

CHAPTER II

THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

During 1966, the General Assembly's 24-member 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 discharge its mandate as set forth by the Assembly in previous years.

The Special Committee held 90 plenary meetings between 8 March and 30 November 1966 (including 40 in Africa), during the course of which it examined and made recommendations on the implementation of the Declaration with respect to 51 territories.

In the pages that follow, an account is given

of the Special Committee's work in general during 1966, and of the consideration of its report by the General Assembly. Following that, details are given of the Special Committee's and the General Assembly's consideration of, and recommendations on, individual territories.

Details of the action taken in 1966 by the General Assembly, the Special Committee of Twenty-four and other bodies on matters concerning Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, territories under Portuguese administration, and Oman will be found elsewhere in this Yearbook (see pp. 94-117, 595-618 and 187-90).

GENERAL ASPECTS

SYSTEM OF EXAMINATION

During 1966, the General Assembly's 24-member Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples¹ continued to use the methods of work developed in preceding years and endorsed by the General Assembly.

Under this procedure, it examined the implementation of the Declaration (adopted by the Assembly on 14 December 1960) in individual territories, the order of priority being decided on the basis of recommendations made by its Working Group, composed of the officers of the Committee and four other members.

To assist in its examination of conditions in each territory, the Special Committee normally has before it an information paper prepared by the 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.²

In addition, the Special Committee requests the administering powers to submit informa-

¹See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50, text of resolution 1514(XV), for details about Declaration.

²For text of Article 73e of the Charter, see APPENDIX II.

tion 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 they administer. Petitions are circulated and the Special Committee may decide to hear petitioners at its meetings. (Reservations concerning these proceedings have been expressed by Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States.)

At the conclusion of its examination of the situation in the particular territory concerned, the Special Committee adopts its recommendations in the form of a consensus formulated by its Chairman or by means of a resolution which is adopted by vote. The Special Committee is empowered by the General Assembly to send out visiting groups to territories in co-operation with administering powers. (This procedure has also been the subject of reservations expressed in the Special Committee by Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States.) The Committee 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. 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.

SCOPE OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE'S WORK IN 1966

In 1966, the Special Committee considered the situation in the following territories: South West Africa, Aden, Southern Rhodesia, Fiji, territories under Portuguese administration, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, French Somaliland, Ifni and Spanish Sahara, Oman, Equatorial Guinea, Gibraltar, Mauritius, Seychelles, St. Helena, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn, Solomon Islands, Niue, Tokelau Islands, New Hebrides, American Samoa, Guam, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Trust Territory of Nauru, Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, United States Virgin Islands, British Virgin Islands, Antigua, Barbados,

Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Bermuda, Bahamas, Turks, Caicos and Cayman Islands, Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

Because of new developments, the Special Committee considered the situation in some of these territories more than once. In other cases, because of lack of time, the Special Committee was unable to complete its consideration of the situation in other territories. It also continued to discharge the function entrusted to it by the General Assembly in 1963³ of examining information on Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73e of the Charter.

At the outset of the Special Committee's work in 1966, many members of the Special Committee expressed the feeling that progress in the implementation of the Declaration had fallen far short of the expectations aroused by its adoption in December 1960. They felt that generally there had been no abatement in the persistent violation of the right of colonial countries and peoples to self-determination, and in repressive activities by the powers concerned, in collusion with vested economic and other interests, against the struggle of national liberation movements. The belief was expressed that this anachronistic state of affairs represented one of the basic causes of the prevailing unfavourable international situation. In particular, many members expressed concern that, owing to the deliberate opposition or the continuing non-co-operation of the administering powers involved, a number of serious and difficult colonial problems had shown no perceptible movement towards peaceful solution within the context of the Declaration, and had attained grave proportions, fraught with dangerous possibilities.

During 1966, the Special Committee noted that the following three territories had attained their independence, namely, British Guiana (Guyana), Bechuanaland (Botswana), and Basutoland (Lesotho). It also noted the setting of 30 November 1966 as the date on which Barbados would become independent.

The Special Committee maintained its Subcommittee on Petitions, which, in 1966, con-

³ See Y.U.N., 1963, pp. 441-42, text of resolution 1970(XVIII).

sidered a total of 243 communications, including 58 requests for hearings. The Special Committee also maintained its Working Group, which continued to make recommendations to the main Committee on the organization of work. It also maintained its Sub-Committees I, II and III, and its Sub-Committee on Aden. Sub-Committee II and III were again responsible for considering and making recommendations to the Special Committee on small territories in the Pacific and Caribbean respectively, while Sub-Committee I was responsible for other small territories and for special studies requested by the Special Committee. The Special Committee also established Sub-Committees on South West Africa, on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland and on Equatorial Guinea. At the invitation of Spain, the Sub-Committee on Equatorial Guinea visited Madrid and the territory during August 1966.

The Special Committee held a further series of meetings in Africa in 1966. Between 22 May and 22 June, the Committee met at Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), Algiers (Algeria), Cairo (United Arab Republic), Dar es Salaam (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mogadiscio (Somalia). In its report, the Committee stressed the important results achieved at these meetings, which, it said, not only underlined the increasing concern of the United Nations for the position of colonial peoples, but strengthened the Committee's own capacity to assist these peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence. The Committee held 40 meetings while in Africa and heard 32 groups of petitioners. It adopted resolutions on Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, Aden, the territories under Portuguese administration, and Equatorial Guinea.

On 22 June 1966, the Committee adopted a resolution concerning the situation in all the territories it had considered in Africa. By this resolution, which was adopted by a roll-call vote of 16 to 2, with 1 abstention, the Special Committee, among other things: deplored the refusal of certain colonial powers to co-operate with the Special Committee and their continued disregard of the United Nations resolutions; recommended to the Security Council

to make obligatory the measures provided for under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter⁴ against Portugal, South Africa and the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia; condemned the activities of the financial interests operating in these territories which exploited the human and material resources and impeded the progress of the people of the territories towards freedom and independence; recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples under colonial rule to exercise their right to self-determination and independence and invited all States to provide material and moral assistance to the national liberation movements in colonial territories; requested the colonial powers to dismantle the military bases installed in colonial territories and to refrain from establishing new ones; and requested all States and international institutions, including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund and other specialized agencies of the United Nations, to withhold assistance of any kind to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa until they renounced their policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination.

