recommend to the Assembly that it make available the necessary funds for this purpose in 1973.

#### Consideration by General Assembly

At its 1972 session, the General Assembly decided to give priority to the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Accordingly, it considered the question at plenary meetings held between 17 October and 2 November 1972.

The Assembly had before it the report of the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration covering its work in 1972. Chapters of the Special Committee's report dealing with the situation in specific territories were referred to the Assembly's Fourth Committee.

During the General Assembly's debate on the item, in which 62 Members participated, the majority of speakers expressed concern not only at the slow pace of decolonization generally, but also, and particularly, at the continuing impasse which existed in respect of the colonial territories in southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and at the seriousness of the situation resulting therefrom as revealed by the decision of the Security Council earlier in the year to hold a series of meetings in Africa for the purpose of considering questions relating to that continent (see pp. 70-89).

The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, Chairman of the Special Committee, voicing the view expressed by many other speakers, said that despite positive developments and the growing détente in many parts of the world, and the manifest will of the overwhelming majority of the world community to eliminate the remaining vestiges of colonialism, no fewer than 28 million people continued to be deprived of their right to self-determination and independence.

Most of those people lived in southern Africa under régimes which offered little hope, if any, of early or peaceful emancipation. Indeed, the situation in the colonial territories in southern Africa remained critical and explosive and posed

<sup>8</sup> Article 2, para. 7, of the Charter states: "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII."

<sup>9</sup> See Y.U.N., 1953, p. 539, text of resolution 748(VIII).

a serious threat to the peace and security of Africa and of the world.

The findings of the Special Committee's mission which had visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) and other information received by the Committee from the national liberation movements bore testimony to the barbarism of Portugal's colonial wars and that Government's increasing resort to the indiscriminate use of armed force, which had included acts of harassment and aggression against the peoples in neighbouring African States. As for Southern Rhodesia, the international community had witnessed wholesale violations of sanctions by a number of States, including a permanent member of the Security Council. South Africa continued to defy United Nations decisions calling for its unconditional withdrawal from Namibia.

That the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia were able to defy the international community and continue their ruthless oppression of the African masses was due to the duplicity of certain Western powers, particularly the military allies of Portugal and South Africa and their main trading partners, and the reluctance of those powers to co-operate with the United Nations in the application of effective remedies, the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania continued.

The meetings in Africa of the Security Council and of the Special Committee, as well as the Committee's special mission to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau), had served to focus attention on the burning issue of colonialism in Africa. There was a pressing need to mobilize world public opinion in support of the decolonization struggle and a concerted effort should be made in that connexion by all Governments and national and international organizations.

With regard to decolonization problems in other parts of the world, the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania appealed to the administering powers concerned to co-operate in carrying out the specific recommendations made by the General Assembly and the Special Committee, particularly to permit access by United Nations visiting missions to territories under their administration. In this connexion he cited the constructive achievements of the missions to Niue and Papua New Guinea in 1972.

In the course of the debate, most of the speakers stressed their deep concern at the gravity of the situation prevailing in southern Africa and in Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and at the slow progress of decolonization in other parts of the world. The majority of the speakers considered that the problems posed by colonialism and racism

in Africa were among the most critical problems confronting the United Nations and that energetic and urgent measures for their solution were required in the interests of international peace and security. Among those holding such views were the representatives of Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bulgaria, Burundi, the Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Chile, China, the Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, the Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, the Ukrainian SSR, the USSR, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia.

Many of these speakers—including particularly the representatives of Albania, Burundi, the Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, the Congo, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, the Ukrainian SSR, the USSR and Zambia—considered that among the fundamental reasons for the slow progress of decolonization in southern Africa were the close military alliance existing between Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and the support and assistance which those régimes received from certain Western powers which were their military allies and main trading partners.

These speakers also stressed the important role played by international economic and financial interests which, they said, were collaborating with the colonial régimes in the exploitation of the territories' natural and human resources. Such support had enabled the colonial régimes to sustain, and indeed substantially increase, their military expenditures and their capacity for repression. Member States which directly or indirectly assisted the colonial régimes, or which failed to prevent their nationals from rendering such assistance, bore an important responsibility for the perpetuation of the colonial situations in southern Africa which were threatening international peace and security.

Many Members—including for instance Bulgaria, Cameroon, the Congo, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Iran, the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, the Libyan Arab Republic, Mauritius, Morocco, Nepal, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, the Ukrainian SSR, the USSR, Yemen and Zambia—referred to the failure of some Member States to carry out effectively the decisions

of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. Especially mentioned were the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council which, these Members said, were being violated overtly or covertly by a large number of States, among them a permanent member of the Security Council, or by their nationals. The view was expressed that the sanctions would not succeed unless they were made comprehensive, effectively supervised and enforced by all States and unless widespread publicity was given to violations. Kenya, among others, called for complete severance by Member States of all relations with Southern Rhodesia. These Members maintained that the primary responsibility for resolving the situation in Southern Rhodesia lay with the Government of the United Kingdom, as the administering power. Among other measures, they urged the United Kingdom to secure the release of political prisoners and to convene a constitutional conference of all leaders and national liberation movements representing the people of the territory, with a view to establishing a representative government based on majority rule.

Bulgaria, Kenya, Hungary, Mali, Mauritius, Mongolia, Sierra Leone and the Ukrainian SSR considered that a further obstacle to decolonization was the maintenance by the administering powers or their allies of military bases in the colonial territories.

Increased support and assistance—including material aid—to the colonial peoples in Africa and greater recognition of and contact with their national liberation movements was called for by many speakers. The initiative taken by the Special Committee in sending a mission to the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) and the decision of the Assembly's Fourth Committee to grant observer status to the national liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde as the authentic representatives of the true aspirations of their peoples were mentioned in this connexion. Speakers urged that the national liberation movements concerned be accorded formal status in the United Nations and its related institutions as the authentic representatives of their peoples.

In addition, many felt that an intensive and widespread campaign of publicity should be undertaken, aimed at mobilizing world public opinion in support of the decolonization struggle. Members expressing this view included Burundi, Chile, Gabon, Ghana, Hungary, Iran, Liberia, Pakistan, Romania, Sudan, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia and the United Republic of Tanzania.

In this context, 42 Members proposed the holding of an annual week of solidarity with the

colonial peoples of southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde who were fighting for independence and equal rights.

While the majority of statements in the debate dealt principally with colonialism in Africa, a number of speakers referred also to colonial problems elsewhere, notably in the Pacific and Caribbean regions. Afghanistan, Egypt, Ghana, the Ivory Coast, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Trinidad and Tobago, and Yugoslavia, among others, considered that, although the process of decolonization in these regions was slow, progress had been achieved in respect of several territories.

Particular mention was made of the positive results achieved in regard to Niue and Papua New Guinea which had been visited during the year by members of the Special Committee at the invitation of New Zealand and Australia. These two administering powers, it was said, had set an example in regard to granting access by visiting missions to territories under their administration which other administering powers were urged to follow.

At the conclusion of the debate, the representative of Portugal said that his Government had repeatedly stated that there were no liberated areas either in Portuguese Guinea or in any of its other overseas provinces in Africa. He proposed that the General Assembly should appoint, in agreement with the Government of Portugal, a representative for the purpose of verifying the alleged existence of such areas in the overseas province of Guinea.

Speaking in reply, the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that the existence of liberated areas in Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and Angola had been attested to by various visiting groups, including in particular the Special Committee's three-member mission to Guinea (Bissau). The General Assembly, he stated, would not be interested in sending a representative to the territories merely to confirm what it already knew.

The representative of South Africa said that the proposals before the Assembly on this question evidenced a steady and apparently largely unconscious drift of the Organization to a position of endorsing or condoning violence. The euphemistic use of words such as "liberation" or "necessary means at their disposal" could not cloak the trend with legitimacy or justification.

On 2 November 1972, the General Assembly, with the adoption of resolution 2908(XXVII), took a series of decisions on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

By the preamble of this resolution, the Assembly

among other things expressed deep concern that 12 years after the adoption of the Declaration on the granting of independence, millions of persons still lived under conditions of ruthless colonialist and racist repression. It deplored the continued refusal of colonial powers, especially Portugal and South Africa, to implement the Declaration, as well as the policy of those States which, in defiance of United Nations resolutions, continued to cooperate with Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia.

The Assembly reaffirmed its view that racial discrimination in colonial territories could be eradicated fully by implementation of the Declaration.

Also, it noted with satisfaction the proposed arrangements for participation in the Special Committee's work of national liberation movements and leaders of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia.

Citing the constructive results achieved as a consequence of the Special Committee's visiting mission to Niue, dispatched at the invitation of New Zealand, and of its participation, at the invitation of Australia, in the United Nations Visiting Mission to observe elections in Papua New Guinea, it noted with regret the negative attitude of other administering powers to the sending of similar visiting missions to territories under their administration.

By the operative part of the resolution, the Assembly among other things:

(1) reaffirmed its resolution of 14 December 1960<sup>10</sup> and all other resolutions on decolonization, and called upon the administering powers to take all the necessary steps to enable the dependent peoples of the territories concerned to exercise fully and without further delay their inalienable right to self-determination and independence;

(2) noted with satisfaction the work accomplished by the Special Committee, including in particular its successful series of meetings in Africa in 1972;

(3) approved the report of the Special Committee and its programme of work envisaged for 1973;

(4) urged 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;

(5) reaffirmed that the continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations—including racism, apartheid, foreign economic exploitation and the waging of colonial wars—was incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, the Uni-

versal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and posed a threat to international peace and security;

(6) reaffirmed 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 noted with satisfaction the progress made by the national liberation movements of the colonial territories, particularly in Africa, both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes, towards the national independence of their countries;

(7) condemned the policies, pursued by certain colonial powers in the territories under their domination, of imposing non-representative régimes and arbitrary constitutions, strengthening the position of foreign economic and other interests, misleading world public opinion and encouraging foreign immigrants while evicting indigenous inhabitants;

(8) urged all States and the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to provide moral and material assistance to all peoples struggling for freedom and independence in the colonial territories and to those living under alien domination—in particular to the national liberation movements of the territories in Africa—in consultation, as appropriate, with the Organization of African Unity (OAU);

(9) requested all States, directly and through their action in the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, to withhold assistance of any kind from the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and from the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia until they renounced their policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination;

(10) called upon the colonial powers to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial territories and to refrain from establishing new ones;

(11) requested the Special Committee to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration on granting independence and to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism;

(12) requested the Special Committee to make concrete suggestions which could assist the Security Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter with regard to developments in colonial territories which were likely to threaten international peace and security;

<sup>10</sup>See footnote 3.

(13) requested the Special Committee to continue to examine the compliance of Member States with the Declaration and with other resolutions on decolonization;

(14) requested the Special Committee to continue to pay particular attention to the small territories and to recommend to the General Assembly the most appropriate methods to enable the populations of those territories to exercise fully and without further delay their right to self-determination and independence;

(15) called upon the administering powers to co-operate with the Special Committee in the discharge of its mandate and, in particular, to participate in the work of the Committee relating to the territories under their administration;

(16) called upon the administering powers concerned to co-operate fully with the Special Committee by permitting the access of visiting missions to the colonial territories in order to secure first-hand information concerning the territories and to ascertain the wishes and aspirations of their inhabitants; and

(17) requested the Special Committee to continue to enlist the support of national and international organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization in the achievement of the objectives of the Declaration and in the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions, and in particular to assist the Economic and Social Council in a study to be made by the Council's Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations on how those organizations might assist in achieving the objectives of the Declaration.

General Assembly resolution 2908(XXVII) was adopted by a roll-call vote of 99 to 5, with 23 abstentions, on the proposal of Afghanistan, Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Chile, the Congo, Cyprus, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, the Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, the Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, the Ukrainian SSR, the United Arab Emirates, the United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia.

(For text of resolution and voting details, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

Reservations to several provisions of the resolution were expressed by Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Fiji, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Italy, Turkey and Venezuela. In particular, the representatives of Bolivia, Greece, Honduras and Venezuela said that they could not agree to the

inclusion in the resolution of phrases implying that the status of authentic representation could be granted to entities other than sovereign States or to phrases implying approval of the use of force to achieve the objectives of decolonization.

The representative of Cuba interpreted the Assembly's approval of the Special Committee's report, which contained a resolution relating to Puerto Rico, as recognition of the applicability to Puerto Rico of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Speaking in reply, the United States declared that the people of Puerto Rico possessed the right of self-determination; they had exercised it and were free to do so again. It was for the people of Puerto Rico to determine their future.

On 2 November 1972, the General Assembly took decisions on the question of dissemination of information on decolonization. Among other things, the Assembly approved the chapters of the Special Committee's report relating to publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, and reaffirmed the vital importance of urgently effecting the widest possible dissemination of information on the evils and dangers of colonialism, the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by the colonial peoples in Africa, and the efforts being made by the international community to assist in the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism in all its forms.

The Assembly asked 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. Also, it asked him: to intensify the activities of information centres, particularly in Western Europe, and establish additional information centres where appropriate, especially in southern Africa; to maintain a close working relationship with OAU; to enlist help from non-governmental organizations in the dissemination of relevant information; and to continue to publish certain specified publications in other languages besides English and French.

The Assembly asked Member States, in particular the administering powers, to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in disseminating information on decolonization.

Also, it invited all States, the specialized agencies, other United Nations bodies and non-governmental organizations to undertake, in co-operation with the Secretary-General, and within their respective spheres of competence, the large-scale

dissemination of information referred to above.

The Assembly asked the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee, to collect and prepare on a continuous basis, for redissemination by the Office of Public Information, basic material, studies and articles relating to various aspects of decolonization. Finally, it asked the Special Committee to continue to deal with this matter.

These decisions were taken when the General Assembly adopted resolution 2909(XXVII), on the proposal of Afghanistan, Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, the Congo, Cyprus, Dahomey, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Indonesia, Iran, the Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia.

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 113 to 2, with 12 abstentions. (For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

The General Assembly also decided to request the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to organize at Oslo, Norway, in 1973, an International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa.

This decision, which took into account a proposal by OAU to convene an international conference against colonialism and apartheid, was embodied in General Assembly resolution 2910(XXVII), adopted on 2 November 1972, by 118 votes to 2, with 7 abstentions.

(For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

The resolution had 68 sponsors, as follows: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Barbados, Bulgaria, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, the Congo, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, the Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, the Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, the Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, the United Arab Emirates, the United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia.

In addition, on 2 November 1972, the General Assembly adopted a resolution by which, after

noting with satisfaction the progress towards national independence made by the national liberation movements in the colonial territories of southern Africa and in Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, it appealed to the Governments and peoples of the world to hold annually a Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights. The Assembly proposed that the Week should begin each year on 25 May, which was Africa Liberation Day, and recommended that, during the Week, meetings should be held, appropriate materials should be published in the press and broadcast on radio and television and public campaigns should be conducted with a view to obtaining contributions to the Assistance Fund for the Struggle against Colonialism and Apartheid established by OAU.

These decisions were set forth in resolution 2911(XXVII), which was adopted by 91 votes to 2, with 30 abstentions, on the proposal of Afghanistan, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, the Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Chile, the Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Liberia, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, the Ukrainian SSR, the USSR, the United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

Among those expressing reservations was Guatemala, which stated that it had supported the resolution on the understanding that the national liberation movements referred to in the preamble were those movements in the colonial territories in Africa which had been described as legitimate by the General Assembly. Several Members which abstained explained their votes; these included Bolivia, Colombia, Italy, Sweden and Venezuela.

At its 1972 session, the General Assembly also adopted a resolution—2955(XXVII)—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.