In accordance with a request addressed to it by the General Assembly on 20 December 1965,⁵ the Special Committee paid particular attention to the small territories. Reporting to the General Assembly in 1966, the Special Committee said that while recognizing that the small size and population of the territories, as well as their limited resources, presented peculiar problems, it was of the opinion that the provisions of the Declaration were fully applicable to them. Accordingly, the Special Committee requested the administering powers to ensure, without delay, that the people were enabled, in complete freedom and without any restrictions, to express their wishes concerning the future of their countries. In this connexion, the Committee expressed its belief in the desirability of a United Nations presence during the procedures for the exercise of the right of self-determination. The Committee also noted the urgent need for measures to strengthen the

⁴ For text of Chapter VII of the Charter, see APPENDIX II.

⁵ See Y.U.N., 1965, pp. 554-55, text of resolution 2105(XX).

economic base of these territories and to promote their social and economic development. In regard to a few of these territories, the Committee voiced its deep concern over reports indicative of preparations for the use of these areas for military purposes and over the lack of respect shown for their territorial integrity by the administering power.

The Special Committee again laid special stress on the importance of sending visiting missions to the smaller territories. In view of the inadequacy of the information available to it regarding conditions in these territories and as to the views, wishes and aspirations of the people, the Committee reiterated its request to the administering powers to extend their full co-operation by permitting access to the territories under their administration.

The Special Committee also discussed implementation of the General Assembly's request of 1965⁶ that all States and international institutions withhold assistance of any kind to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa until they had renounced their policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination.

On 15 September 1966, by 16 votes to 0, with 7 abstentions, the Special Committee, expressing its regret that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund had continued to grant substantial loans and credits to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa in disregard of the Assembly resolutions, urged these specialized agencies to co-operate in the implementation of the General Assembly's resolutions of 20 and 21 December 1965 especially by refraining from rendering any financial or other assistance to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa until they had renounced their policies of colonial domination and racial discrimination.

In 1966, the Special Committee also considered a supplementary report it had requested in 1965 on the activities of foreign and other economic interests impeding the implementation of the Declaration in the territories under Portuguese administration. It also considered a similar report with regard to Southern Rhodesia. The Committee's conclusions and recom-

mendations arising from these two reports are briefly summarized in the chapters relating to these territories (see pp. 94-117 and 608-18).

By the General Assembly's resolution (2105 (XX)) of 20 December 1965, the Special Committee had also been requested to apprise the Security Council of developments in any territory examined by it which might threaten international peace and security and to make suggestions which might assist the Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations.

In accordance with this resolution, the Special Committee, on 15 June 1966, drew the attention of the Security Council to the dangerous situation in Aden (see p. 563), and made specific recommendations to the Security Council on 21 April and 31 May with regard to Southern Rhodesia (see pp. 96-102), on 9 June with regard to South West Africa (see p. 597), on 22 June with regard to the territories under Portuguese administration (see pp. 609-10) and on 22 June with regard to colonial territories in Africa (see above).

In 1966, the Special Committee maintained contact with the Trusteeship Council, with the Assembly's Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and with the specialized agencies. In addition, it continued co-operation with the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States.

CONSIDERATION BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY

IMPLEMENTATION OF DECLARATION

General aspects of the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples were considered by the General Assembly at plenary meetings held between 6 and 13 December 1966.

The General Assembly had before it the report of its Special Committee of Twenty-four, covering its work in 1966. Chapters of the Special Committee's reports dealing with

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 554-55, text of resolution 2105(XX) of 20 December 1965, and pp. 614-15, text of resolution 2107(XX) of 21 December 1965.

the situations in specific territories were referred to the Assembly's Fourth Committee.

Many Members taking part in the debate on general aspects joined with the representative of Sierra Leone, who introduced a draft resolution, in expressing satisfaction that since the adoption of the Declaration a large number of colonial peoples had won independence. They believed, however, that after the vigorous impetus of the first years, and in spite of the many resolutions of the United Nations and of the development of an international consensus against colonialism in all its forms, progress in implementation of the Declaration had come to a halt. The representative of the USSR pointed out that there were still 37 million people living in areas occupied by the colonial powers, a situation which had come about by the refusal of certain colonial powers to implement the Declaration on the granting of independence and by the defiance by some of them of the resolutions of the United Nations on this question.

Hungary, the USSR and Yugoslavia, among many others, drew attention to the deterioration of the situation in Southern Africa. The situation in that area, they said, had been brought about not only through policies of the colonial powers concerned, but also through the activities of the foreign financial and economic monopolies and interests in these territories. Some Members, among them the United Arab Republic, considered the activity of these monopolies as a dominant factor in shaping the policies of some States such as the United Kingdom, the United States and others in regard to colonization in general. In their view, that explained the attempts of those States to frustrate the role of the United Nations in its efforts to end colonialism in the Southern Africa area.

The representative of Hungary suggested that the time had come to examine politically, militarily and economically, not only its separate members, but also the entire complex of the "unholy alliance" which existed in Southern Africa.

Another factor, which the representatives of the USSR and the United Arab Republic,

among others, cited as contributing to the continuation of colonialism, was the maintenance and even the establishment of military bases in territories under colonial régimes.

The representative of Sierra Leone, among others, considered that because military bases could be used for aggression against the people of those territories in their legitimate struggle for independence, they constituted a direct obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence.

Another point raised—among others, by Sierra Leone, the Ukrainian SSR and the United Republic of Tanzania—was that repressive acts directed against dependent peoples struggling for independence, such as were being perpetrated in so-called Portuguese territories, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia, should be "castigated and declared to be crimes against humanity."

Because of the intransigence of the colonial powers and the threat to international peace and security, some Members (including Hungary and the USSR) felt that the time had come to involve the Security Council more actively in the solution of the problem of decolonization.

Speaking about the situation of small territories, the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, among others, felt that the colonial powers were slowly coercing some of these territories with a view to absorbing them. He also felt that the United Nations should pay special attention to the way in which colonial peoples were continually rushed into referenda by certain administering powers. Stage-managed referenda, he said, resulted in a continuation of colonial domination. The United Nations, he considered, must participate in the preparation and conduct of referenda. Poland felt there was a definite trend towards using small territories as sites for a chain of military installations and bases of the administering powers.

Chile considered that in many territories with small population and limited resources the implementation of the principles of self-determination and independence could be achieved by ways and means different from

those appropriate to other territories which were more developed and had larger populations.

Emphasis was also placed on the need to send visiting missions of the United Nations to non-self-governing territories. In this context, the Chairman of the Special Committee of Twenty-four expressed disappointment at the unwillingness of certain colonial powers to allow visiting missions from the United Nations into colonial territories. He stressed that the co-operation of the administering powers in this field was particularly desirable for the speedy implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence.

On 13 December 1966, the General Assembly adopted a resolution on the matter (2189 (XXI)) by a roll-call vote of 76 to 7, with 20 abstentions.

By the operative paragraphs of this resolution, the Assembly, among other things, declared that the continuation of colonial rule threatened international peace and security and that the practice of apartheid, as also all forms of racial discrimination, constituted a crime against humanity. It reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples under colonial rule to exercise their right to self-determination and independence and urged all States to provide material and moral assistance to the national liberation movements. It drew the attention of all States to the grave consequences of the formation in the southern part of Africa of an entente between the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia, and called upon all States to withhold any support or assistance to this entente, whose existence and activities ran counter to the interests of international peace and security. The General Assembly also requested all States directly and through action in the international institutions of which they were members, including the specialized agencies, to withhold assistance of any kind to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and to the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia until they renounced their policy of racial discrimination and colonial domination.

It requested the colonial powers to dismantle their military bases and installations in colo-

onial territories and to refrain from establishing new ones and from using those that still existed to interfere with the liberation of the peoples in colonial territories. It condemned the activities of those foreign financial and economic interests in colonial territories, in particular in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the territories under Portuguese domination, which supported colonial régimes and thus constituted a serious obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration, and called upon the Governments concerned to take the necessary measures to put an end to those activities. It condemned the policies of imposing non-representative régimes and constitutions, of strengthening the position of foreign financial economic interests, of misleading world public opinion and encouraging the systematic influx of foreign immigrants whilst displacing, deporting and transferring the indigenous inhabitants to other areas.

The General Assembly requested the Special Committee to apprise the Security Council of developments in any territory examined by the Committee which might threaten international peace and security and to make any concrete suggestions which might assist the Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations. It invited the Special Committee, whenever it considered it proper and appropriate, to recommend a deadline for the accession to independence of each territory in accordance with the wishes of the people and the provisions of the Declaration. It also invited the Special Committee to pay particular attention to the small territories and to recommend to the General Assembly the most appropriate methods and also the steps to be taken to enable the populations of those territories to exercise fully the right to self-determination and independence. The General Assembly also requested the Special Committee to continue to perform its tasks and to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration. The General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to promote the continuous and large-scale publicizing of the Declaration and of the work of the Special Committee. It also decided to include in the provisional agenda of its twenty-second session an item entitled "Activities of

foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, and territories under Portuguese domination and in all other territories under colonial domination."

The resolution to this effect was based on a proposal eventually sponsored by Afghanistan, Algeria, Burundi, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

The United States moved that the paragraph requesting colonial powers to dismantle military bases and installations in colonial territories be voted on separately and that it be considered as an important question because it made recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, thus rendering applicable Article 18, paragraph 2, of the United Nations Charter,⁷ that is, that a two-thirds majority vote in favour be required to adopt the resolution.

The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, supported by the representatives of Ghana, Guinea, the USSR, Yugoslavia and Zambia, recalled that in 1965 the same question had been decided by a simple majority. He also stressed that this was a question of implementation of decolonization; therefore, in his view, it was wrong to try to take one paragraph in isolation.

The representative of the Philippines was of the view that the operative paragraph calling for the dismantling of military bases in colonial territories had no place in the resolution. He insisted that the Special Committee was competent to consider this matter only when there was clear evidence that the use of a particular military base or the installation of a new one in a particular territory interfered or would interfere with the liberation of the people in that colonial territory.

The General Assembly rejected the United States motion by a roll-call vote of 55 votes to 38, with 9 abstentions. It then adopted the paragraph calling for the dismantling of military bases in colonial territories by a roll-call vote of 58 to 23, with 21 abstentions.

Also voted on separately was the operative paragraph declaring that the continuation of colonial rule threatened international peace and security; this was adopted by 69 votes to 12, with 16 abstentions. Similarly, the operative paragraph requesting all States to withhold assistance of any kind to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia was the subject of a separate vote. It was adopted by 71 votes to 6, with 25 abstentions.

Finally, the text, as a whole, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 76 to 7, with 20 abstentions, as resolution 2189(XXI). (For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

CONSOLIDATION OF TRAINING PROGRAMMES

On 20 December, by 112 votes to 2, with 1 abstention, the General Assembly adopted a resolution (2235(XXI)) calling for a study on consolidating and integrating the special educational and training programmes for South West Africa and for territories under Portuguese administration, and for South Africans. The question of consolidating and integrating these programmes, the Assembly held, should be considered in order to ensure increased efficiency and promote further development and expansion of the educational and training assistance provided under these programmes, which so far were separately administered and financed.

By the operative parts of this text, the Assembly asked the Secretary-General to study, in consultation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the heads of other appropriate agencies and organs, and the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, the question of consolidating and integrating the special educational and training programmes for South West Africa, the special training programme for territories under Portuguese administration and the educational and training programmes for South Africans. The Secretary-General was

⁷ For text of Article 18 of the Charter, see APPENDIX II.

asked to report on this study to the Assembly in 1967.

The Assembly also authorized the Secretary-General to establish, if he felt it desirable, a committee selected from among the host countries of refugees and from among States which had made contributions to the United Nations educational and training programmes concerned, to advise him on means to develop and expand these programmes. (For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

The Assembly took the decisions to this effect on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee, which approved the resolution on 16 December 1966 by 73 votes to 2, with 1 abstention, on the basis of a proposal by

Algeria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, India, Iran, Iraq, Kenya, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, the Sudan, Sweden, Togo, Tunisia, the United Republic of Tanzania, the United States and Zambia. The original proposal was revised in the light of an amendment put forward by Guinea.

(See also pp. 604, 614-15 and 93-94 for information on the training programmes for South West Africa, for the territories under Portuguese administration and for South Africa.)

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, meetings 394-483.

Sub-Committee on Petitions, meetings 73-95.
A/AC.109/L.259, L.262, L.267, L.278, L.291, L.292, L.298, L.299, L.301, L.304, L.307, L.308, L.310-L.312, L.317, L.324 and Corr.1, L.328, L.331, L.336, L.340, L.349, L.354. Reports (71-93) of Sub-Committee on Petitions.

IMPLEMENTATION OF DECLARATION

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—21ST SESSION
Plenary Meetings 1485, 1487-1492.

A/6300/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee (covering its work during 1966).

A/6595. Note by Secretary-General.

A/C.5/1094, A/6562, A/6573. Financial implications of recommendation of Special Committee in Chapter I, paras. 325-326 of its report (A/6300/Rev.1). Reports of Secretary-General, Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and Fifth Committee.