By this resolution, which the General Assembly adopted on 12 December 1972, on the recommendation of its Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee, the Assembly among other things: reaffirmed the legitimacy of the peoples' struggle for self-determination and liberation from colonial and alien domination and foreign subjugation by all available means consistent with the United Nations Charter; condemned all those Governments, particularly the Governments of

Portugal and South Africa, which persistently refused to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other relevant resolutions; condemned the policies of those States members of NATO and other powers which assisted Portugal and other racist régimes in Africa and elsewhere in their suppression of the peoples' human rights; and decided to examine ways and means of extending maximum assistance to the peoples of the liberated areas, colonial territories and territories under alien subjugation. (For text of resolution 2955(XXVII), see pp. 438-39.)

Also, by resolution 2993(XXVII), concerning the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted on 15 December 1972, on the recommendation of its First Committee, the General Assembly among other things urged all States to take measures towards the elimination of armed conflicts which threatened international peace and security and of colonialism, racism and other situations persisting in different areas of the world which prevented peoples from exercising their right to self-determination and independence. (For text of resolution 2993(XXVII), see pp. 63-64.)

### Documentary references

#### Consideration by Special Committee

Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, meetings 833-893.

A/8723/Rev.1 Report of Special Committee (covering its work during 1972), Chapters I-XXVII.

#### Consideration by General Assembly

General Assembly—27th session

Fifth Committee, meeting 1517.

Plenary meetings 2064-2074, 2078, 2104.

A/8701. Report of Secretary-General on work of the Organization, 16 June 1971-15 June 1972, Part Two, Chapter I A and C.

A/8701/Add.1. Introduction to report of Secretary-General, August 1972, Section VII, 9th and 10th paras.

A/8723/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (covering its work during 1972). Chapter I: Establishment, organization and activities of Special Committee; Chapter II: Meetings held away from Headquarters, 1972; Chapter III: Compliance of Member States with Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on question of decolonization, particularly those relating to territories under Portuguese domination, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia; Chapter IV: Question of sending visiting missions to territories; Chapter VI: Military activities and arrangements by colonial powers in territories under their administration which might be impeding implementation of Declaration.

A/8845. Letter of 30 September 1972 from Minister for Foreign Affairs of German Democratic Republic to President of General Assembly.

A/8853. Note by President of General Assembly (transmitting letter of 19 October 1972 from Secretary-General of Partido Africano da Independencia da Guiné e Cabo Verde).

A/8857. Letter of 20 October 1972 from Portugal.

A/L.677 and Add.1. Afghanistan, Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Chile, Congo, Cyprus, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan,

Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia: draft resolution.

A/C.5/1455. Administrative and financial implications of 55-power draft resolution, A/L.677. Statement by Secretary-General.

A/8708/Add.3, A/8867. Administrative and financial implications of, inter alia, 55-power draft resolution, A/L.677. Reports of Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) and Fifth Committee.

Resolution 2908(XXVII), as proposed by 55 powers, A/L.677, adopted by Assembly on 2 November 1972, meeting 2078, by roll-call vote of 99 to 5, with 23 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: France, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom, United States.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Uruguay.

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

the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration, contained in its resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970,

Recalling all its previous resolutions concerning the implementation of the Declaration, in particular resolution 2878 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971,

Deeply concerned that twelve years after the adoption of the Declaration many Territories are still under colonial and alien domination and that millions of oppressed persons live under conditions of ruthless and blatant colonialist and racist repression,

Deeply deploring the continued refusal of the colonial Powers, especially Portugal and South Africa, to implement the Declaration and other relevant resolutions on decolonization, particularly those relating to the Territories under Portuguese domination, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia,

Strongly deploring the policies of those States which, in defiance of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, continue to co-operate with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and with the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia,

Deeply disturbed at the intransigent attitude of certain administering Powers which, despite the repeated appeals addressed to them by the General Assembly and the Special Committee, persist in their refusal to co-operate with the Special Committee in the discharge of the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly,

Reaffirming its view that racial discrimination in colonial Territories can be eradicated fully and with the greatest speed by the faithful and complete implementation of the Declaration,

Noting with satisfaction the proposed arrangements relating to the participation in the work of the Special Committee of representatives of the national liberation movements and leaders of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia,

Bearing in mind the constructive results achieved as a consequence of the dispatch in June 1972 of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Niue, at the invitation of the Government of New Zealand, and of the participation of the Special Committee in the United Nations Visiting Mission to observe the elections to the Third House of Assembly of Papua New Guinea in February 1972, at the invitation of the Government of Australia, and noting with deep regret the negative attitude of certain administering Powers which continue to ignore the repeated appeals made by the General Assembly and the Special Committee concerning the sending of United Nations visiting missions to the Territories under their administration,

1. Reaffirms its resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) and all other resolutions on decolonization, and calls upon the administering Powers, in accordance with those resolutions, to take all the necessary steps to enable the dependent peoples of the Territories concerned to exercise fully and without further delay their inalienable right to self-determination and independence;

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, including in particular its successful series of meetings held in Africa in April 1972, 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 1972, including the programme of work envisaged for 1973;

4. Urges 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 resolutions of the United Nations;

5. Reaffirms that the continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations—including racism, apartheid and activities of foreign economic and other interests which exploit colonial peoples, as well as the waging of colonial wars to suppress the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories in Africa—is incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and poses a threat to international peace and security;

6. 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 by the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories, particularly in Africa, both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes, towards the national independence of their countries;

7. Condemns the policies, pursued by certain colonial Powers in the Territories under their domination, of imposing non-representative régimes and arbitrary 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;

8. Urges all States and the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to provide moral and material assistance to all peoples struggling for their freedom and independence in the colonial Territories and to those living under alien domination—in particular to the national liberation movements of the Territories in Africa—in consultation, as appropriate, with the Organization of African Unity;

9. Requests all States, directly and through their action in the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, to withhold or continue to withhold assistance of any kind from the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and from the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia until they renounce their policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination;

10. Calls upon the colonial Powers to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones;

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

12. Requests the Special Committee to make concrete suggestions which could assist the Security Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter with regard to developments in colonial Territories that

are likely to threaten international peace and security, and recommends that the Council take such suggestions fully into consideration;

13. Requests the Special Committee to continue to examine the compliance of Member States with the Declaration and with other relevant resolutions on decolonization, particularly those relating to the Territories under Portuguese domination, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia;

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 further delay their right to self-determination and independence;

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

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

17. Requests the Special Committee to continue to enlist the support of national and international organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization in the achievement of the objectives of the Declaration and in the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and in particular to assist the Economic and Social Council in the study envisaged in Council resolution 1651 (LI) of 29 October 1971;

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 on decolonization adopted by the General Assembly and the Special Committee.

A/L.678 and Add.1,2. Afghanistan, Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Congo, Cyprus, Dahomey, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Indonesia, Iran, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia: draft resolution.

A/C.5/1456 and Corr.1. Administrative and financial implications of 47-power draft resolution, A/L.678. Statement by Secretary-General.

A/8708/Add.3, A/8867. Administrative and financial implications of, inter alia, 47-power draft resolution A/L.678. Reports of ACABQ and Fifth Committee.

Resolution 2909 (XXVII), as proposed by 47 powers, A/L.678, adopted by Assembly on 2 November 1972, meeting 2078, by 113 votes to 2, with 12 abstentions.

The General Assembly,

Having examined the chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating

to the question of publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization,

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

Recalling further its resolution 2879 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971 concerning the dissemination of information on decolonization,

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

Taking into account the suggestions of the Special Committee as well as the views of the Office of Public Information on the implementation of these suggestions, as reflected in the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee,

Recognizing the importance of publicity as an instrument for furthering the aims and purposes of the Declaration and the need for the Office of Public Information to intensify its efforts to acquaint world public opinion with all aspects of the problems of decolonization,

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

Noting with satisfaction the arrangements made by the Special Committee with a view to assisting the Office of Public Information in the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee relating to the dissemination of information on decolonization,

1. Approves the chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the question of publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization;

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

3. 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 and, inter alia:

(a) To intensify the activities of all information centres, particularly those located in Western Europe, and also to establish additional information centres where appropriate, especially in southern Africa;

(b) To maintain a close working relationship with the Organization of African Unity by holding periodic consultations and a systematic exchange of the relevant information with that organization;

(c) To enlist, from the non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council and from those non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization, support in the dissemination of the relevant information;

(d) To continue to publish, in consultation with the Special Committee, selected issues of the periodical Objective: Justice and the bulletin "United Nations and Southern Africa" in other languages besides English and French;

4. Requests Member States, in particular the administering Powers, to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in the discharge of the tasks entrusted to him under paragraph 3 above;

5. Invites all States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council, as well as other non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization, to undertake or intensify, in co-operation with the Secretary-General and within their respective spheres of competence, the large-scale dissemination of the information referred to in paragraph 2 above;

6. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee, to collect and prepare on a continuous basis, for redissemination by the Office of Public Information, basic material, studies and articles relating to various aspects of the problems of decolonization;

7. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Special Committee on the implementation of the present resolution;

8. Requests the Special Committee to continue to seek suitable means for the effective dissemination of information on decolonization and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

A/L.679 and Corr.1 and Add.1-3. Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Barbados, Bulgaria, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia: draft resolution.

A/C.5/1457. Administrative and financial implications of 68-power draft resolution, A/L.679 and Corr.1. Statement by Secretary-General.

A/8708/Add.3, A/8867. Administrative and financial implications of, inter alia, 68-power draft resolution, A/L.679 and Corr.1. Reports of ACABQ and Fifth Committee.

Resolution 2910(XXVII), as proposed by 68 powers, A/L.679 and Corr.1, adopted by Assembly on 2 November 1972, meeting 2078, by 118 votes to 2, with 7 abstentions.

The General Assembly,  
Recalling its resolution 2505(XXIV) of 20 November

1969, in which it expressed the firm intention of the United Nations, acting in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, to intensify its efforts to find a solution to the present grave situation in southern Africa,

Taking into account the proposal of the Organization of African Unity to convene an international conference against colonialism and apartheid,

1. Requests the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, to organize at Oslo in 1973 an International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa and authorizes him to provide the necessary staff and services for the Conference;

2. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session on the organization and results of the Conference.

A/L.680 and Add.1-3. Afghanistan, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Chile, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Liberia, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia, Zambia: draft resolution.

Resolution 2911(XXVII), as proposed by 42 powers, A/L.680, adopted by Assembly on 2 November 1972, meeting 2078, by 91 votes to 2, with 30 abstentions.

The General Assembly,

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

Noting with satisfaction the progress towards national independence and freedom made by the national liberation movements in the colonial Territories of southern Africa and in Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes,

Conscious of the need of the peoples and the national liberation movements of those Territories for assistance and support in their struggle to achieve freedom and independence,

1. Appeals to the Governments and the peoples of the world to hold annually a Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights and proposes that the Week should begin on 25 May, Africa Liberation Day;

2. Recommends that, on the occasion of the Week, meetings should be held, appropriate materials should be published in the press and broadcast on radio and television and public campaigns should be conducted with a view to obtaining contributions to the Assistance Fund for the Struggle against Colonialism and Apartheid established by the Organization of African Unity.

#### Membership of Special Committee

A/8655. Letter of 7 January 1972 from Madagascar.

A/8846. Letter of 13 October 1972 from Ecuador.

A/8992. Letter of 25 January 1973 from President of General Assembly to Secretary-General.

A/8730. Resolutions adopted by General Assembly during its 27th session, 19 September-19 December 1972. Other decisions, p. 10.

### Implementation of the Declaration by specialized agencies and other associated international institutions

#### Consideration by Special Committee

In 1972, the General Assembly's Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples<sup>11</sup> again examined the question of the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations. The Committee considered this question at plenary meetings held between 16 May and 23 August.

The Special Committee had before it a report, submitted by the Secretary-General in accordance with a General Assembly resolution of 20 December 1971,<sup>12</sup> containing information on the implementation of the Declaration and other relevant Assembly resolutions by the following specialized agencies and international institutions: the International Labour Organisation (ILO); the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO); the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); the World Health Organization (WHO); the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; the International Monetary Fund; the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO); the Universal Postal Union (UPU); the World Meteorological Organization (WMO); the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO); the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD); the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO); the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF); the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR); the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); the League of Arab States; and the Organization of American States.

The Special Committee also had before it a report by its Chairman on consultations which had taken place between him and the President of the Economic and Social Council (see below).

During its consideration of the question, the Committee took into account the views which had been expressed by the representatives of the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and by representatives of the national liberation movements of colonial territories who had appeared before it at the meetings which the Committee held in Africa during April 1972, as well as the relevant conclusions and recommendations contained in the report of its special mission to Guinea (Bissau). The Committee also heard tes-

timony from a petitioner, Miss Barbara J. Rogers, who appeared before it on 17 August 1972.

In the course of the discussions, the representative of Trinidad and Tobago noted with satisfaction that several specialized agencies had sent missions to consult with OAU with a view to formulating proposals for assistance in the field of education and training to refugees from colonial territories in Africa. He considered it important that the several specialized agencies and institutions within the United Nations system which provided educational and training assistance should work out a co-ordinated plan of action and he urged that requests for such assistance should be broadened to include areas in which more than one agency could participate. He also suggested that provision should be made by UNDP to ensure that the financing of assistance to persons displaced from the colonial territories in Africa should not prejudice the development requirements of African Governments.

Several speakers, specifically Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, India and the United Republic of Tanzania, considered that, although a few of the specialized agencies and organizations -within the United Nations system had taken concrete measures towards implementing the Declaration, others had done little or nothing to comply with the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions. Both Bulgaria and the United Republic of Tanzania deplored, in particular, the attitude of the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund which, they said, had so far given no material assistance to the colonial peoples in Africa and had not complied with the Assembly's request that they sever all links with Portugal and South Africa.

While commending the action taken by ILO, FAO, UNESCO, WHO, UNICEF, UNHCR and UNDP to provide increased material assistance to refugees from the colonial territories in Africa, these representatives pointed out that as yet only UNESCO was providing assistance to the national liberation movements of those territories. In their view, assistance to refugees was not sufficient. What was needed was for all the specialized agencies and other United Nations organizations to draw up, in consultation with OAU, concrete programmes of assistance to the national liberation movements of the territories and, through them, to the peoples in the

<sup>11</sup> See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50, resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960, containing text of the Declaration.

<sup>12</sup> See Y.U.N., 1971, pp. 528-29, text of resolution 2874(XXVI).

colonial territories, and especially in the liberated areas of those territories. In keeping with the relevant United Nations resolutions, all the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system should redouble their efforts to alleviate the sufferings of the oppressed colonial peoples in Africa and should completely ostracize Portugal and South Africa.