A/L.506 and Add.1,2. Afghanistan, Algeria, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Ivory Coast, Kuwait, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Syria, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia: draft resolution.

A/L.507. Burundi, Ceylon, Guinea, Kenya, Pakistan, Somalia, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Zambia: amendments to 14-power draft resolution, A/L.506.

RESOLUTION 2189(XXI), as proposed by 17 powers, A/L.506, and as amended by 9 powers, A/L.507, adopted by Assembly on 13 December 1966, meeting 1492, by roll-call vote of 76 to 7, with 20 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian SSR, Cam-

eroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Australia, Malta, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom, United States.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, France, Iceland, Ireland, Israel,* Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden.

* The delegation of Israel subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution as a whole, as amended.

"The General Assembly,

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

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

"Recalling also its resolutions 1805(XVII) of 14 December 1962 and 1899(XVIII) of 13 November 1963, by which it assigned to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples tasks relating to

South West Africa, and its resolution 1970(XVIII) of 16 December 1963, by which it entrusted to the Special Committee additional functions relating to information transmitted under Article 73e of the Charter of the United Nations,

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

"Noting with deep regret that six years after the adoption of the Declaration many Territories are still under colonial domination, and deploring the negative attitude of certain colonial Powers, and in particular the intransigent attitude of the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, which refuse to recognize the right of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"1. Reaffirms its resolutions 1514(XV), 1654(XVI), 1810(XVII), 1956(XVIII) and 2105(XX);

"2. Notes with satisfaction the work accomplished by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and expresses its appreciation to that Committee for its efforts to secure the implementation of the Declaration;

"3. Approves the report of the Special Committee covering its work during 1966 and again invites the administering Powers to implement the recommendations contained therein;

"4. Approves the action taken and envisaged by the Special Committee for the year 1967 with respect to the list of Territories to which the Declaration applies;

"5. Approves the programme of work envisaged by the Special Committee during 1967, including the sending of visiting missions and the possibility of holding a series of meetings away from Headquarters, and requests the administering Powers to allow visiting missions to be sent to the Territories under their administration;

"6. Declares that the continuation of colonial rule threatens international peace and security and that the practice of apartheid, as also all forms of racial discrimination, constitutes a crime against humanity;

"7. Reaffirms its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples under colonial rule to exercise their right to self-determination and independence and urges all States to provide material and moral assistance to the national liberation movements in colonial Territories;

"8. Requests the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other international relief organizations and the specialized agencies concerned to increase their economic, social and humanitarian assistance to the refugees from those Territories;

"9. Requests all States, directly and through action in the international institutions of which they are members, including the specialized agencies, to withhold assistance of any kind to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and to the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia until they renounce their policy of racial discrimination and colonial domination;

"10. Draws the attention of all States to the grave consequences of the formation in the southern part of Africa of an entente between the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia, and calls upon all States to withhold any support or assistance to this entente, whose existence and activities run counter to the interests of international peace and security;

"11. Requests the colonial Powers to dismantle their military bases and installations in colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones and from using those that still exist to interfere with the liberation of the peoples in colonial Territories in the exercise of their legitimate rights to freedom and independence;

"12. Condemns the activities of those foreign financial and economic interests in colonial Territories, in particular in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese domination, which support colonial régimes and thus constitute a serious obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and calls upon the Governments concerned to take the necessary measures to put an end to those activities;

"13. Condemns the policies, pursued by certain administering Powers in the Territories under their domination, of imposing non-representative régimes and constitutions, strengthening the position of foreign

financial and economic interests, misleading world public opinion and encouraging the systematic influx of foreign immigrants while displacing, deporting and transferring the indigenous inhabitants to other areas, and calls upon those Powers to desist from such manœuvres;

"14. Requests the Special Committee to apprise the Security Council of developments in any Territory examined by the Committee which may threaten international peace and security and to make any concrete suggestions which may assist the Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations;

"15. Invites the Special Committee, whenever it considers it proper and appropriate, to recommend a deadline for the accession to independence of each Territory in accordance with the wishes of the people and the provisions of the Declaration;

"16. Invites the Special Committee to pay particular attention to the small Territories and to recommend to the General Assembly the most appropriate methods and also the steps to be taken to enable the populations of those Territories to exercise fully the right to self-determination and independence;

"17. Requests the Special Committee to continue to perform its tasks and to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration in all Territories which have not yet attained independence;

"18. Requests the Secretary-General to promote, through the various organs and agencies of the United Nations, the continuous and large-scale publicizing of the Declaration and of the work of the Special Committee, in order that world opinion may be sufficiently aware of the situation in the colonial Territories and of the continuing struggle for liberation waged by the colonial peoples;

"19. Requests the Secretary-General to continue to provide the Special Committee with all the financing and facilities necessary for the implementation of its mandate;

"20. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its twenty-second session an item entitled 'Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries the Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination.'

CONSOLIDATION OF TRAINING PROGRAMMES

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—21ST SESSION

Fourth Committee, meetings 1630, 1669, 1673, 1677.
Plenary Meetings 1669, 1673, 1677.

A/C.4/L.850 and Add.1,2. Algeria, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, Ghana, India, Iran, Iraq, Kenya, Liberia, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Norway, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Sweden,

Tunisia, Togo, United Republic of Tanzania, United States, Zambia: draft resolution.

A/C.4/L.850/Rev.1. Algeria, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, India, Iran, Iraq, Kenya, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Sweden, Togo, Tunisia, United Republic of Tanzania, United States, Zambia: draft resolution, adopted by Fourth Committee on 16 December 1966, meeting 1677, by 73 votes to 2, with 1 abstention.

A/C.4/L.861. Guinea: amendment to 26-power draft resolution, A/C.4/L.850.

A/6625. Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution I.

RESOLUTION 2235(xxi), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/6625, adopted by Assembly on 20 December 1966, meeting 1500, by 112 votes to 2, with 1 abstention.