On 23 August 1972, the Special Committee adopted a resolution by which, among other things, it:

(1) reaffirmed that 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 entailed 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 populations in the liberated areas of those territories;

(2) expressed its appreciation to UNHCR, to UNESCO and to those specialized agencies and other organizations which had co-operated in varying degrees with the United Nations in the implementation of the relevant Assembly resolutions;

(3) reiterated its appeal to the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and to all States to render, as a matter of urgency, all possible moral and material assistance to the peoples in Africa struggling for liberation from colonial rule, to initiate or broaden contacts with them in consultation with OAU, and in particular to work out and implement, with the active co-operation of OAU and, through it, of the national liberation movements, concrete programmes of assistance to the peoples of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, including in particular the peoples in the liberated areas of those territories and their national liberation movements;

(4) reiterated its request that the specialized agencies and other organizations, including in particular UNDP and the International Bank, 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 those refugees, and to introduce the greatest possible measure of flexibility in their relevant procedures;

(5) recommended that the General Assembly should strongly 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 in Southern Rhodesia, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Assembly and the Security Council;

(6) recommended that the General Assembly again urge the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, particularly the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund, to take all necessary measures to withhold financial, economic, technical and other assistance from the Governments of Portugal and South Africa until they renounced their policies of racial discrimination and colonial domination;

(7) recommended that the Assembly invite the specialized agencies to continue to examine, in consultation with OAU, procedures for the participation in conferences, seminars and other regional meetings organized by them, of representatives of the national liberation movements of the colonial territories in Africa, in an appropriate capacity;

(8) recommended that the General Assembly again request Governments to intensify their efforts in the agencies of which they were members in order to ensure full implementation of the Declaration on granting independence, according priority to aiding colonial peoples and their national liberation movements and, in this connexion, that the Assembly urge that the heads of the agencies submit to the respective governing bodies concrete proposals for aid; and

(9) recommended that the General Assembly ask the Secretary-General to prepare a further report on action taken to implement resolutions dealing with this subject and to assist the agencies in working out measures to implement this resolution.

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

This resolution was adopted unanimously on a proposal by Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Sierra Leone, the Syrian Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Yugoslavia.

Venezuela expressed reservations with regard to those provisions of the resolution which, in its view, did not take into account the constitutional positions of the various agencies.

The representative of Sweden stated that his Government, while supporting the idea that the agencies should assist peoples under colonial oppression and that the form of participation in agency meetings should be explored, did not advocate giving the national liberation movements equal status with Governments in the specialized agencies. Also, it opposed the suspension or expulsion of States from the agencies and did not

support appeals to withdraw aid from certain States, since those appeals were part of an expulsion process.

#### **Consideration by Economic and Social Council**

The implementation by the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was considered in July 1972 by the Economic and Social Council. Among other things, the Council discussed the report of its President on this subject.

In his report, the Council President stated that he had held consultations with the Chairman of the General Assembly's Special Committee on the implementation of the Declaration. They had agreed that significant progress had been made in aiding the refugees from colonial territories in Africa through the efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in co-operation with a number of specialized agencies and institutions within the United Nations system. However, the High Commissioner's capacity to help the refugees would be enhanced if host Governments were to give high priority to development projects carried out in co-operation with the agencies which would benefit the refugees, and if the Governments concerned would grant the refugees adequate legal status, including, among other things, work permits.

With regard to the participation of UNDP in assistance projects for African refugees, the Chairman of the Special Committee had noted the UNDP Governing Council's approval of a proposal for an agreement with OAU whereby such assistance could be provided in co-operation with OAU on the understanding that the host Governments would assume all counterpart obligations and that the assistance provided would be counted against the planning figures for the region. The President and the Chairman, having in mind the desire expressed by OAU that the assistance envisaged should not prejudice the development requirements of the Governments concerned, thought that the Council might consider requesting the Governing Council of UNDP to review the proposed agreement in consultation with OAU.

In this connexion, the two presiding officers noted that, following a joint mission of UNESCO and UNDP to Africa in 1971, the UNDP Governing Council had allocated the sum of \$353,600 to a project of educational assistance to peoples from the colonial territories residing in Guinea, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Zambia. This project had been formulated with the assistance of UNESCO and OAU and sponsored by the host Governments. The World Health Organization and

FAO had also indicated their readiness to assist in the preparation of other assistance projects. The two presiding officers were of the opinion that the formulation of the desired assistance programmes would be greatly facilitated if UNDP would finance the counterpart payments normally required of Governments. They also felt that wherever possible the scope of assistance programmes should be broadened so as to enable several specialized agencies to participate.

In the light of the findings of the Special Committee and of its mission to Guinea (Bissau), as outlined by the Special Committee's Chairman, there was an acute need for assistance to the national liberation movements, including the populations of areas liberated by them. The two presiding officers were of the view that the executive heads of the agencies should be invited to formulate and submit to their respective governing bodies or legislative organs, as a matter of priority and in co-operation with OAU, proposals for concrete programmes of such assistance.

The Council President also reported that he and the Chairman were concerned that some of the organizations of the United Nations system had not yet discontinued all collaboration with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa. In their view, compliance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions required that the agencies should sever all links with those Governments and refrain from any action which might imply recognition of the legitimacy of those Governments' domination of the colonial territories in Africa; this also implied severance of relations with any inter-governmental organization which recognized such claim.

On 28 July 1972, the Economic and Social Council took several decisions on the subject. Among other things, it endorsed the observations and suggestions contained in the Council President's report and recommended them for action by the specialized agencies and organizations within the United Nations system.

The Council requested its President to continue his consultations with the Chairman of the Special Committee, to seek, where appropriate, the views of OAU and to report thereon to the Council at an early date.

These decisions were set forth in Council resolution 1720(LIII), which was adopted, by a roll-call vote of 17 to 2, with 6 abstentions, on a proposal originally submitted in the Council's Co-ordination Committee by Barbados, Ghana, Hungary, India, Kenya, Niger, Pakistan, Peru, Sudan, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia and Zaire. The Co-ordination Committee approved the text on 26 July 1972 by 23 votes to 2, with 11 abstentions. (For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

### Consideration by General Assembly

General Assembly discussion of 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 took place mainly in the Assembly's Fourth Committee.

On M December 1972, the Assembly adopted a resolution setting forth its decisions on the question.

By the preamble, the Assembly among other things expressed its awareness of the urgent need of the peoples in all colonial territories, and particularly the national liberation movements and the populations in the liberated areas of some of those territories, for assistance from the specialized agencies and other organizations in the United Nations system, especially in the fields of education, training, health and nutrition.

It also noted that it had invited—through OAU—representatives of national liberation movements to participate as observers in its consideration of the territories concerned and had heard their statements on their reconstruction programmes in liberated areas.

By the operative provisions of the resolution, the Assembly approved the Special Committee's report on the question and reaffirmed 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 entailed the extension by the United Nations system of organizations of all necessary moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements, including especially the liberated areas of the colonial territories.

The Assembly expressed its appreciation to UNHCR, to UNESCO and to those other specialized agencies and organizations which had co-operated in varying degrees with the United Nations in the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. It reiterated its urgent appeal to all the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and to all States to render, as a matter of urgency, all possible moral and material assistance to the peoples in Africa struggling for their liberation from colonial rule and, in particular, to work out with the active co-operation of OAU and, through it, of the national liberation movements, concrete programmes of assistance to the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, including in particular the populations in the liberated areas of those territories and their national liberation movements.

Also, the Assembly reiterated its urgent request that the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, including in particular UNDP 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 those refugees.

It urged once again that the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system take all necessary measures to withhold any financial, economic, technical or other assistance from the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, and discontinue all collaboration with them until they renounced their policies of racial discrimination and colonial oppression.

Also, it requested the specialized agencies and international organizations concerned, in consultation with OAU, to ensure the representation of the colonial territories in Africa by their national liberation movements, in an appropriate capacity, when dealing with matters pertaining to those territories.

The Assembly recommended that all Governments should intensify their efforts in the specialized agencies and international organizations of which they were members in order to ensure the full and effective implementation of the Declaration on granting independence and other relevant United Nations resolutions, and that they should accord priority to providing assistance on an emergency basis to the peoples in the colonial territories and to their national liberation movements.

In order to facilitate such action, the Assembly recommended that the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system should request their executive heads to formulate and submit to their respective governing bodies and legislative organs concrete programmes of all possible assistance to the peoples in colonial territories and their national liberation movements, together with a comprehensive analysis of any problems involved.

Also, the Assembly asked the Economic and Social Council to continue to consider, in consultation with the Special Committee, appropriate measures for co-ordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system in implementing the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

Finally, the Assembly asked the Secretary-General to continue to assist those agencies in

working out appropriate measures to implement this resolution.

The Assembly adopted this resolution—2980 (XXVII)—by a recorded vote of 98 to 4, with 24 abstentions. It acted on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee, which approved the text on 6 December 1972 by a recorded vote of 85 to 4, with 23 abstentions.

The text was sponsored in the Fourth Committee by Afghanistan, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, the Congo, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kenya, Mali, Mongolia, Nigeria, Romania, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, the Ukrainian SSR, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia. (For text of resolution and voting details, see **DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.**)

At the time of the vote in the Fourth Committee, a number of Members, including Mexico, Turkey, Uruguay and Venezuela, expressed reservations regarding certain paragraphs of the resolution, in particular those that could give the impression that the constitutional limitations of the United Nations institutions had not been taken fully into account. These Members—and others such as Fiji,

Greece and Japan, which abstained in the voting—believed that it would be detrimental to the technical and functional role of the specialized agencies to base their activities on political considerations, as regards the withholding or granting of assistance. Sweden, speaking also on behalf of Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Norway, said that the five Nordic countries regretted that they had been obliged to abstain in the vote because of certain provisions in the text which they could not support. The five Members agreed that the specialized agencies had an important role to play in providing humanitarian and other assistance to the colonial peoples, but they considered that the text failed to take into account the limitations imposed by the constitutions of the various agencies. They doubted the propriety of attempts to give the national liberation movements of colonial territories the same status as Governments within the specialized agencies and they could not agree to recommendations which might be seen as a step towards the expulsion or suspension of States from membership in the specialized agencies.

South Africa stated that it had opposed the resolution on the grounds that it sought to inject political controversies into the affairs of the specialized agencies and that some of its provisions were unconstitutional.

### Documentary references

Special Committee, meetings 839, 840, 857-870, 871, 872, 882, 883, 885, 886.

Economic and Social Council—53rd session  
Co-ordination Committee, meeting 456.  
Plenary meeting 1836.

E/5133 and Corr.2. Annual report of Administrative Committee on Co-ordination for 1971-1972, Chapter I B.  
E/5147 and Corr.1. Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by specialized agencies and International institutions associated with United Nations. Report of Secretary-General.

E/5186/Rev.1. Report of Committee for Programme and Co-ordination on its 12th session, 5-23 June 1972, Chapter VII.

E/5187. Report of President of Economic and Social Council.

E/AC.24/L.435. Barbados, Ghana, Hungary, India, Kenya, Niger, Pakistan, Peru, Sudan, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Zaire: draft resolution, as orally amended by sponsors, approved by Co-ordination Committee on 26 July 1972, meeting 456, by 23 votes to 2, with 11 abstentions.

E/5197. Report of Co-ordination Committee.

Resolution 1720(LIII), as recommended by Co-ordination Committee, E/5197, adopted by Council on 28 July 1972, meeting 1836, by roll-call vote of 17 to 2, with 6 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Bolivia, Burundi, Chile, China, Ghana,

Greece, Hungary, Kenya, Lebanon, Madagascar, Malaysia, Niger, Peru, Poland, Sri Lanka, Tunisia, USSR.  
Against: United Kingdom, United States.

Abstaining: Brazil, Finland, France, Italy, Japan, New Zealand.

The Economic and Social Council,

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

Having examined the report of the Secretary-General on the item,

Having examined a/so the report of the President of the Economic and Social Council and the relevant parts of the report of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination on its twelfth session and the annual report of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination for 1971-72.

Recalling General Assembly resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and all other relevant United Nations resolutions, including in particular General Assembly resolution 2874(XXVI) of 20 December 1971 and Council resolution 1651(LI) of 29 October 1971,

Mindful of the repeated affirmation of the General Assembly 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 organiza-

tions of all necessary moral and material assistance to them, including specially those in the liberated areas of the colonial territories, and their national liberation movements.

Bearing in mind the views of representatives of the national liberation movements concerned, as well as those of representatives of the Organization of African Unity, concerning the urgent and grave need for further and effective assistance from the United Nations system of organizations to the colonial peoples in southern Africa, as expressed 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 during its meetings in Africa in April 1972, and taking into account the relevant recommendations of the Special Committee in that regard,

1. Takes note of the report of the President of the Economic and Social Council;

2. Endorses the observations and suggestions contained therein;

3. Recommends those observations and suggestions for action, as a matter of urgency, by the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and requests these organizations to include in their respective reports to the Secretary-General called for under the terms of General Assembly resolution 2874(XXVI), information on such action as may be taken or envisaged in implementation of the present recommendation;

4. Requests its President, taking the foregoing into account, and in the light of the tasks entrusted to it by the General Assembly in paragraph 12 of resolution 2874(XXVI), to continue his consultations with 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, to seek, where appropriate, the views of the Organization of African Unity, and to report thereon to the Council at an early date;

5. Invites, having regard to the special responsibility entrusted to it by the General Assembly to continue to seek the most suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of Assembly resolution 1514(XV) and of all other relevant General Assembly resolutions, the attention of the Special Committee to the discussions that have taken place at the 456th meeting of the Co-ordination Committee and in the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination concerning the Item;

6. Decides to transmit to the General Assembly the reports of the President of the Council and of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination, in order to facilitate its consideration of the item at the Assembly's twenty-seventh session.

E/5223. Note by President of Council.

General Assembly—27th session  
Fourth Committee, meetings 2001-2008, 2013, 2015.  
Plenary meeting 2110.

A/8647 and Add.1.2. Report of Secretary-General.  
A/8701. Report of Secretary-General on work of the Organization, 16 June 1971-15 June 1972, Part Two, Chapter I C 4.  
A/8703. Report of Economic and Social Council on work of its 52nd and 53rd sessions, Chapter XVI.  
A/8723/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee (covering its work during 1972), Chapter VII. (Section B: Resolution adopted by Special Committee on 23 August 1972.)  
A/8862. Report of Secretary-General.

A/C.4/L.1021. Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Congo, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kenya, Mali, Mongolia, Nigeria, Romania, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia: draft resolution, approved by Fourth Committee on 6 December 1972, meeting 2015, by recorded vote of 85 to 4, with 23 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom, United States.

Abstaining: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, France, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Paraguay, Sweden.

A/8959. Report of Fourth Committee.

Resolution 2980(XXVII), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/8959, adopted by Assembly on 14 December 1972, meeting 2110, by recorded vote of 98 to 4, with 24 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Australia, Bahrain, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, \*India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mall, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom, United States.

Abstaining: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, France, Greece, Honduras, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Sweden, Uruguay.

\* Subsequently Iceland advised the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain.