"The General Assembly,

"Considering that special educational and training programmes for South West Africa and for Territories under Portuguese administration and an educational and training programme for South Africans have been established by the United Nations in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 1705(XVI) of 19 December 1961 and 1808(XVII) of 14 December 1962, and Security Council resolution 191(1964) of 18 June 1964,

"Recalling the reports submitted by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly at its twenty-first session regarding the said programmes for South West Africa and for Territories under Portuguese administration, and to the Security Council on 9 November 1965 regarding the programme for South Africans,

"Noting that these programmes, although serving similar needs and purposes, are administered separately and differ with regard to financing,

"Expressing its appreciation to the Secretary-General for the way in which he has administered the programmes,

"Holding the view that the question of a consolidation and an integration of these programmes should be considered in order to ensure increased efficiency and to promote further development and expansion of the educational and training assistance thereunder,

"Taking into account the establishment of a refugee education account by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, in accordance with the decision of the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme of 7 November 1966,

"Further taking into account the roles of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and other specialized agencies and organs of the United Nations in matters of training and education,

"Noting the interest and activities of the Organization of African Unity in the field of educational assistance,

"1. Requests the Secretary-General to study, in consultation with the United Nations High Commis-

sioner for Refugees, the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the heads of other appropriate agencies and organs, and the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, the question of a consolidation and an integration of the special educational and training programmes for South West Africa, the special training programme for Territories under Portuguese administration and the educational and training programme for South Africans, and to report

on the results of this study to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session;

"2. Authorizes the Secretary-General to establish, if he deems it desirable, a committee selected from among host countries of refugees and from among States which have made contributions to the United Nations educational and training programmes mentioned above, to advise him on means to develop and expand those programmes."

QUESTIONS CONCERNING INDIVIDUAL TERRITORIES

The following pages give a brief account of decisions concerning various individual territories taken in 1966 by: 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; and also by the General

Assembly. (See also pp. 94-117, 595-618 and 539-51 for details on questions concerning Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, territories under Portuguese administration, Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, the Trust Territory of Nauru and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.)

Aden

In 1966, the territory of Aden, administered by the United Kingdom, consisted of the Colony of Aden, known as Aden State, and 20 Protectorates, known as the Protectorate of South Arabia. Sixteen of the Protectorate States were joined with Aden State in the Federation of South Arabia. Also included in the territory were Perim Island, the Kuria Muria Islands and Kamaran Island.

The General's Assembly 24-member Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples considered the question of Aden in March, May, June, August and October 1966.

In March, the Special Committee examined petitions about arrests and torture allegedly carried out by the administering power. The representative of the United Kingdom said that the security authorities made arrests only when they had evidence of complicity or intended complicity in acts of violence. He rejected the allegations of torture. On 22 March 1966, the Committee adopted, by 19 votes to 3, with 2 abstentions, a resolution deploring the action of the administering power in effecting mass arrests and calling upon it to desist from these acts and to cease all repressive actions against the people of the territory.

In May, the Special Committee examined the question on the basis of reports submitted to it by the Secretary-General and by its Sub-Committee on Aden.⁸

The Secretary-General stated in his report that he had been informed by the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom that the Government of the Federation of South Arabia had announced its acceptance of the United Nations resolutions of 11 December 1963⁹ and 5 November 1965¹⁰ relating to South Arabia and its intention of arranging as soon as possible a conference to consider the ways and means whereby these resolutions could be implemented. The representative of the United Kingdom had also referred to the intentions of the Federal Government to communicate to the Secretary-General, through the United Kingdom Government, a request for the appointment of a United Nations Observer at the conference.

The report of the Sub-Committee on Aden contained preliminary observations on the in-

⁸ The Sub-Committee was composed of the representatives of Afghanistan, Iraq, the Ivory Coast, Venezuela and Yugoslavia.

⁹ See Y.U.N., 1963, pp. 454-55, for text of resolution 1949(XVIII).

¹⁰ See Y.U.N., 1965, pp. 562-63, for text of resolution 2023(XX).

formation contained in the Secretary-General's report and on a statement made to the Special Committee by the representative of the United Kingdom. In this statement, the representative of the United Kingdom had referred to a speech by the United Kingdom Foreign Secretary concerning the United Nations resolutions on Aden in which he had said that the United Nations recommendations relating to the Aden base had already been met by the announcement that the United Kingdom troops would be withdrawn from the base not later than 1968, by which time South Arabia would have achieved independence. He had also said that the United Kingdom would be prepared to implement the recommendations concerning the state of emergency and the release of detainees, provided there was satisfactory evidence that terrorism in Aden had ended.

The Sub-Committee, in its report, which was subsequently endorsed by the Special Committee, noted that in the statements made on behalf of the Government of the United Kingdom, there were references to the attitude of the so-called Government of the Federation of South Arabia to the United Nations resolutions on Aden, but that it was the attitude of the Government of the United Kingdom which was of concern to the United Nations. The so-called Government of the Federation which, the Sub-Committee said, did not represent the people of South Arabia, had no standing in the matter. On such important matters as the ending of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners, which were among the measures called for by the United Nations, the statements made on behalf of the United Kingdom indicated only a qualified acceptance. The Sub-Committee urged the Government of the United Kingdom to implement immediately the steps outlined in the United Nations resolutions on the territory and to make it possible for the Sub-Committee to visit the territory in accordance with its mandate. It requested the Secretary-General to take whatever action he might deem expedient to ensure the implementation of the General Assembly's resolution of 5 November 1965, bearing in mind, in particular, the request to him to arrange for an effective United

Nations presence, as set out in the General Assembly's resolution of 11 December 1963.

By the resolution of 11 December 1963, it will be recalled, the General Assembly asked the United Kingdom Government to hold general elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage, followed by the establishment of a representative government for the whole of the territory. The date for the granting of independence was to be fixed with the government resulting from the elections. The Assembly also requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee of Twenty-four and the administering power, to arrange for an effective United Nations presence before and during these elections, and it considered that the maintenance of the military base in Aden was prejudicial to peace and security in the region and that its early removal was therefore desirable.

By the resolution of 5 November 1965, the General Assembly had deplored "the attempts of the administering power to set up an unrepresentative régime in the territory with a view to granting it independence contrary to (previous) General Assembly resolutions" and appealed to all States not to recognize any independence which was not based on the wishes of the people of the territory freely expressed through elections held under universal adult suffrage. Further, the Assembly considered that the maintenance of military bases in the territory constituted a major obstacle to its liberation from colonial domination and was prejudicial to the peace and security of the region, and that the immediate and complete removal of these bases was therefore essential. The Assembly urged the administering power immediately to abolish the state of emergency, repeal all laws restricting public freedom, cease all repressive actions in the territory, release all political detainees and allow the return of those who had been exiled or forbidden to reside in the territory because of political activities, and it drew the attention of the Security Council "to the dangerous situation prevailing in the area as a result of British military action against the people of the territory." The Assembly requested the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the specialized agencies and the international relief

organizations to offer all possible assistance to the people who were suffering as a result of the military operations in the territory. The Assembly also asked the Secretary-General to take such action as he might deem expedient to ensure the implementation of the resolution and to report to the Special Committee.