The General Assembly,

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 its resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960, and the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration, contained in its resolution 2621(XXV) of 12 October 1970, as well as all other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council,

Taking into account with appreciation the reports submitted on the item by the Secretary-General, the Economic and Social Council 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,

Bearing in mind the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Mission of the Special Committee which visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) in April 1972,

Mindful of the views and suggestions put forward by the representatives of the Organization of African Unity and the national liberation movements concerned during the meetings of the Security Council and the Special Committee held in Africa in 1972, in particular their request for assistance from the specialized agencies and other international institutions,

Conscious of the urgent and pressing need of the peoples in all colonial Territories, particularly of the national liberation movements and the populations in the liberated areas of some of those 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,

Having invited, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and through it, representatives of the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories in Africa to participate in an observer capacity in its consideration of the Territories concerned, and having heard the statements of the leaders of those liberation movements relating, in particular, to the reconstruction programmes being undertaken by their organizations in the liberated areas of the Territories,

Recognizing the urgent need for further and more effective measures for the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee by all the organizations of the United Nations system within their respective spheres of competence,

Noting with growing 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 the relevant resolutions relating to providing assistance to the national liberation movements and discontinuing all collaboration with the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, as well as the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia,

Noting with appreciation that some of the organizations have taken 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 in Africa striving to liberate themselves from colonial domination,

Taking into account the views expressed by the Organization of African Unity on the question of procedures for the participation of representatives of the national liberation movements of the colonial Territories in Africa in conferences, seminars and other regional meetings convened by the specialized agencies,

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

1. Approves the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the item:

2. 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 of the colonial Territories, including especially the liberated areas of those Territories;

3. 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 other specialized agencies and organizations within the United Nations system which have been co-operating in varying degrees with the United Nations in the implementation of the Declaration and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly;

4. Reiterates its urgent appeal to all specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and to all States to render, as a matter of urgency, all possible moral and material assistance to the colonial peoples in Africa struggling for their liberation from colonial rule, to initiate or broaden contacts and co-operation with them in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and, in particular, to work out and implement, with the active co-operation of the Organization of African Unity and, through it, of the national liberation movements, concrete programmes for such assistance to the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, including in particular the peoples in the liberated areas of those Territories and their national liberation movements;

5. Reiterates its urgent 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 those refugees, and in that connexion to introduce the greatest possible measure of flexibility in their relevant procedures;

6. Urges once again the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, to take all necessary measures to withhold any financial, economic, technical and other assistance from the Governments

of Portugal and South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, and to discontinue all collaboration with them until they renounce their policies of racial discrimination and colonial oppression;

7. Requests the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, to ensure the representation of the Colonial Territories in Africa by the national liberation movements concerned, in an appropriate capacity, when dealing with matters pertaining to those Territories;

8. Recommends that all Governments should intensify their efforts 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 and other relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and in that connexion should accord priority to the question of providing assistance, on an emergency basis, to peoples in the colonial Territories and to their national liberation movements;

9. Recommends that the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, with a view to facilitating the implementation of paragraph 8 above, should request their executive heads to formulate and submit to their respective governing bodies or legislative organs, as a matter of priority and with the active co-operation of the Organization of African Unity, concrete proposals for specific programmes

of all possible assistance to the peoples in colonial Territories and their national liberation movements, together with a comprehensive analysis of the problems, if any, confronted by these agencies and organizations;

10. Requests the Economic and Social Council to continue to consider, in consultation with the Special Committee, appropriate measures for co-ordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system in implementing the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly;

11. Requests the Secretary-General:

(a) To prepare for submission to the relevant bodies concerned with related aspects of the present Item, with the assistance of the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, a report on the action taken since the circulation of his previous report in implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, including the present resolution;

(b) To continue to assist the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system in working out appropriate measures for implementing the present resolution and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session;

12. Requests the Special Committee to continue to examine the question and to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

## Activities of foreign economic and other interests

### Consideration by Special Committee

On 31 August 1972, the General Assembly's Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples<sup>13</sup> approved without objection a report by its Sub-Committee I concerning the activities of foreign economic and other interests impeding the implementation of the Declaration on granting independence, in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, the territories under Portuguese administration and in all other colonial territories.

The Committee endorsed the conclusions and recommendations which the Sub-Committee had reached, among which were the following.

The colonial powers and the States whose nationals were engaged in activities in colonial territories had not implemented General Assembly decisions on the question; especially in Namibia, the territories under Portuguese domination and Southern Rhodesia no legislative, administrative or other measures had been taken to put an end to or restrain the activities of those foreign interests which continued to deprive the colonial peoples of their resources needed for a viable independence.

The foreign monopolies continued to develop only those economic sectors yielding the highest profits and had reduced the colonial territories to the role of suppliers of raw materials and

agricultural products to the metropolitan and other countries. The high profits of the foreign monopolies were attributable to the special privileges granted them by the colonial administrations and racist régimes and to the existence of a policy of racial discrimination and the low wages paid to indigenous workers, particularly in the territories of southern Africa, where the workers had no social security benefits and were not permitted to form trade unions to defend their interests. The high profits earned by foreign monopolies were not invested for the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the indigenous people, but remained in the hands of the foreign interests concerned or were shared with the racist régimes. The monopolies supplied the colonial régimes with funds and other forms of assistance, including military aid, with the aim of liquidating the national liberation movements.

In Namibia, a mass strike of African contract workers which took place in late 1971 and early 1972 had temporarily paralysed the economy, and the ruthlessness with which this strike had been suppressed had exposed the inhuman system of slave labour perpetrated by the South African régime for the benefit of big mining companies and other foreign interests.

<sup>13</sup> See Y. U. N., 1960, pp. 49-50, resolution 1514(XV) containing text of the Declaration.

In the territories under Portuguese domination, a major feature in the process of expansion of foreign economic interests was 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, which was penetrating deeply into neighbouring territories of southern Africa. The outward economic thrust was taking place, *inter alia*, at the two main points—the 4,000-megawatt Cabora Bassa dam already under construction on the Zambezi River in Mozambique and the 2,000-megawatt Cunene River Basin scheme in southern Angola—in which South African financial interests were playing a major role.

With regard to the Cabora Bassa project, the Special Committee reiterated its previous conclusions as follows:

(a) the aim of Portugal and the minority racist régimes in southern Africa in undertaking the project with the help of some foreign monopolies was to oppress even more the indigenous inhabitants and to bring to a halt the national liberation struggle of the people not only of Mozambique but also of Angola, Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) and Namibia;

(b) the project was designed to enable Portugal and the other minority racist régimes in southern Africa to bring to the area more than 1 million white settlers, who would contribute directly to the war against the people of the territories;

(c) the project would strengthen the economic base of the minority racist régimes in southern Africa, as well as white supremacy in that region;

(d) the project would have grave negative political implications not only for the independent and the colonial countries of southern Africa, but for the continent as a whole, and would lead to international tensions and discord;

(e) any foreign participation in the scheme was tantamount to strengthening the oppressive minority racist régimes in southern Africa.

The construction of the Cabora Bassa dam and the Cunene Valley development project were not aimed at raising the level of living of the African peoples but at perpetuating Portugal's domination over those territories. Further, the request addressed by the General Assembly in 1970 and again in 1971 to those States whose companies were participating in the construction of the two projects to put an end to such participation had been ignored, and foreign interests from Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States continued to support the construction of the Cabora Bassa dam.

The Special Committee noted that South Africa

remained the most important source of foreign capital investment in Mozambique and that, apart from playing a dominant role in the Cabora Bassa project, South African capital was further entrenching itself in the mining and other sectors. In addition, South Africa continued to be the territory's leading trade partner after Portugal. During 1972, there had been indications that some interests in Mozambique were seeking closer economic integration with South Africa in order to give support to Portugal's continued presence in Africa.

The Portuguese Government had renewed its efforts to promote the settlement of non-Africans in Mozambique—especially in the northern areas, particularly in the Zambezi Valley—and was giving these new settlers substantial financial assistance and large areas of cleared land to develop agriculture or ranching. Africans, however, had been resettled in newly created villages located on infertile lands with poor resources.

In Angola, Portugal was likewise seeking to strengthen its domination with the support of foreign economic interests. The concentration of foreign capital investment in the mining sector had increased and the exploitation of the territory's mineral resources for export had been speeded up. Here also there had been a steady increase of South African interests, especially in mining and in the Cunene region. Portuguese encouragement of foreign investment was accompanied by an intensified effort to change the rural structure in the more strategic areas by resettling the African population and by introducing about 1 million non-African settlers.

Information on the situation in Southern Rhodesia, the Special Committee concluded, showed that there had been no substantive change in the role of foreign economic and other interests. The economy continued to be dominated by those interests, acting in co-operation with, and with the direct support of, the illegal régime. Foreign economic and white settler interests continued to predominate in the non-agricultural sectors of the economy and, according to unofficial estimates, between 80 and 90 per cent of the territory's mining industry was foreign-owned. Most of the major companies involved were subsidiaries of South African, United Kingdom, United States and western European interests.

The Special Committee noted in its conclusions that the representatives of the national liberation movements had provided it during its meetings in Africa with valuable information concerning the operation of the vast economic and financial interests from Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Japan, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States which were oper-

ating in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. The representatives of both the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) and the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) had pointed out, among other things, that Western support of Portugal had continued on the economic, the financial and the political levels, as well as on the military level, and that those States which were heavily involved in investments were the same States that supplied Portugal with weapons and other assistance, thereby enabling it to continue its oppression of the national liberation movements.

These representatives believed that the Cabora Bassa and Cunene River Basin projects, in which South Africa was taking a leading part, were military-economic projects, forming elements of South Africa's aggressive policy against the liberation movements in southern Africa and against neighbouring independent States. Once these schemes were completed, they felt, the colonialist hold over the region would be further consolidated and strengthened and a military and political presence would be established to protect them.

The Special Committee noted that during 1972 protest campaigns against the involvement of foreign economic interests in the exploitation of the colonial territories had taken place all over the world. In particular, there had been widespread and increasing opposition on the part of non-governmental organizations, political parties and labour movements in a number of countries to the Cabora Bassa and Cunene River Basin projects and to participation in them by foreign companies. The Committee cited a consumer boycott of Angolan coffee in the Netherlands and a decision by the World Council of Churches to liquidate its holdings in all corporations and companies directly involved in investment in or trade with South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the territories under Portuguese administration.

With regard to the situation in other colonial territories, including those in the Caribbean and Pacific areas, the Special Committee expressed its concern over the continued activities of those foreign economic and other interests which were depriving the indigenous people of their right to enjoy the wealth of their countries, especially in those cases where the foreign companies concerned enjoyed privileged tax-exempt status to the detriment of the people of the territories.

The Special Committee recommended to the General Assembly that it:

(a) reaffirm once again that foreign economic, financial and other interests, as they were continuing to operate in the colonial territories, constituted a major obstacle to political independence and to economic and social justice for the

indigenous people and were impeding the implementation of the Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples;

(b) reaffirm once again the inalienable right of the indigenous population of the colonial territories to their political independence, their sovereignty over their natural resources and their right to enjoy the benefits thereof;

(c) strongly condemn the current activities and operating methods of those foreign economic and other interests in the territories under colonial domination which were designed to keep the colonial peoples subjugated and to thwart their efforts and initiatives towards self-determination and independence;

(d) condemn the colonial powers and other States which gave their active support to the above economic and other foreign interests in their exploitation of the natural and human resources of the colonial territories, and call upon those States to take effective measures to stop the supply of funds and other forms of support, including military equipment, to colonial régimes which used such support to repress the national liberation movements;

(e) reiterate its urgent request that the colonial powers and States concerned should take legislative, administrative and other measures in respect of their companies and nationals who owned and operated enterprises in the colonial territories, particularly in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the territories under Portuguese domination, to put an end to their activities which were detrimental to the interests of the inhabitants of the territories;

(f) request the colonial powers and States concerned to prevent the systematic influx of foreign immigrants into those colonial territories, which disrupted the integrity and social, political and cultural unity of the peoples under colonial domination;

(g) strongly condemn once again the continuation of the construction of the Cabora Bassa and Cunene River Basin projects as being designed to strengthen and perpetuate colonialist and racist domination over the territories of southern Africa and as being fraught with serious implications for international peace and security in Africa;

(h) call upon all Governments of Member States to intensify their efforts to put an end to all forms of economic and financial aid to Portugal, South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia;

(i) deplore the attitude of the Governments of Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the United Kingdom, the United States and other States which had failed to prevent their nationals

and companies from participating in the Cabora Bassa and Cunene River Basin projects, and urge them to withdraw their support from the projects and put an end to participation by companies or individuals of their nationality in those projects;

(j) request the Secretary-General to give the widest possible publicity to the adverse effects of the activities of foreign economic and other interests in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, the territories under Portuguese domination and all other colonial territories, and to the resolutions of the General Assembly concerning those activities; and

(k) once again request the colonial powers and States concerned to comply fully with relevant Assembly resolutions and ask them to adopt effective measures to prevent new investments, particularly in southern Africa, which were contrary to those resolutions.

The USSR representative, commenting on the report, felt that there were three aspects of foreign economic activities in the territories which were of particular concern to the Special Committee: first, the looting of natural and mineral resources and valuable raw materials of the colonial territories was continuing and even increasing; second, the local labour force was being pitilessly exploited; and third, the monopolies with investments in southern Africa had given considerable financial assistance to the régimes of Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon.

Czechoslovakia referred to the financial resources and other forms of assistance, including military assistance for the elimination of national liberation movements, which monopolistic circles and Governments of certain powers continued to grant to colonial régimes and felt these activities created an extremely dangerous situation fraught with explosive possibilities.

While supporting the report as a whole, the Ivory Coast and Sweden expressed certain general reservations. The Ivory Coast felt that a distinction should be drawn between economic interests in the small territories and economic interests in southern Africa, and that there should be a special study of the needs of the small territories to determine to what extent investments could be used to improve the welfare of the population.

Specific reservations were also made by the Ivory Coast and by Venezuela.

#### **Consideration by General Assembly**

The question of the activities of foreign economic and other interests in colonial territories was discussed during the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly later in 1972, mainly in the Assembly's Fourth Committee.

On the recommendation of the Fourth Committee, the Assembly—on 14 December 1972—took

the following action relating to this question.

Deeply disturbed by the increasingly intensified activities of those foreign economic, financial and other interests which were impeding legitimate aspirations for self-determination, the Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of dependent territories to self-determination and independence and to the enjoyment of the natural resources of their territories as well as their right to dispose of those resources in their best interests.

The Assembly also reaffirmed that the activities of foreign economic, financial and other interests operating in the colonial territories of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia and the territories under Portuguese domination constituted a major obstacle to political independence and enjoyment of the natural resources by indigenous inhabitants.

It approved the report relating to foreign economic interests submitted by the Special Committee on the granting of independence.

The Assembly declared once again that any administering power, by depriving the colonial peoples of the exercise of their rights or by subordinating them to foreign economic and financial interests, violated the obligations it had assumed under Chapters XI and XII of the Charter of the United Nations.<sup>14</sup>

It condemned the policies of the colonial powers and other States which continued to support 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, thus violating the political, economic and social rights and interests of those peoples and obstructing the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence in respect of those territories.

Also, the Assembly strongly condemned the continuation of the construction of the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique and the Cunene River Basin project in Angola, which were designed further to entrench colonialist and racist domination over the territories in Africa and were a source of international tension.

It condemned as well the policies of those Governments which had not yet prevented their nationals and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction from participating in the Cabora Bassa and Cunene River Basin projects, and urgently requested the Governments concerned to take all the necessary measures to terminate this participation and to have them withdraw immediately from all activities related to the projects.

It called upon the colonial powers and States concerned to take legislative, administrative and

<sup>14</sup> For text of Chapters XI and XII of the Charter, see APPENDIX II.

other measures in respect of their nationals who owned and operated enterprises in colonial territories, particularly in Africa, which were detrimental to the interests of the inhabitants of those territories, in order to put an end to such enterprises and to prevent new investments that ran counter to the interests of the inhabitants.

Further, the Assembly asked all States to take effective measures to end the supply of funds and other forms of assistance, including military supplies and equipment, to those régimes which used such assistance to repress the peoples of the colonial territories and their national liberation movements.

It called upon the administering powers to abolish every discriminatory and unjust wage system which prevailed in the territories under their administration and to apply in each territory a uniform system of wages to all the inhabitants without any discrimination.

In addition, the Assembly asked the Secretary-General to give the widest possible publicity to the adverse effects of the activities of foreign economic and other interests in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, the territories under Portuguese domination and all other colonial territories, as well as to the decisions of the Special Committee and the General Assembly on the question.

Finally it requested the Special Committee to continue to study this question and to report thereon to the Assembly at its 1973 session.

These decisions were taken with the adoption of resolution 2979(XXVII), by a recorded vote of 106 to 6, with 15 abstentions. The Fourth Committee approved the text on 8 December 1972 by a roll-call vote of 78 to 6, with 14 abstentions. Sponsors of the resolution in the Fourth Committee were the following 29 States: Bulgaria, Burundi, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, the Congo, Czechoslovakia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Kenya, Madagascar, Mali, Mongolia, Nepal, Nigeria, Romania, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Uganda, the Ukrainian SSR, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia.