The Special Committee of Twenty-four gave further consideration to the question of Aden at its meetings held in Africa between 3 and 15 June. These meetings were attended by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Omar Adeel, who had been appointed for this purpose by the Secretary-General.

At its meeting held in Cairo, United Arab Republic, on 15 June, the Special Committee adopted a resolution by 18 votes to 2, with 2 abstentions, whereby, endorsing the Subcommittee's conclusions, it deplored the refusal of the administering power to implement the General Assembly's resolution concerning the territory of Aden and Aden Protectorate, and the setting up by the administering power of an unrepresentative régime in the territory, with a view to granting it independence contrary to these resolutions. The Committee of Twenty-four appealed to all States not to recognize such independence as was not based on the wishes of the people of the territory freely expressed through elections held under universal adult suffrage. The Committee deplored any defence arrangements that the United Kingdom Government might enter into with the unrepresentative régime in the territory, and considered that such arrangements were inconsistent with the objectives of the relevant General Assembly resolutions and a serious hindrance to the future free exercise of the right to freedom and sovereignty by the people of the territory. The Committee therefore called upon the administering power to declare unequivocally its acceptance of the relevant General Assembly resolutions and its readiness to co-operate with the United Nations in their implementation.

Reiterating the recommendations included in the General Assembly's resolution of 5 November 1965¹¹ (see summary above), the Special Committee requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee and

the administering power, to appoint immediately a special mission to Aden for the purpose of recommending practical steps necessary for the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and in particular for determining the extent of United Nations participation in the preparation and supervision of elections, and of making a report to him as soon as possible for transmission to the Special Committee.

The resolution was sponsored in the Special Committee by Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Yugoslavia.

Among members which supported it was the USSR, which stated that the United Kingdom's policy was based solely on the desire to retain control of Aden and to safeguard its oil and strategic interests.

Explaining his abstention, the representative of Italy said he doubted the Special Committee's competence to give guidance to the Secretary-General and indicate specific ways and means of implementing the task assigned to him by the General Assembly.

In the course of the meetings which it held in Cairo, the Special Committee heard statements from Yislam S. Naashir, for the Occupied South Arabian Community in Somalia; Mohamed S. Bawaziz of the South Arabian League; Abdul Qawee Mackawee, Secretary-General of the Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen (FLOSY) and former Chief Minister of Aden; Mohamed Ali Al-Gifry, President of the South Arabian League; Ali A. R. Aswadi, Vice-President of the Aden Trades Union Congress (ATUC); Abdullah A. R. Al-Aulaqi, for the South Arabian Community in Kuwait; Mohamed A. Ogeil, President of the Salvation Organization in South Yemen and Aden Protectorate; and Hussein Omar Ben-Sahl, President of the South Arabian Youth Organization.

The Special Committee gave further consideration to the question of Aden in August, in the context of a report of the Secretary-General relating to the appointment of a special mission under the terms of the resolution adopted by the Committee on 15 June 1966. In

¹¹ Ibid.

his report, the Secretary-General informed the Committee of a letter he had received from the Representative of the United Kingdom stating that his Government welcomed the assistance and participation of the United Nations in bringing South Arabia to independence by 1968. His Government accepted the operative clauses of the General Assembly's resolutions of December 1963 and November 1965¹², subject to its being recognized that the United Kingdom Government's responsibilities for security could not be limited or abandoned, and that the United Kingdom Government was bound by its existing treaties with the Federation of South Arabia and the unfederated South Arabian States until those treaties were terminated. In particular, it was pointed out in the letter, the United Kingdom was constitutionally unable to give directions to the Federal Government except in matters of external affairs, defence and the public service, and had no power to impose changes in the Federal constitution. The letter also stated that the United Kingdom Government would be glad to cooperate with a mission appointed by the Secretary-General, subject to these reservations and agreement on its composition.

Speaking in the Special Committee of Twenty-four, the Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Aden said that the Sub-Committee considered that the reservations as stated by the United Kingdom were not in accord with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee. The United Kingdom's attitude was not acceptable as a basis on which a special mission to Aden could be appointed or could operate. Such a mission must be formed and must operate only under the terms of the relevant General Assembly resolutions and of Special Committee resolutions.

Iraq, supported among others by Bulgaria, Syria and the USSR, also found unacceptable the conditions laid down by the United Kingdom. Iraq said it would be pointless to appoint a mission until the United Kingdom was prepared to accept unequivocally the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee and to agree to the full implementation of those resolutions without preconditions.

India and the United Republic of Tanzania, while agreeing with Iraq, expressed the hope

that the United Kingdom would not insist on the reservations mentioned in the letter. The representative of Uruguay said that it was highly desirable that a mission should be sent to Aden and that it was not necessary for the United Kingdom first to accept all United Nations resolutions in toto.

In October, the Secretary-General informed the Special Committee that he was continuing his consultations concerning the request addressed to him by the Special Committee to appoint immediately a special mission to Aden, and that, in doing so, he had taken fully into account the views of the Sub-Committee on Aden, and of the members of the Special Committee on the statements made on behalf of the United Kingdom Government and in particular on its reservations.

At the General Assembly's twenty-first session, in 1966, the question of Aden was discussed mainly in the Assembly's Fourth Committee.

The following petitioners were heard by the Fourth Committee: Abdul Qawee Mackawee, Mohamed Salem Basendwah and Saif Dhal (speaking for the Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen); Mohammed Ali Al-Gifry and Sheikhan Abdulla Alhabshi (speaking for the South Arabian League); Hussain Ali Bayoomi and Saeed Ali Yaremi (speaking for the United National Party); Ahmed Abdullah Al-Fadhli and Je'bel bin Hussein Al Audhali (speaking for the Front for the Liberation of South Arabia).

The representatives of the Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Cyprus, Greece, Guatemala, Iraq and the United Arab Republic reserved the position of their Governments with respect to the hearing of Hussain Ali Bayoomi because he was a Minister in the Government of the Federation of South Arabia.

Mr. Mackawee, Chief Minister of Aden until the territory's constitution was suspended, said that the United Kingdom reservation constituted a veiled rejection of United Nations resolutions. The United Kingdom's insistence that its responsibilities for security could not be limited or abandoned could well mean the continued presence of troops and military bases

¹² See footnotes 9 and 10.

to serve colonialist ends, and its insistence on the invalid treaties was clearly an attempt to obtain recognition for the unrepresentative so-called Federal Government in order to maintain in power feudal rulers who had been imposed upon the people. The announcement that British troops would be withdrawn after independence was nullified by the treaty concluded in June 1966, which provided for a five-year programme of military assistance to the so-called Federal Government, he continued. The people had consistently made it absolutely clear that they wanted no bases, no defence agreements and no treaties. The United Kingdom Government should declare its intentions in clear-cut, unequivocal terms.