The majority of those taking part in the debate on the question supported the report of the Special Committee. Czechoslovakia, for one, pointed out that in Namibia, the territories under Portuguese administration and Southern Rhodesia no measures had been taken to put an end to or restrain the activities of those foreign interests which continued to deprive the colonial peoples of the resources they needed for a viable independence. The colonial powers tried to disguise their exploitation by denying that those activities had any harmful effect, but there was no doubt that the capital invested in the Portuguese colonies worked

for the exclusive benefit of Portugal and its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The representative of Cuba condemned the activities of foreign interests in the colonial territories. He said that multinational corporations based in the United States were working through European and Japanese capitalists to extend the ways of imperialism in Africa, projecting the cultural patterns of modern imperialism and helping to keep control of the resources and development opportunities of the African continent.

Egypt observed that colonialism had always been motivated by the lure of the rich resources of the colonial territories. Recently, yielding to pressure, colonialism had had to beat an apparent retreat, only to reappear in the form of neo-colonialism, one of the main aspects of which was the maintenance and promotion of foreign economic and other interests in the colonial territories. It amounted to a supranational economic system, fully or partially in the hands of foreigners. Claims that the activities of foreign economic interests benefited the indigenous population were entirely unfounded and categorically rejected by many eminent economists. On the contrary, those activities strengthened the colonial and racist Governments.

Others, including Mali, Nepal and the Syrian Arab Republic, also referred to the plundering of the natural resources of the colonial territories. Nepal noted in this connexion that article 1 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights provided that, by virtue of their right to self-determination, all peoples in pursuing their economic development might freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources.<sup>15</sup> Nepal also pointed out that racial discrimination was a device for maintaining a cheap labour force.

The representative of the USSR said that the capitalist monopolies and other foreign interests, particularly in their activities in southern Africa, were motivated solely by selfish interests. In order to increase their profits, they were helping to maintain colonial rule. The Governments of certain imperialist States took no action whatever against enterprises owned by their nationals which were violating United Nations resolutions, were increasingly active in southern Africa and were assisting the racist régimes in the area. In southern Africa, the profits of foreign enterprises went as high as 25 per cent, which was more than twice what they made in other areas. Many enterprises and monopolies in the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany,

<sup>15</sup> See Y.U.N., 1966, pp. 418-23, resolution 2200 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966, containing text of the Covenant.

Japan and other countries whose interests were closely interrelated were participating in the exploitation of the resources of the colonial territories. The colonialist and racist régimes were trying to create favourable conditions for those monopolies by granting them various privileges, permitting them to export capital, exempting them from taxes and supplying them, of course, with cheap labour whose abundance was assured by the system of apartheid and racial discrimination. The huge profits extracted from the colonial territories accrued not only to the investors but also to the Governments of the colonialist countries.

Others, including Bulgaria, the Byelorussian SSR, Ghana, Mongolia, Pakistan, Uganda and the Ukrainian SSR, also denounced the role played by foreign monopolies in supporting the colonial system.

South Africa said that it could not accept the suggestion that economic activity in southern Africa was totally detrimental to the interests of the inhabitants, and it considered that the references in the Assembly's resolution to South Africa and its policies in South West Africa were totally misplaced.

The representative of Japan said that his Government's position had been set forth in detail in a letter of 28 November 1972, addressed to the Secretary-General, which had stated that in compliance with Security Council resolutions Japan prohibited exportation to South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia of arms and ammunition, and equipment and plants for manufacturing them. Also, those areas were excluded from a recent liberalization of direct overseas investment. Certain statements in the Special Committee's report were unfounded and contrary to fact, and were categorically rejected. The representative also stated that Japan did not support the idea that

all activities of foreign economic and other interests in colonial territories were evil per se.

Uruguay said it had voted for the resolution because its general principles were in accordance with Uruguay's policies. However, Uruguay had reservations on the operative paragraph strongly condemning the continuation of the construction of the Cabora Bassa and Cunene River Basin projects, and on the operative paragraph condemning the policies of Governments which had not prevented their nationals and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction from participating.

Argentina said that while it had voted for the resolution and was opposed to foreign economic and other interests provided it was clearly shown that they were harmful to the interests of the territories in which they exerted their influence, it was not possible to affirm that all the activities of foreign economic interests in colonial territories were bad per se. There should be a thorough study of the question to determine the circumstances wherein they might have a beneficial effect.

Sweden also condemned foreign economic interests provided it was demonstrated that they were detrimental to the territories and opposed the colonial peoples and their efforts to free themselves. However, the problem was too complex to permit generalizations of the kind in the resolution and was too important to be approached in general terms.

Iceland had voted for the resolution in order to put on record its condemnation of the activities and discriminatory practices of foreign economic interests impeding the granting of independence to the peoples concerned. However, this vote did not imply blanket endorsement of all the provisions of the resolution. Others expressing reservations included Greece, the Ivory Coast, Turkey and Venezuela.

### Documentary references

Special Committee, meetings 891, 892.

General Assembly—27th session

Fourth Committee, meetings 2001-2008, 2016, 2017, 2020.  
Plenary meeting 2110.

A/8701. Report of Secretary-General on work of the Organization, 16 June 1971-15 June 1972, Part Two, Chapter I C 1.

A/8723/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee (covering its work during 1972), Chapter V.

A/8877. Letter of 28 November 1972 from Japan.

A/C.4/L.1024. Bulgaria, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Congo, Czechoslovakia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Kenya, Madagascar, Mali, Mongolia, Nepal, Nigeria, Romania, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia: draft resolution, approved by Fourth

Committee on 8 December 1972, meeting 2017, by roll-call vote of 78 to 6, with 14 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Bhutan, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Canada, France, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom, United States.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, Honduras, Ireland, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden.

A/8958. Report of Fourth Committee.

Resolution 2979(XXVII), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/8958, adopted by Assembly on 14 December 1972, meeting 2110, by recorded vote of 106 to 6, with 15 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Canada, France, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom, United States.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden.

The General Assembly,

Having considered 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 Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa,"

Having examined the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to this question,

Recalling its resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and its resolution 2621(XXV) of 12 October 1970, containing the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration, as well as all other resolutions adopted by it on the item,

Reaffirming that the administering Powers, in accordance with Chapters XI and XII of the Charter of the United Nations, have the obligation to ensure the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Territories under their administration and to protect the human and natural resources of those Territories against abuses,

Reiterating its conviction that any economic or other activity which impedes the implementation of the Decla-

ration and obstructs efforts aimed at the elimination of colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa and other colonial Territories violates the political, economic and social rights and interests of the peoples of the Territories and is therefore incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter,

Deeply disturbed by the increasingly intensified activities of those foreign economic, financial and other interests in the Territories which, contrary to the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, assist the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, as well as the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, and impede the realization by the peoples of the Territories of their legitimate aspirations for self-determination and independence,

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of dependent Territories to self-determination and independence and to the enjoyment of the natural resources of their Territories, as well as their right to dispose of those resources in their best interests;

2. Reaffirms that the activities of foreign economic, financial and other interests operating at present in the colonial Territories of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, as well as in those under Portuguese domination, constitute a major obstacle to political independence and to the enjoyment of the natural resources of those Territories by the indigenous inhabitants;

3. Approves the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to this question;

4. Declares once again that any administering Power, by depriving the colonial peoples of the exercise of their rights or by subordinating them to foreign economic and financial interests, violates the obligations it has assumed under Chapters XI and XII of the Charter of the United Nations;

5. Condemns the policies of the colonial Powers and other States which continue to support 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, thus violating the political, economic and social rights and interests of the indigenous peoples and obstructing the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration in respect of those Territories;

6. Strongly condemns the continuation of the construction of the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique and the Cunene River Basin project in Angola, which are designed further to entrench colonialist and racist domination over the Territories in Africa and are a source of international tension;

7. Condemns the policies of those Governments which have not yet prevented their nationals and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction from participating in the Cabora Bassa and Cunene River Basin projects, and urgently requests the Governments concerned to take all the necessary measures to terminate this participation and to have them withdraw immediately from all activities related to the projects;

8. Calls upon the colonial Powers and States concerned to take legislative, administrative and other measures in respect of their nationals who own and operate enterprises in colonial Territories, particularly in Africa, which are detrimental to the interests of the inhabitants of those Territories, in order to put an end to such enterprises and to prevent new investments that run counter to the interests of the inhabitants;

9. Requests all States to take effective measures to end the supply of funds and other forms of assistance, including military supplies and equipment, to those

régimes which use such assistance to repress the peoples of the colonial Territories and their national liberation movements;

10. Calls upon the administering Powers to abolish every discriminatory and unjust wage system which prevails in the Territories under their administration and to apply in each Territory a uniform system of wages to all the inhabitants without any discrimination;

11. Requests the Secretary-General to give the

widest possible publicity to the adverse effects of the activities of foreign economic and other interests in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, the Territories under Portuguese domination and all other colonial Territories, as well as to the decisions of the Special Committee and the General Assembly on this question;

12. Requests the Special Committee to continue to study this question and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

### United Nations Educational and Training Programme (or Southern Africa)

The United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa continued during 1971-1972 to grant scholarships for education and training, outside their own countries, to persons from Namibia, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the territories under Portuguese administration.

Between 1 January and 12 November 1972, voluntary contributions from States to the Programme amounted to \$813,188.

The General Assembly, at its 1972 session, again

appealed to all States, to organizations and to individuals to contribute generously to the Programme. The Assembly also decided that as a further transitional measure, provision should be made under the 1973 regular budget of the United Nations for an amount of \$100,000 in order to ensure continuity of the Programme.

The Assembly took this action with the adoption of resolution 2981(XXVII) on 14 December. (For further details and text of resolution, see pp. 13941.)

### Questions concerning individual territories

The following pages give a brief account of decisions taken on various individual territories in 1972 by the General Assembly and by its Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.<sup>16</sup> (See also pp. 111-35, 602-25, 584-601 and 526-38, for details on questions concerning, respectively, Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, territories under Portuguese administration, and Papua New Guinea and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.)

For each of the territories considered, the Special Committee and the Assembly had before them a working paper prepared by the Secretariat containing information on actions previously taken and on the latest developments concerning the territory.

#### Falkland Islands (Malvinas)

The Special Committee considered the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) on 25 August 1972.

On the same date, the Special Committee decided, without objection, to transmit to the General Assembly the working paper prepared by the Secretariat, in order to facilitate consideration of the item by the Fourth Committee of the Assembly and, subject to any Assembly directives, to consider the question in 1973.

In reply to a statement made by the Foreign

Minister of Argentina on 27 September 1972, during the General Debate in the General Assembly, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom addressed a letter dated 23 October 1972 to the Secretary-General. It was stated in the letter that the United Kingdom should not be taken to have recognized or to support the position of Argentina set forth by its Foreign Minister in the Assembly, i.e. that a final solution to the differences between the Argentine and United Kingdom Governments could be none other than the return of the Malvinas Islands to the Argentine territorial heritage. The position of the United Kingdom remained as described in the letter addressed by the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the Secretary-General on 26 September 1969, the letter added.

On 18 December 1972, the General Assembly endorsed, without objection, a recommendation made on 12 December 1972 by its Fourth Committee that consideration of the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) be postponed to 1973.

#### French Territory of the Afars and the Issas

In 1972, the Special Committee considered the question of the French Territory of the Afars and the Issas on 27 April, during a series of meetings held in Africa, and again on 25 August at a

<sup>16</sup> See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50, resolution 1514(XV), containing text of the Declaration.

meeting held at United Nations Headquarters, New York. At the April meeting, the Special Committee heard statements by the following representatives of political movements from the territory: Aden Roble Awale, Front de Libération de la Côte des Somalis (FLCS), and Ahmed Bourhan Omar, Mouvement de Libération de Djibouti (MLD).

At its meeting on 25 August, the Special Committee decided without objection to transmit to the General Assembly the working paper on the territory prepared by the Secretariat, in order to facilitate consideration of the item by the Fourth Committee of the Assembly, and, subject to any Assembly directives, to consider the question in 1973.

On 18 December 1972, the General Assembly endorsed without objection a recommendation made on 20 November 1972 by its Fourth Committee that consideration of the question be postponed to its 1973 session.

#### **Gibraltar**

On 25 August 1972, the Special Committee decided, without objection, to transmit to the General Assembly the working paper on Gibraltar prepared by the Secretariat, in order to facilitate consideration of the item by the Fourth Committee of the Assembly and, subject to any Assembly directives, to consider the question in 1973.

On 18 December 1972, the General Assembly, on a recommendation made on 12 December 1972 by its Fourth Committee, decided without objection that consideration of the question of Gibraltar be postponed to 1973.

#### **Spanish Sahara**

On 25 August 1972, the Special Committee decided without objection to transmit to the General Assembly the working paper on Spanish Sahara prepared by the Secretariat, in order to facilitate consideration of the item by the Fourth Committee of the Assembly, and, subject to any Assembly directives, to consider the question in 1973.

On 14 December 1972, on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee, the General Assembly adopted a resolution by which, among other things, it: reaffirmed the right of the people of the Sahara to self-determination and independence, and asked all States to give them all necessary moral and material assistance in their legitimate struggle to exercise that right; declared that the continued existence of a colonial situation in the territory was endangering stability and harmony in north-west Africa; expressed its support for and solidarity with the people of the Sahara, and called upon the Spanish Government, as administering power, to take effective measures to create the necessary

conditions for the free exercise by the people of their right to self-determination and independence.

The Assembly repeated its invitation to Spain to determine, in consultation with the Governments of Mauritania and Morocco and any other interested party, the procedures for holding a referendum under United Nations auspices. In this connexion, Spain was invited to take the following measures: (a) create a favourable political climate for the referendum to be conducted on an entirely free, democratic and impartial basis by permitting, among other things, the return of political exiles to the territory; (b) ensure that only the indigenous inhabitants exercised their right to self-determination and independence; and (c) receive a United Nations mission and provide it with all necessary facilities to enable it to participate actively in the implementation of measures making it possible to put an end to the colonial situation in the territory.

The Assembly also invited all States to comply with its resolutions concerning the activities of foreign economic and financial interests which were impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and to refrain from helping to perpetuate the colonial situation in the territory by means of investments.

It reaffirmed United Nations responsibility in all consultations intended to lead to the free expression of the wishes of the people, and urged the administering power to respect and implement scrupulously Assembly decisions on decolonization of the territory.

The Assembly requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with the administering power and the Special Committee, to appoint immediately the special mission provided for in its resolution of 20 December 1966<sup>17</sup> and to expedite the dispatch of the mission to the territory in order to recommend practical steps for the full implementation of the relevant resolutions and, in particular, to confirm United Nations participation in the preparation and supervision of the referendum.

Finally, the Assembly asked the Special Committee to report to it in 1973 on the situation in the territory.

These decisions were embodied in resolution 2983(XXVII), adopted by recorded vote of 84 to 10, with 26 abstentions, on the recommendation of the Assembly's Fourth Committee—which approved the text on 6 December 1972, by a roll-call vote of 82 to 7, with 25 abstentions. The sponsors of the draft resolution were Burundi, the Central African Republic, the Congo, Guinea, Kenya,

<sup>17</sup> See Y.U.N., 1966, pp. 591-92, text of resolution 2229(XXI).

Madagascar, Mali, Mauritius, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

(For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

During discussion in the Fourth Committee, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Morocco reviewed the action taken by the United Nations with regard to Spanish Sahara over the past decade. Spain had at one time supported self-determination under United Nations control, he said, but it now thought that it alone could decide the future of the territory and the timing and form of self-determination. He urged Spain to define its policy concerning the territory and indicate clearly the decolonization measures it intended to take within the framework of the United Nations.

Mauritania said it had been encouraged by the positive attitude already shown by Spain towards decolonization; however, it regretted that Spain had not yet taken the opportunity of decolonizing the Sahara in accordance with United Nations resolutions. Mauritania therefore appealed once more to Spain to promise to hold consultations without delay, with a view to holding a referendum on self-determination for the people of Spanish Sahara; in particular, it appealed to Spain to receive a special mission in the territory.

Algeria recalled that, in January 1972, it had reached agreement with the territory's other neighbouring States—Mauritania and Morocco—to coordinate action to speed up the liberation of the territory. The situation in the region was therefore unusually propitious for consultations to enter upon a decisive phase and for concrete arrangements to be made for the referendum. The territory's three neighbours were anxious to avoid a state of tension at their borders and they therefore found the delay and tardiness in the preparations for the referendum regrettable and the reasons given by Spain less and less acceptable, Algeria's spokesman continued. Also, he added, there was reason to believe that Spain was consolidating its presence in the territory and spending large sums on exploiting its mineral wealth.

The representative of Spain said his Government had made it quite clear that it wished the indigenous inhabitants of the territory to exercise their right to self-determination freely and without any outside pressure or interference, would accept whatever constitution the people desired, and would co-operate in establishing it as soon as possible. It was for the people to determine, at a time chosen by themselves, the form of that constitution. The Spanish Government was endeavouring to create a favourable political climate for the referendum to be totally free; the Saharwi people would be deprived of their inalienable rights if

the date of the referendum were set without consulting them. The will of the people was the most important consideration governing Spain's actions, he said, and it had completed a difficult census of a largely nomadic population in order to ensure that the Saharwi people alone would participate in the referendum.

Spain declared that it would respect the integrity of the territory; the United Nations should ascertain whether the countries bordering Spanish Sahara were prepared to do likewise.

Spain regretted that the draft resolution did not demand as a necessary condition that the integrity of the territory should be respected and that the interested parties should renounce all territorial claims.

With regard to development of territorial resources, Spain had been guided by the principle that those resources belonged entirely to the territory's inhabitants, who should be the sole beneficiaries. Only Spanish enterprises were participating in the exploitation of the resources of the territory, to the sole benefit of the Saharwi population; there were no foreign investments and the Spanish firms were not part of any international cartels, the representative added.

The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that the main objective of the sponsors of the draft text was to show that the Assembly did not intend to tolerate any longer the continuation of the colonial situation in the territory and that it intended to ensure the implementation of the Declaration on granting independence in respect of Spanish Sahara.

At the plenary meeting of the General Assembly, Costa Rica spoke against the draft resolution, saying among other things that the draft did not contain conclusive guarantees that whatever path was chosen the people's territorial integrity would be respected, which meant territorial claims must be renounced at the outset.

#### **Other territories**

In 1972, the General Assembly and its Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples also considered the situations in the following additional territories: American Samoa, Antigua, the Bahamas, Bermuda, British Honduras, the British Virgin Islands, Brunei, the Cayman Islands, (the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Dominica, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Grenada, Guam, Montserrat, the New Hebrides, Niue, Pitcairn, St. Helena, St. Kitts—Nevis—Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, the Seychelles, the Solomon Islands, the Tokelau Islands, the Turks and Caicos Islands and the United States Virgin Islands.

The Special Committee referred all except seven of these territories to its Sub-Committees I, II and III for consideration and report; Antigua, British Honduras, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent were considered by the full Committee. It adopted the Sub-Committees' reports on the territories and endorsed their conclusions and recommendations, in some instances on the understanding that any reservations made by members or administering powers invited to participate would be reflected in the records of the meetings.

With respect to the seven territories considered in plenary, as well as Brunei, the Special Committee decided to transmit to the General Assembly the working papers prepared by the Secretariat on the territories in order to facilitate consideration of the item by the General Assembly's Fourth Committee, and, subject to any directives which the Assembly might give in that connexion, to consider the territories in 1973.

#### Consideration by Special Committee

##### **SEYCHELLES AND ST. HELENA**

On 1 August 1972, the Special Committee adopted the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report of its Sub-Committee I concerning the Seychelles and St. Helena.

Among other actions, the Special Committee noted with serious concern that in the year under review the basic political structure of the Seychelles remained unchanged and that no legislative or other measures had been taken to promote the process of decolonization and to transfer powers to the people of the territory. Expressions of political opposition to the local authorities had become more frequent and led to violence.

The Special Committee expressed profound regret that the administering power (the United Kingdom) had totally disregarded a General Assembly request of 20 December 1971<sup>18</sup> to receive a special mission of the United Nations and to make the necessary arrangements for the holding of a referendum on the future status of the territory. It urged the United Kingdom to take immediately concrete measures in comply with that resolution.

The Special Committee reiterated its concern over the continued refusal of the administering power to restore the three islands which had been detached from the Seychelles in 1965 and incorporated into the so-called British Indian Ocean Territory, and condemned the construction there of joint military facilities by the United Kingdom and the United States. Reiterating its conviction that such actions were not in keeping with the interests of the inhabitants or of the territory, nor

with those of the African continent, nor with the maintenance of peace and security of neighbouring countries, the Special Committee called upon the United Kingdom to stop the construction of military bases there and to return the detached islands to the Seychelles.

It also noted that in the year under review no steps had been taken to transfer powers to the people of St. Helena.

Noting that the economic situation and social conditions in the two territories remained unsatisfactory, the Special Committee urged the administering power to take further measures towards the immediate solution of the most pressing problems in the fields of welfare and education and to take immediate steps to stop the sale of land to foreign firms, to remove existing South African interests from the territories and to prevent new economic intervention by South Africa with a view to safeguarding the interests of their peoples.

Finally, the Special Committee considered that it would be useful to invite representatives of political parties to participate in its meetings in order to provide the Committee with detailed first-hand information on current developments in the territories.

Reservations to the conclusions and recommendations were recorded by Sweden.

On 23 August, the Special Committee adopted a consensus requesting its Chairman to contact Guy Simon, Secretary-General of the Seychelles People's United Party (SPUP), the opposition party, with a view to obtaining further information relating to his allegations in a written petition that the local government was carrying out mass arrests and detentions of SPUP supporters.

##### **BAHAMAS, BERMUDA, BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS, CAYMAN ISLANDS, MONTSERRAT, TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS**

On 1 August 1972, the Special Committee, acting on a report by its Sub-Committee III, adopted its conclusions and recommendations concerning the Bahamas, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Montserrat, and the Turks and Caicos Islands. It thereby reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of those territories to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration on granting independence and reiterated its conviction that territorial size, limited population and restricted resources should in no way delay the full implementation of the Declaration with regard to these territories.

The Special Committee also reiterated its request to the administering power (the United Kingdom) to encourage open, free and public discussion of the various alternatives available to

<sup>18</sup> See Y.U.N., 1971, pp. 543-44, text of resolution 2866(XXVI).

the people of the territories for the achievement of the objectives of the Declaration, and to ensure that they exercised their right to self-determination and independence in complete freedom.

The Special Committee asked the administering power to take all the necessary measures to transfer all powers to the people of the territories, according to their wishes and without any conditions or reservations, and reiterated its belief that a United Nations presence and participation before and/or during the procedure was essential.

Reaffirming the paramount importance and extreme usefulness of visiting missions as a means of securing first-hand, adequate and necessary information, the Special Committee once again urged the administering power to permit the access of visiting missions to the territories and to extend them full co-operation and assistance. It also stressed the importance of inviting representatives of various groups representing different shades of opinion in each territory to participate in its meetings and the meetings of its sub-committees.

The Special Committee expressed its concern over the activities of separate economic and financial entities in some of the territories which were not subject to the proper control of government authority, and requested the administering power to take effective measures without further delay to safeguard the rights of the people of the territories regarding development and control of their resources. The Committee also called upon the administering power to promote economic diversification in the territories so as to reduce their dependence on tourism. Finally, taking note of a number of projects being carried out under United Nations auspices in some of the territories, the Committee expressed the hope that such useful assistance would be increased.

The Special Committee also set forth recommendations and conclusions regarding specific territories.

Taking note of a statement made on 14 June 1971 by the Governor of the Bahamas that the territory would seek independence late in 1973, the Special Committee requested the administering power to take immediate steps to safeguard the unity and territorial integrity of (he Bahamas from secessionist movements.

It expressed its concern over the continuing racial inequalities prevailing in Bermuda and called upon the administering power to take, without further delay, effective measures to ensure that the people of that territory enjoyed equal opportunities without any distinction. It further urged the administering power to take immediate steps for the full implementation of the Declaration with respect to Bermuda.

As for the British Virgin Islands, the Special Committee noted with regret that constitutional changes introduced in that territory did not represent a substantial advance which would open the way towards speedy implementation of the Declaration there.

Referring to the Cayman Islands, the Committee expressed the hope that the consultations which were being held in the territory would bring about the constitutional advancement that would lead to the full implementation of the Declaration with respect to the territory.

The Special Committee reiterated its hope that practical steps would be taken by the administering power leading to the dispatch of a visiting mission to Montserrat, again expressing its hope and expectation that such a mission would, among other things, promote further United Nations assistance to the territory.

Finally, the Special Committee appealed to the administering power to take positive and effective steps, in the political, economic and social fields, that would lead towards the full implementation of the objectives of the Declaration with respect to the Turks and Caicos Islands.

A reservation on these conclusions and recommendations was expressed by Sweden.

#### **GILBERT AND ELLICE ISLANDS, PITCAIRN, SOLOMON ISLANDS**

On 1 August 1972, the Special Committee adopted conclusions and recommendations concerning the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands, all administered by the United Kingdom. The Committee acted on the basis of a report submitted by its Sub-Committee II.

The Special Committee stated that in the three territories the executive heads, as representatives of the administering power, continued to retain extensive executive as well as legislative authority over all matters affecting the interests of the people. The Committee considered it imperative that this power be transferred as soon as possible to freely elected political institutions, so as to enable the peoples of the territories to achieve without further delay the objectives set forth in the Declaration on granting independence.

The Committee called upon the administering power to prepare without delay concrete programmes of assistance and a co-ordinated development plan to forestall the possibly disastrous impact of termination of the mining activities on Ocean Island on the economic life of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands.

It noted the general improvement of the economy of the Solomon Islands and urged the administering power to make necessary arrangements for the continued provision of adequate

funds to ensure the successful implementation of that territory's development plan.

The Special Committee rioted with concern the growing number of arrangements being made in the territories which might involve foreign economic interests and other activities detrimental to the interests of their people. It requested the administering power to take steps to protect and safeguard the rights and interests of the population in their natural resources.

The Committee urged the administering power to consider instituting, at an early date, free and compulsory education in the territories, at least through the primary level. The Special Committee also strongly urged the administering power to reconsider its position and to permit access of visiting missions to the territories.

Finally, the Committee strongly condemned the disregard of world public opinion by France in resuming nuclear atmospheric testing in the vicinity of Mururoa Atoll, north-west of Pitcairn, and called upon that Government to desist forthwith from engaging in activities endangering the life and environment of the peoples of the region.

#### NIUE AND THE TOKELAU ISLANDS

On 14 August 1972, the Special Committee adopted the report of its June 1972 visiting mission to Niue and endorsed the conclusions and recommendations contained therein.

The mission had found an overwhelming majority of the population in favour of full internal self-government, wishing to retain their Niuean identity. Nevertheless, the people desired continued close relationship with the administering power, namely the retention of New Zealand citizenship and continued New Zealand economic assistance.

While welcoming the Niue Amendment Act, 1971, the mission recommended further constitutional changes to enable the people of Niue to exercise self-government and self-determination as soon as possible, specifically by empowering the Leader of Government to preside over meetings of the Executive Committee, appointing a Niuean as President of the Niue Island Legislative Assembly, and devising a more appropriate alternative to replace the Resident Commissioner in dispensing justice in the territory.

The mission was of the opinion that a proposal to set three years as a time-limit for the attainment of full internal self-government was fair and reasonable and deserved serious consideration.

The Special Committee adopted conclusions and recommendations on 23 August 1972 concerning the Tokelau Islands, on the basis of a report by its Sub-Committee II. The Special Committee

noted, among other things, that a final decision on the future of the territory had not yet been taken, but it also noted that the Tokelauans had rejected union with neighbouring island groups and appeared to consider that migration to adjacent islands or to New Zealand might provide the answer to their problems, particularly that of over-population. It also noted that for this reason the administering power was continuing to implement the Resettlement Scheme, whereby Tokelauans could, at their own choice, be resettled in New Zealand over a number of years.

#### NEW HEBRIDES

On 1 August 1972, the Special Committee adopted conclusions and recommendations concerning the New Hebrides, on the basis of a report by its Sub-Committee II.

The Committee noted with deep regret that the intentions of the administering powers (France and the United Kingdom) with regard to the future of the New Hebrides were unclear. It considered the three parallel administrations (French, British and joint Franco-British) to be an obstacle to the political and economic advancement of the people of the territory. It therefore urged the administering powers to establish a system of government based on the full participation of the people with a view to the speedy implementation of the Declaration on granting independence, and reiterated its hope that constitutional development would take place, including the revision of the 1914 Anglo-French Protocol, so as to transfer full governmental authority to the people of the territory.

Bearing in mind that foreign interests appeared to control seven times more registered land than the indigenous population and that the number of foreign companies registered in the territory had increased from 200 to 500 during the period under review, the Special Committee reiterated its serious concern over the rapid multiplication of foreign economic investments detrimental to the interests of the people.

It noted that the economy of the territory was based on the production of copra, the world price of which had continued to fall in recent years, and expressed the hope that the administering powers would take the steps necessary to diversify the economy.

The Committee noted with regret that educational conditions lagged far behind the territory's requirements and urged the administering powers to take steps to ensure continued progress in that field.

Finally, the Special Committee urged the administering powers to reconsider their position con-

cerning visiting missions and allow a mission to visit the New Hebrides.

#### **AMERICAN SAMOA AND GUAM**

The Special Committee, on 11 August 1972, also endorsed the conclusions and recommendations of its Sub-Committee II concerning American Samoa and Guam.

The Committee reiterated its view that all options leading to and including full independence should be left open to the inhabitants of both territories. It urged that steps be taken to reduce the dependence of the territories on the United States (the administering power) and that the United States should allow the territories' inhabitants to participate fully and freely in an act of self-determination in conformity with the Declaration on granting independence. The Special Committee noted with continued concern the tendency of the administering power to perpetuate its association with the two territories and urged it not to prejudge or prejudice their future.

The Committee urged the administering power to give sympathetic consideration to the request of the Guam Legislature that the United States Congress amend its Organic Act of 1950 so as to enable the Legislature to consent to the application of federal laws in the territory.

The Special Committee would welcome further information as to how Guam's non-voting delegate, who was to take a seat in the United States House of Representatives in 1973, would be able to ensure direct and effective representation of the people of Guam and make known their aspirations.

It reiterated its view that the dependence of Guam on military installations and particularly the presence of military bases should be brought to an end as soon as possible.

The Special Committee regretted that there had been no significant political progress in American Samoa during the period under review.

Once again, the Committee urged the administering power to reconsider its negative position on the question of allowing a mission to visit the territories.

Subsequently, on 17 August, the Special Committee, in approving a report of its Sub-Committee on Petitions, requested its Chairman to hold consultations with the administering power, within the context of the mandate entrusted to him by a Special Committee decision of 14 August 1972, regarding the dispatch of a United Nations visiting mission to Guam. By that decision, the Special Committee regretted the negative attitude of certain administering powers towards its appeals to allow visiting missions to the territories, called upon those powers to co-operate fully with the

Special Committee, and asked its Chairman to continue consultations with the administering powers concerned towards that end and report thereon to the Special Committee.