Mr. Alhabshi said that the United Nations should send a mission to South Arabia as soon as possible regardless of any reservations made by the administering power. The mission should, in consultation with the nationalist movements, decide on the most appropriate means of speeding the country's attainment of independence. All the parties and political groups in South Arabia had accepted the United Nations resolutions on the question of Aden, he said, both as to their aims and as to the procedure laid down in those resolutions. The United Kingdom itself had accepted them, although with some reservations.

Mr. Bayoomi said that his party wished to express the urgent hope that the United Nations would send a mission to South Arabia as a first step towards restoring order in the country. He rejected the United Kingdom's reservations and demanded that they should be withdrawn. He believed that a democratic government in an independent South Arabia must originate from an elected legislative body. He asked the United Nations to supervise the elections in South Arabia during the transitional period and to keep watch over the territory's frontiers.

The representative of the United Kingdom recalled the declaration by his Government that South Arabia would attain independence not later than 1968, and that, on independence, the United Kingdom base in Aden would be withdrawn. His Government had accepted the purposes of the General Assembly resolutions of December 1963 and November 1965,¹³ including the constitutional procedures laid down

in those resolutions concerning the holding of elections, the United Nations presence and the establishment of a fully representative government. The United Kingdom had welcomed the assistance and the participation of the United Nations in bringing South Arabia to independence as a united sovereign state by 1968 and had made it clear that it would accept any constitutional arrangements to that end that commanded wide agreement among the South Arabian people themselves. The United Kingdom reiterated its willingness to co-operate with a mission appointed by the Secretary-General, subject to agreement on its composition, and was imposing no conditions on the mission's visit. It was important that the special mission should be formed and go to work as soon as possible. As for the state of emergency, it consisted of exceptional measures to deal with an exceptional situation, but it would not in any way prevent contact with the mission. The mission's visit could be a signal for the cessation of violence and the lifting of the state of emergency.

The representative of the USSR said that the United Kingdom was prepared to give independence to Aden, but would maintain its economic and military control and grant political power only to those groups which were willing to co-operate with it, including the Sultans and other feudal chiefs. The United Kingdom's acceptance of the resolutions was accompanied by so many reservations as to be meaningless. The United Nations should call on the United Kingdom Government to abandon its neo-colonialist plans and implement the earlier United Nations resolutions, that is, to abolish the state of emergency, dissolve the puppet government, restore democratic rights and withdraw its military forces.

A number of Members—including Lebanon, Mali, Poland, Romania, Sudan, Syria, Yugoslavia, the United Arab Republic and Zambia maintained, *inter alia*, that the United Kingdom's insistence on maintaining responsibility for internal affairs was tantamount to failing to implement the provisions of the General Assembly resolution of November 1965. As the efficiency of the mission would depend on the

¹³ See footnotes 9 and 10.

situation prevailing in the territory, it was essential that the conditions set forth in the United Nations resolutions should be fully implemented, either before or on the arrival of the mission; the state of emergency should be abolished, all repressive actions, in particular military operations, should cease and political conditions should be created in which the people and their true representatives could express their aspirations freely, under the supervision of the United Nations.

Iran, while welcoming the fact that the United Kingdom had adopted a policy of co-operation, expressed the view that conditions for peaceful change should precede the constitutional steps. Iran felt that the proposed United Nations mission could play an important role in implementing those measures.

Denmark's spokesman said that there seemed to be general agreement with regard to the main issue and the objectives to be achieved. He hoped that those who had expressed reservations regarding the dispatch of the mission would withdraw them. There was little time left before 1968 and the many difficulties ahead could only be overcome in a spirit of co-operation.

The Fourth Committee had before it two draft resolutions. One was sponsored by Saudi Arabia, but was subsequently not pressed to the vote. The other was sponsored by 38 Members.

By the Saudi Arabian text, the General Assembly, noting the assurances given by the administering power and expressing its deep concern at the critical and explosive situation which might threaten peace and security in the area and at the fact that no mission had been sent to Aden in accordance with the Special Committee's resolution of 15 June 1966, would: (1) endorse the Special Committee's resolution of 15 June 1966; (2) reaffirm the inalienable right of the people of the territory to self-determination and independence; (3) reaffirm that paragraph in the Special Committee's resolution of 15 June 1966 urging the administering power immediately to abolish the state of emergency, repeal all laws restricting public freedom, cease all repressive actions against the people of the

territory, in particular military operations, and release all political detainees, and allow the return of those people who had been exiled or deported for political reasons; (4) request the Secretary-General, in consultation with the appropriate parties, to appoint immediately a special mission to be sent to Aden for the purpose of recommending practical steps for the full implementation of the relevant Assembly resolutions, and in particular for determining the extent of the United Nations participation in the preparation and supervision of the elections, and making a report to him as soon as possible for transmission to the Special Committee.

The 38-power text was sponsored by the following Members: Afghanistan, Algeria, Cameroon, Ceylon, the Congo (Brazzaville), the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia. This text was eventually adopted by the General Assembly on 12 December 1966 as resolution 2183(XXI).

By this text, the Assembly, deeply disturbed by the reports issued by various international humanitarian organizations on the maltreatment of political detainees and prisoners and by the continuation of the military operations against the people of the territory, and deeply concerned at the critical and explosive situation which might threaten peace and security in the area owing to the failure of the administering power to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions, reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of the territory to self-determination and independence and reaffirmed that paragraph in the Special Committee's resolution of 15 June 1966 which urged the administering power immediately to: abolish the state of emergency; repeal all laws restricting public freedom; cease all repressive actions against the people of the territory, in particular, military operations; release all political detainees and allow the return of those people

who had been exiled or deported for political reasons

The Assembly also noted the assurances given by the representative of the administering power on 10 November 1966 that it was his Government's policy that all the states of South Arabia, including the port and city of Aden and the protectorate, should be included in the new independent state when it became independent not later than in 1968. It further noted the declaration by the administering power on the question of the termination of all treaties, as well as the removal of military bases by the time of independence, and in particular of its commitment not to enter into any defence arrangement with South Arabia.