The representative of the United States participated in the work of the Special Committee during its consideration of the item.

#### **COCOS (KEELING) ISLANDS**

On 11 August 1972, the Special Committee adopted conclusions and recommendations concerning the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, administered by Australia, on the basis of a report by its Sub-Committee II.

The Special Committee reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of the territory to self-determination and independence in conformity with the Declaration on granting independence. It also reiterated its view that the question of the territory's size, isolation and limited resources should in no way delay the speedy implementation of the Declaration.

#### **UNITED STATES VIRGIN ISLANDS**

The Special Committee adopted conclusions and recommendations concerning the United States Virgin Islands on 28 August 1972, on the basis of a report submitted by its Sub-Committee III.

The Special Committee regretted that the administering power (the United States) had not so far implemented the provisions of the Declaration on granting independence and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly with regard to the territory. It invited the administering power to take immediate steps to transfer powers to the people of the territory.

The Committee noted various political measures taken by the administering power, such as the extension of suffrage to a greater number of local inhabitants, the enactment of legislation by the United States Congress providing for a non-voting delegate from the territory to the United States House of Representatives, and the holding of a Constitutional Convention. While hoping that the proposals, of the Constitutional Convention would help prepare the people of the territory for a more active role in its political affairs, the Special Committee nevertheless expressed deep concern over the fact that the proposals tended to perpetuate the territory's association with the United States and that the administering power had not acquainted the local people with their right to self-determination and independence. Accordingly, it urged the administering power not to prejudge and prejudice the future of the territory. It also urged the administering power to encourage the people of the territory to begin discussing all

alternatives available to them for the realization of their aspirations for their territory's political future.

Also, the Special Committee expressed the hope that the territorial government would intensify its efforts towards economic diversification and take steps to reduce the territory's dependence on the economy of the United States. It noted further that a policy of limited immigration had been instituted in May 1970 in order to cope with serious economic and social problems resulting from the influx of non-resident or non-immigrant aliens into the territory in recent years. In this respect, the Committee stressed the need to improve labour relations in the territory.

Finally, the Special Committee again stressed the importance it attached to the dispatch of a United Nations visiting mission to the territory and urged the administering power to reconsider its position, enabling the access of a mission to the territory and extending to it full co-operation and assistance.

Reservations concerning these conclusions and recommendations were expressed by the representatives of Sweden and of the United States. The latter, as the administering power, participated in the work of the Committee during its consideration of the item.

#### Consideration by General Assembly

Later in 1972, at its twenty-seventh session which opened in September, the General Assembly took up the Special Committee's report on the territories.

On 14 December 1972, the Assembly adopted a number of resolutions and decisions regarding the various territories.

With regard to the Seychelles, the Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of the territory to self-determination and independence and called upon the United Kingdom to take all necessary measures to enable them to exercise that right without further delay. It requested the United Kingdom to receive the special mission envisaged by the Assembly's decision of 20 December 1971<sup>19</sup> and to make the necessary arrangements for holding a referendum on the future status of the territory. The Assembly also requested the Special Committee to continue examining the question and to report to it at its 1973 session.

These decisions were set forth in resolution 2985(XXVII), adopted by a recorded vote of 103 in favour to 4 against, with 15 abstentions. The Assembly acted on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee, which approved the text on 8 December by a roll-call vote of 86 to 4, with

13 abstentions, on a proposal by Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, the Congo, Guinea, Guyana, India, Kenya, Mali, Mongolia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia. (For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

During discussion in the Fourth Committee, the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said that events which had taken place in the Seychelles since 1971 did not lead one to believe the United Kingdom wished to grant independence to that colony; on the contrary, colonial operations designed to wipe out the indigenous forces struggling for independence had been intensified. He detailed further charges and said also that racists from South Africa had been allowed to buy huge chunks of land in the islands.

The United Kingdom representative said that his Government during the year had informed the United Nations that two motions put forward concerning a referendum on independence and an invitation for a visiting mission had both been defeated in the Seychelles Legislative Assembly. The elected majority party had campaigned on a platform which, among other things, opposed independence for the territory; the opposition party favoured independence. If the two parties maintained their present attitudes, the people would be able to vote freely on the issue at the next elections. The United Kingdom did not wish to delay independence for territories which sought it nor force it upon those which did not.

The representative stated that there were no military bases in the Seychelles—only a communications facility in the British Indian Ocean Territory.

The Netherlands, Sweden, and Trinidad and Tobago, among others, felt that the small territories had long been grossly neglected by the United Nations. Sweden suggested that a visiting mission to the Seychelles should be strictly a fact-finding body, particularly since there was a division between the government party and the opposition party on the all-important question of the future of the people of the territory. Although independence might eventually be the majority choice, it was not for the United Nations to decide the matter, thereby encroaching on the basic principle of self-determination. Australia and the Netherlands shared that view.

Japan said it was unable to support the resolution, as it had been formulated on the assumption that the people of the Seychelles desired independence. The establishment of a sovereign

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*

and Independent State, the free association or integration with an independent State or the emergence into any other political status freely determined by a people also constituted modes of implementing the right of self-determination by that people, Japan pointed out.

Speaking before the vote on the draft resolution in the plenary session, Mauritius suggested that the Assembly should perhaps start thinking of bringing the Seychelles under the protective umbrella of the Trusteeship Council if that territory did not achieve its independence soon.

With regard to the Caribbean territories of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, the General Assembly: (1) took note of the chapter of the report of the Special Committee relating to those territories; and (2) requested the Special Committee to continue to give consideration to the question in accordance with the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the Assembly, and to report to it thereon in 1973.

The Assembly took these decisions in adopting resolution 2987(XXVII), by a recorded vote of 117 to 0, with 3 abstentions. It acted on the recommendation of the Fourth Committee, which approved the text by a recorded vote of 72 to 0, with 3 abstentions, on 13 December 1972. The text had been proposed by Cameroon, Chile, Costa Rica, Egypt, Ghana, Guyana, Jamaica, Madagascar, Nigeria, Rwanda, Trinidad and Tobago, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia. (For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES **below**.)

In a third action, concerning Niue and the Tokelau Islands, the Assembly among other things: (1) reaffirmed the inalienable right of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence in conformity with the Declaration on the granting of independence; (2) approved the chapters of the report of the Special Committee relating to Niue and the Tokelau Islands; (3) commended for the consideration of the New Zealand Government (the administering power) and the Niue Island Legislative Assembly the conclusions and recommendations of the 1972 visiting mission to Niue; (4) expressed its appreciation of the co-operation extended to the United Nations by New Zealand in connexion with its special study of the question of Niue and the Tokelau Islands; (5) took note of the decision of the Niue Assembly concerning the future status of the territory; (6) expressed the hope that forthcoming constitutional talks between the administering power and representatives of the Niuean people would result in an early realization of the aspirations of the Niuean people regarding their future status, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the

United Nations Charter and the Declaration on granting independence; (7) requested the administering power to continue its assistance to the territories in order to promote their economic, social and educational development and, in that connexion, to avail itself of assistance from organizations within the United Nations system, as well as from regional and inter-governmental organizations; and (8) requested the administering power to take steps to intensify programmes of political education and to preserve the cultural heritage of the people of both territories.

Among other things, the Assembly also requested the Special Committee to continue its examination of the question and report to it in 1973.

These decisions were set forth in resolution 2986(XXVII), adopted by a recorded vote of 119 to 0, on the recommendation of the Fourth Committee. On 12 December 1972, by a roll-call vote of 104 to 0, the Fourth Committee approved the text after rejecting two oral amendments of the Libyan Arab Republic, also by roll-call votes. The draft resolution was sponsored by Afghanistan, Australia, Cameroon, Chile, Denmark, Fiji, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Kenya, Madagascar, Nigeria, the Philippines, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia. (For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES **below**.)

Japan, the Netherlands, Sierra Leone and Trinidad and Tobago were among Members of the Fourth Committee who expressed appreciation for the co-operation extended to the United Nations by New Zealand as the administering power. Sierra Leone commented that self-determination did not necessarily mean total independence and severing of all ties with former colonial powers.

The USSR representative expressed reservations with respect to certain provisions in the Special Committee's report, where limitations had been placed on the application of the Declaration on granting independence. Thus, he said, while the recommendations of the Special Committee referred to the right of peoples to self-determination and internal self-government, the Declaration itself referred to their right to self-determination leading to full independence.

Tunisia agreed with the view that factors such as the size of a territory, geographical situation or limited resources should not impede the implementation of the Declaration.

New Zealand informed the Fourth Committee that on 21 November 1972 the Niue Island Legislative Assembly, after considering the report of the Select Committee on the Constitutional Development of Niue Island, had reached a decision

that the Government of Niue should inform the Government of New Zealand of its wish to achieve the status of full self-government in free association with New Zealand in 1974.

Two oral amendments to the draft resolution, proposed by the Libyan Arab Republic, were rejected by roll-call votes in the Fourth Committee. By one of these, the Assembly would have recalled in a preambular paragraph not only the Declaration on granting independence but also its resolution of 12 October 1970<sup>20</sup> containing the programme of action to implement the Declaration. The amendment was rejected by 52 votes against to 15 in favour, with 35 abstentions. By the second, the Assembly would have reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Niue and the Tokelau Islands, rather than of colonial peoples in general, to self-determination and independence in conformity with the Declaration. The proposed amendment was rejected by 55 votes to 16, with 31 abstentions.

By a fourth resolution, the Assembly took decisions concerning 17 territories: American Samoa, the Bahamas, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, Brunei, the Cayman Islands, the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Guam, Montserrat, the New Hebrides, Pitcairn, St. Helena, the Seychelles, the Solomon Islands, the Turks and Caicos Islands and the United States Virgin Islands.

By the preambular paragraphs of the resolution, the Assembly, among other actions: (n) deplored the intransigent attitude of the Governments of the United Kingdom and France, which continued to refuse to co-operate with the Special Committee in its examination of the territories under their administration; (b) deeply deplored the policy of those administering powers which continued to maintain military bases in territories under their administration; (c) deeply deplored also the attitude of those administering powers which continued to refuse to allow United Nations missions to visit the territories under their administration; (d) reiterated its conviction that the dispatch of such missions was indispensable for securing adequate and first-hand information on political, economic and social conditions in the territories, as well as the views, wishes and aspirations of their peoples; (e) expressed deep concern about the adverse effects of continued nuclear atmospheric testing in the South Pacific on the life, welfare and environment of the peoples of non-self-governing territories situated therein and affirmed the right of those peoples to be free of the hazards caused by such tests; (f) noted that the above-mentioned territories required the continued attention and assistance of the United Nations in the achievement of the objectives of

the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; and (g) expressed awareness of the special circumstances of the geographical location and economic conditions of those territories.

By the operative paragraphs of the resolution, the Assembly:

(1) approved the chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the above-mentioned territories;

(2) reaffirmed the inalienable right of their peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration on granting independence;

(3) called upon the administering powers concerned to take all necessary steps, without further delay, to ensure the full and speedy attainment of the goals set forth in the Declaration and, in that regard, to establish, in consultation with freely elected representatives of the people, a specific time-table for the exercise of the right of those peoples to self-determination;

(4) reaffirmed its conviction that the questions of size, geographical isolation and limited resources should in no way delay the implementation of the Declaration;

(5) strongly deprecated any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of colonial territories and the establishment in them of military bases and installations as being incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter and the Declaration;

(6) called again upon the administering powers concerned to reconsider their attitude towards United Nations visiting missions and to permit access by such missions to territories under their administration;

(7) called on the administering powers concerned to participate in the relevant proceedings of the Special Committee and, in particular, to report to the Special Committee on the implementation of this resolution;

(8) requested the United Nations family of organizations to assist in accelerating progress in all sectors of the national life of those territories;

(9) called upon the administering power concerned, in view of its responsibility towards the welfare of the peoples of non-self-governing territories in the region, to discontinue any further nuclear atmospheric testing in the South Pacific area, in order not to endanger the life and environment of the peoples of the territories concerned;

(10) invited the Secretary-General, having regard to the mandate entrusted to him by its resolution (2909(XXVII)) of 2 November 1972

20 See Y.U.N., 1970, pp. 706-8, text of resolution 2621(XXV).

(see pp. 552-53), to pay particular regard to the need to intensify widespread dissemination of information on the process of decolonization in these territories; and

(11) requested the Special Committee to continue to give full consideration to this question, in particular the dispatch of visiting missions to the above-mentioned territories, and to report to the Assembly on the question in 1973.

These decisions were embodied in resolution 2984(XXVII), adopted by a recorded vote of 100 to 4, with 17 abstentions. The Assembly acted on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee, which approved the text on 8 December 1972, by a recorded vote of 84 to 4, with 13 abstentions. The sponsors of the draft were Cameroon, the Congo, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, India, Kenya, Mali, Mongolia, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia. (For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES **below**.)

Kenya and Uganda were among those pointing out, during the discussion in the Fourth Committee, that there had been little change in the status of the 17 territories under consideration. Kenya could not accept the argument that some territories were too small to be independent; any territory populated by indigenous inhabitants was entitled to independence. The Byelorussian SSR said it shared the concern expressed over the slowness of the process of decolonization.

Turkey maintained that the small territories referred to posed difficult problems out of proportion to their limited areas and small populations; however, their special geographical, demographic and economic conditions should not constitute an obstacle to self-determination and independence but instead required special atten-

tion by the United Nations and the administering powers.

Speaking in explanation of vote, New Zealand said that the draft resolution before the Committee perpetuated the unfortunate tradition of lumping together a large number of territories, each with its own problems; thus each territory received only superficial treatment. This was not a realistic method of dealing with their problems.

France considered that artificial elements had been introduced into the text of the resolution, which was essentially concerned with the implementation of the Declaration.

The United Kingdom representative stated that the preambular paragraph deploring his Government's intransigent attitude was totally unacceptable. The United Kingdom had never refused to consult with representatives of the Special Committee when asked to do so. In those few territories administered by the United Kingdom where there were military installations, they had been established in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants and were not incompatible with the United Nations Charter or the Declaration on granting independence. It did not believe that visiting missions were of vital importance in securing information about its territories, since they were open societies, easily accessible, and information on them not only was furnished by the United Kingdom to the United Nations but also appeared in world news media.

On 18 December 1972, the General Assembly, without adopting a formal resolution, endorsed without objection a recommendation made on 12 December 1972 by its Fourth Committee "that consideration of the question of British Honduras (Belize) be postponed to its 1973 session.

### Documentary references

#### Falkland Islands (Malvinas)

Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, meeting 887.

General Assembly—27th session  
Fourth Committee, meetings 2006, 2008, 2021.  
Plenary meetings 2043, 2114.

A/8723/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee (covering its work during 1972), Chapter XXV.

A/8866. Letter of 23 October 1972 from United Kingdom. A/8955 (parts I and III). Report of Fourth Committee (on territories not considered separately), paras. 8 and 26.

A/8730. Resolutions adopted by General Assembly during its 27th session, 19 September-19 December 1972. Other decisions, p. 90.

#### French Territory of the Afars and the Issas

Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, meetings 869, 887.

General Assembly—27th session  
Fourth Committee, meetings 2002, 2006.  
Plenary meeting 2114.

A/8701. Report of Secretary-General on work of the Organization, 16 June 1971-15 June 1972, Part Two, Chapter I B 6.

A/8723/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee (covering its work during 1972), Chapter XIV.

A/8955 (parts I and III). Report of Fourth Committee (on territories not considered separately), paras. 8 and 26.

A/8730. Resolutions adopted by General Assembly

during its 27th session, 19 September-19 December 1972. Other decisions, p. 90.

#### Gibraltar

Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, meeting 887.

General Assembly—27th session  
Fourth Committee, meetings 2006, 2008, 2021.  
Plenary meeting 2114.

A/8701. Report of Secretary-General on work of the Organization, 16 June 1971-15 June 1972, Part Two, Chapter I B 5.

A/8723/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee (covering its work during 1972), Chapter XIII.

A/8955 (parts I and III). Report of Fourth Committee (on territories not considered separately), paras. 8 and 26.

A/6730. Resolutions adopted by General Assembly during its 27th session, 19 September-19 December 1972. Other decisions, p. 90.

#### Spanish Sahara

Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, meeting 887.

General Assembly—27th session  
Fourth Committee, meetings 2004-2006, 2008-2012, 2015.  
Plenary meeting 2110.

A/8701. Report of Secretary-General on work of the Organization, 16 June 1971-15 June 1972, Part Two, Chapter I B 4.

A/8723/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee (covering its work during 1972), Chapter XII.

A/C.4/L.1018 and Corr.1. Burundi, Cameroon, Congo, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guinea, Kenya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritius, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zambia: draft resolution.

A/C.4/L.1018/Rev.1. Burundi, Central African Republic, Congo, Guinea, Kenya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritius, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zambia: revised draft resolution, approved by Fourth Committee on 6 December 1972, meeting 2015, by roll-call vote of 82 to 7, with 25 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Australia, Bahrain, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Portugal, South Africa, Spain.

Abstaining: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Fiji, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Ireland, Italy, Morocco, Netherlands, Peru, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela.

A/C.4/L.1019. Administrative and financial Implications of 19-power draft resolution, A/C.4/L.1018. Statement by Secretary-General.

A/8955 (parts I and III). Report of Fourth Committee (on territories not considered separately), draft resolution I.

Resolution 2983(XXVII), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/8955, adopted by Assembly on 14 December 1972, meeting 2110, by recorded vote of 84 to 10, with 26 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Australia, Bahrain, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Portugal, South Africa, Spain.

Abstaining: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Fiji, France, Greece, Haiti, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, Morocco, Netherlands, Peru, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela.

The General Assembly,

Having examined the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the Territory of Spanish Sahara,

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

Recalling also the relevant provisions of its resolution 2621(XXV) of 12 October 1970 containing the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration,

Taking into consideration the relevant resolutions adopted by the Ninth Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Rabat, Morocco, from 12 to 15 June 1972, and by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Georgetown, Guyana, from 8 to 12 August 1972,

Having regard to the decision of the Heads of State of the countries concerned, adopted at the Conference held at Nouadhibou, Mauritania, on 14 September 1970, to intensify their co-operation in a positive manner in order to hasten the liberation of so-called Spanish Sahara,

Reaffirming its resolutions 2072(XX) of 16 December 1965, 2229(XXI) of 20 December 1988, 2354(XXII) of

19 December 1967, 2428(XXIII) of 18 December 1968, 2591(XXIV) of 16 December 1969 and 2711(XXV) of 14 December 1970.

Deploring that the administering Power has not provided sufficiently clear information on the conditions and time-table it intends to apply in bringing about the complete decolonization of the Territory,

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of the Sahara to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514(XV);

2. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples and its solidarity with, and support for, the people of the Sahara in the struggle they are waging in order to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, and requests all States to give them all necessary moral and material assistance in that struggle;

3. Declares that the continued existence of a colonial situation in the Territory is endangering stability and harmony in north-west Africa;

4. Expresses its support for, and solidarity with, the people of the Sahara, and calls upon the Government of Spain, in conformity with its obligations and its responsibility as the administering Power, to take effective measures to create the necessary conditions for the free exercise of their right to self-determination and independence;

5. Repeats its invitation to the administering Power to determine, in consultation with the Governments of Mauritania and Morocco and any other interested party, the procedures for the holding of a referendum under United Nations auspices to enable the Indigenous population of the Sahara to exercise freely its right to self-determination and independence and, to this end, invites the Government of Spain:

(a) To create a favourable political climate for the referendum to be conducted on an entirely free, democratic and impartial basis by permitting, inter alia, the return of political exiles to the Territory;

(b) To take all the necessary steps to ensure that only the indigenous inhabitants exercise their right to self-determination and independence, with a view to the decolonization of the Territory;

(c) To receive a United Nations mission and provide it with all the necessary facilities so that it can participate actively in the implementation of measures making it possible to put an end to the colonial situation in the Territory;

6. Invites all States to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly on the activities of foreign economic and financial interests and to refrain from helping to perpetuate the colonial situation in the Territory by means of investments;

7. Reaffirms the responsibility of the United Nations in all consultations intended to lead to the free expression of the wishes of the people;

8. Urges the administering Power to respect and to implement scrupulously, under the auspices and guarantee of the United Nations, the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly relating to the decolonization of so-called Spanish Sahara;

9. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the administering Power 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, to appoint immediately the special mission provided for in paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 2229(XXI) and to expedite its dispatch to the Sahara in order to recommend practical steps for the full implementation of the relevant resolutions, and, in particular, to confirm United Nations participation in the preparation and supervision of the referendum and to submit a report to the Secretary-

General for transmission to the Assembly at its twenty-eighth session;

10. Calls upon the Special Committee to continue its consideration of the situation in the Territory and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

#### Other territories

##### CONSIDERATION BY SPECIAL COMMITTEE

Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, meetings 875-882, 885-887, 889.

##### CONSIDERATION BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY

General Assembly—27th session

Fourth Committee, meetings 2008, 2012, 2016-2018, 2020, 2021, 2023.

Plenary meetings 2049, 2110, 2114.

A/8701. Report of Secretary-General on work of the Organization, 16 June 1971-15 June 1972, Part Two, Chapter I B 8.

A/8723/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee (covering its work during 1972). Chapter XI: Seychelles and St. Helena; Chapter XV: New Hebrides; Chapter XVI: Niue and Tokelau Islands; Chapter XVII: Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and Solomon Islands; Chapter XVIII: American Samoa and Guam; Chapter XIX: Trust Territory of Pacific Islands; Chapter XX: Cocos (Keeling) Islands and Papua New Guinea; Chapter XXI: Brunei; Chapter XXII: Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Montserrat and Turks and Caicos Islands; Chapter XXIII: United States Virgin Islands; Chapter XXIV: Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent; Chapter XXVI: British Honduras.

A/8989. Letter of 14 December 1972 from United Kingdom.

A/C.4/L.1026. Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Congo, Guinea, Guyana, India, Kenya, Mal, Mongolia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zambia: draft resolution, approved by Fourth Committee on 8 December 1972, meeting 2017, by roll-call vote of 86 to 4, with 13 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: France, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, United States.

A/8955 (parts II and III). Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution III.

Resolution 2985(XXVII), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/8955, adopted by Assembly on 14 December 1972, meeting 2110, by recorded vote of 103 to 4, with 15 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: France, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Equatorial Guinea, Finland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, United States.

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of the Seychelles,

Having considered the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

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

Recalling also its resolution 2866(XXVI) of 20 December 1971 concerning the question,

Reaffirming that the Seychelles should accede to independence without any prejudice to their territorial integrity,

Expressing its deep regret that it has not been possible to send a special mission of the United Nations to the Territory, as envisaged under resolution 2866(XXVI),

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of the Seychelles to self-determination and independence in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514(XV), and calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the administering Power, to take all necessary measures to enable the people to exercise that right without further delay;

2. Requests the administering Power, in accordance with the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, to receive the special mission of the United Nations envisaged under resolution 2866(XXVI) and to make the necessary arrangements, in consultation with the special mission, for the holding of a referendum on the future status of the Territory;

3. Requests 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 its examination of the question, including in particular the dispatch of the special mission referred to above, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

A/C.4/L.1029 and Rev.1. Cameroon, Chile, Costa Rica, Egypt, Ghana, Guyana, Jamaica, Madagascar, Nigeria, Rwanda, Trinidad and Tobago, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zambia: draft resolution and revision, approved by Fourth Committee on 13 December 1972, meeting 2023, by recorded vote of 72 to 0, with 3 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Oman, Qatar, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Belgium, France, United States.

A/8955 (parts II and III). Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution V.

Resolution 2987(XXVII), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/8955, adopted by Assembly on 14 December 1972, meeting 2110, by recorded vote of 117 to 0, with 3 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Belgium, France, United States.

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent,

Recalling its resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December

1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and its resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, containing the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration,

Recalling further its previous resolutions relating to the question, in particular resolutions 2593 (XXIV) of 16 December 1969 and 2867 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971,

Having examined the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Reaffirming the inalienable right of the peoples of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent to achieve independence in conformity with the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV),

1. Takes note of the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent;

2. Requests the Special Committee to continue to give consideration to this question in accordance with the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and to report thereon to the Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

A/C.4/757. Note verbale of 5 December 1972 from New Zealand.

A/C.4/L.1027 and Rev.1. Afghanistan, Australia, Cameroon, Chile, Denmark, Fiji, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Kenya, Madagascar, Nigeria, Philippines, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zambia: draft resolution and revision, approved unanimously by Fourth Committee on 12 December 1972, meeting 2021, by roll-call vote of 104 to 0, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Belgium, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Canada, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, United States, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

A/8955 (parts II and III). Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution IV.

Resolution 2986 (XXVII), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/8955, adopted by Assembly on 14 December 1972, meeting 2110, by recorded vote of 119 to 0, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina,

Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Niue and the Tokelau Islands,

Noting that, at the invitation of the Government of New Zealand, the administering Power, a United Nations mission visited Niue in June 1972,

Having examined the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, including in particular the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Niue, 1972,

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

Recalling its resolution 2868 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971,

Having heard the statements of the representative of the administering Power,

Noting with satisfaction that, following the visit of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Niue, the Select Committee on Constitutional Development, established by the Niue Island Legislative Assembly, concluded popular consultations on measures for the further constitutional advancement of the Territory of Niue, including the establishment of a time-table for the attainment of self-government,

Stressing the special responsibility of the Government of New Zealand, as the administering Power, to continue to assist the peoples of Niue and the Tokelau Islands freely to decide their own future,

Mindful that Niue and the Tokelau Islands require the continued attention and assistance of the United Nations in the achievement by their peoples of the objectives embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of colonial peoples to self-determination and Independence in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

2. Approves the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

3. Commends the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Niue, 1972, to the Government of New Zealand,

as the administering Power, and to the Niue Island Legislative Assembly for consideration;

4. Expresses its appreciation of the co-operation extended to the United Nations by the Government of New Zealand in connexion with its special study of the question of Niue and the Tokelau Islands;

5. Takes note of the decision of the Niue Island Legislative Assembly concerning the future status of the Territory;

6. Expresses the hope that the forthcoming constitutional talks between the administering Power and the representatives of the people of Niue will result in an early realization of the aspirations of the Niuean people regarding their future status in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

7. Requests the administering Power to continue its assistance to the Territories in order to promote their economic, social and educational development and, in that connexion, to avail itself of assistance from the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, as well as from competent regional and intergovernmental organizations;

8. Requests the administering Power to take the necessary measures to intensify programmes of political education as well as to preserve the cultural heritage of the people of these Territories;

9. Requests the Special Committee to continue to examine this question and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

A/8827. Note verbale of 18 September 1972 from United Kingdom (communicating text of Agreement dated 23 November 1971 between United Kingdom and Brunei, amending Agreement of 29 September 1959).

A/C.4/L.1025. Cameroon, Congo, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, India, Kenya, Mali, Mongolia, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zambia: draft resolution, approved by Fourth Committee on 8 December 1972, meeting 2017, by recorded vote of 84 to 4, with 13 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Bhutan, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, & Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: France, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Gabon, Ireland, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, United States.

A/8955 (parts I and III). Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution II.

Resolution 2984(XXVII), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/8955, adopted by Assembly on 14 De-

ember 1972, meeting 2110, by recorded vote of 100 to 4, with 17 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: France, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chad, Denmark, Finland, Gabon, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden, United States.

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of American Samoa, Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Brunei, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Guam, Montserrat, New Hebrides, Pitcairn, St. Helena, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands and United States Virgin Islands,

Having examined the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

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

Recalling its previous resolutions relating to those Territories, in particular resolution 2869(XXVI) of 20 December 1971,

Deploping the intransigent attitude of the Governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and France, in contravention of the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and their persistence in refusing to co-operate with the Special Committee in its examination of the Territories under their administration,

Deeply deploring the policy of those administering Powers which continue to maintain military bases in some of the Territories under their administration, in contravention of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly,

Deeply deploring also the attitude of those administering Powers which continue to refuse to allow United Nations missions to visit the Territories under their administration,

Bearing in mind in particular the positive results achieved as a consequence of the visits by United Nations missions to other colonial Territories and reiterating its conviction that the dispatch of visiting

missions to the above-mentioned Territories is indispensable for securing adequate and first-hand information in regard to political, economic and social conditions in the Territories and to the views, wishes and aspirations of the peoples therein,

Deeply concerned about the adverse effects of continued nuclear atmospheric testing in the South Pacific on the life, welfare and environment of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories situated therein, and affirming that those peoples have the right to be free of the hazards to their lives, welfare and environment caused by such tests,

Mindful that the Territories listed above require the continued attention and assistance of the United Nations in the achievement by their peoples of the objectives embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Aware of the special circumstances of the geographical location and the economic conditions of those Territories,

1. Approves the chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the Territories listed above;

2. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of those Territories to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

3. Calls upon the administering Powers concerned to take all the necessary steps, without further delay, to ensure the full and speedy attainment of the goals set forth in the Declaration with respect to the Territories and, in that regard, to establish, in consultation with the freely elected representatives of the people, a specific time-table for the free exercise by the peoples of those Territories of their right to self-determination and independence;

4. Reaffirms its conviction that the questions of territorial size, geographical isolation and limited resources should in no way delay the implementation of the Declaration with respect to the Territories concerned;

5. Strongly deprecates any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of colonial Territories and the estab-

lishment of military bases and installations in those Territories, as being incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of General Assembly resolution 1514(XV);

6. Once again calls upon the administering Powers concerned to reconsider their attitude towards the receiving of United Nations visiting missions to the above-mentioned Territories and to permit access by such missions to Territories under their administration;

7. Calls upon the administering Powers concerned to participate in the relevant proceedings of the Special Committee relating to the Territories under their administration and, in particular, to report to the Special Committee on the implementation of the present resolution;

8. Requests the organizations of the United Nations system to assist in accelerating progress in all sectors of the national life of those Territories;

9. Calls upon the administering Power concerned, in view of its responsibility towards the welfare of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the region, to discontinue any further nuclear atmospheric testing in the South Pacific area, in order not to endanger the life and environment of the peoples of the Territories concerned;

10. Invites the Secretary-General, having regard to the mandate entrusted to him in General Assembly resolution 2909(XXVII) of 2 November 1972, to pay particular regard to the need to intensify widespread dissemination of information on the process of decolonization in respect of the Territories listed above;

11. Requests the Special Committee to continue to give full consideration to this question, including in particular the dispatch of visiting missions to those Territories, and to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session on the implementation of the present resolution.

#### **British Honduras**

A/8832. Letter of 6 October 1972 from United Kingdom. A/8955 (parts I and III). Report of Fourth Committee, paras. 8 and 26.

A/8730. Resolutions adopted by General Assembly during its 27th session, 19 September-19 December 1972. Other decisions, p. 90.