The Assembly, in addition, reaffirmed that the only authority responsible to the United Nations for the full implementation of the United Nations resolutions with regard to the territory was the Government of the United Kingdom. It requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee and the administering power, to appoint immediately a special mission to be sent to Aden for the purpose of recommending practical steps for the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and in particular for the purpose of determining the extent of the United Nations participation in the preparation and supervision of the elections. The mission was to submit a report to the Secretary-General as soon as possible, for transmission to the Special Committee of Twenty-four.

Noting that in his statement of 17 November 1966 the representative of the administering power had said that the United Nations mission would have free and unimpeded contact with the representatives of all shades of opinion in the territory, the General Assembly also requested the United Nations special mission on Aden to consider recommending, inter alia, practical steps for the establishment of a central caretaker government in the territory to carry out the administration of the whole territory and to assist in the organizations of the elections.

Further, the Assembly called upon the ad-

ministering power to take the necessary measures, in accordance with the previously mentioned paragraph of the Special Committee's resolution of 15 June 1966, so that the United Nations mission on Aden could discharge its responsibilities on the basis of the Special Committee's resolution, and it asked the Secretary-General to provide all necessary assistance and facilities for the implementation of the Assembly's resolution.

The Fourth Committee agreed to this resolution on 2 December 1966, by a roll-call vote of 100 to 0, with 3 abstentions. On 12 December 1966, the Assembly adopted the text by a vote of 96 to 0, with 3 abstentions, as resolution 2183(XXI). (For text of resolution, See DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

Introducing the 38-power resolution in the Fourth Committee, the representative of Iraq said that after months of effort and discussion by the Special Committee and the General Assembly, the administering power had officially declared its readiness to accept the United Nations resolutions. The sponsors of the resolution felt that it was most important and practical that the mission leave as soon as it could be appointed, and they had authorized him to state that nothing in the paragraph of the resolution which called upon the administering power to take the necessary measures so that the mission could discharge its responsibilities on the basis of the Special Committee's resolution of 15 June 1966 "should be construed as constituting a precondition to the appointment and/or dispatch of the mission to Aden." But the sponsors strongly urged the administering power to lift the state of emergency when the mission was there, so as to enable it to discharge its responsibilities.

The representative of the United Kingdom, who voted for the resolution, said that it was the interpretation of the United Kingdom that there was no pre-condition for the establishment or sending of the mission, and that it would be for the mission itself to decide whether and how it could effectively carry out its task. It was on that understanding that the United Kingdom had voted for the resolution.

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, meetings 397, 399, 414, 415, 431, 436, 441-447, 462, 473. S/7372. Letter of 15 June 1967 from Chairman of Special Committee transmitting resolution on question of Aden adopted by Special Committee on 15 June 1966.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—21ST SESSION

Fourth Committee, meetings 1605, 1620, 1622-1629, 1633-1640, 1649-1653.

Fifth Committee, meeting 1163.

Plenary Meeting 1490.

A/6300/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee (covering its work during 1966), Chapter VI.

A/6274. Note verbale of 25 February 1966 from United Kingdom.

A/6276. Letter of 2 March 1966 from Ukrainian SSR.

A/6317. Note verbale of 6 April 1966 from Byelorussian SSR.

A/6374. Note by Secretary-General (circulating letter of 1 August 1966 from United Kingdom addressed to Secretary-General, and reply of 5 August 1966 from Secretary-General).

A/6478, A/6514. Letters of 18 October and 16 November 1966 from United Kingdom.

A/C.4/672 and Add.1-3. Requests for hearings.

A/C.4/L.840. Saudi Arabia: draft resolution.

A/C.4/L.841 and Add.1,2. Afghanistan, Algeria, Cameroon, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Democratic Republic of the Congo, Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zambia: draft resolution, adopted by Fourth Committee on 2 December 1966, meeting 1652, by roll-call vote of 100 to 0, with 3 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thai-

land, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: France, Portugal, South Africa.

A/C.4/L.843. Saudi Arabia: amendment to draft resolution, A/C.4/L.841.

A/C.4/678. Report by Secretary-General on financial implications of requests in operative paragraph 5 of two draft resolutions, A/C.4/L.840 and A/C.4/L.841.

A/C.5/1093, A/6561, A/6569. Financial implications of operative paragraph 5 of draft resolutions recommended by Fourth Committee. Reports by Secretary-General, Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and Fifth Committee.

A/6557. Report of Fourth Committee.

RESOLUTION 2183(XXI), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/6557, adopted by Assembly on 12 December 1966, meeting 1490, by 96 votes to 0, with 3 abstentions.

"The General Assembly,

"Having considered 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 Aden, which includes, in addition to Aden, the Eastern and Western Aden Protectorates, and the Islands of Perim, Kuria Muria, Kamaran and other off-shore islands,

"Recalling its resolutions 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960, 1949(XVIII) of 11 December 1963 and 2023 (XX) of 5 November 1965, and the related resolutions adopted by the Special Committee on 22 March and 15 June 1966,

"Having heard the statements of the petitioners,

"Having taken note of the declaration of the representative of the administering Power on his Government's readiness to co-operate with the United Nations in the full implementation of the relevant General Assembly resolutions at the earliest possible time,

"Having taken note of the assurances given by the representative of the administering Power, on 10 November 1966, concerning the territorial integrity and the unity of South Arabia as a whole,

"Having taken note also of the statement by the representative of the administering Power, on 17 November 1966, that the United Nations mission will have free and unimpeded contact with the representatives of all shades of opinion in the Territory,

"Taking note of the statement by the administering Power that it will grant independence to the Territory of South Arabia not later than 1968,

"Having further taken note of the declaration by the administering Power on the question of the termination of all treaties and the removal of military bases by the

time of independence, and in particular of its commitment not to enter into any defence arrangement with South Arabia,

"Considering that the United Nations mission should have full freedom of action and unrestricted access to all parts of the Territory and that the administering Power should guarantee to the people the free exercise of political rights and freedoms throughout the Territory,

"Deeply disturbed by the reports issued by various international humanitarian organizations on the maltreatment of political detainees and prisoners and by the continuation of the military operations against the people of the Territory,

"Deeply concerned at the critical and explosive situation which might threaten peace and security in the area owing to the failure of the administering Power to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions,

"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 Territory of Aden, and the conclusions contained therein, and endorses the resolutions adopted by the Special Committee on 22 March and 15 June 1966;

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

"3. Reaffirms paragraph 8 of the resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 15 June 1966 and urges the administering Power to implement it;

"4. Further reaffirms that the only authority responsible to the United Nations for the full implementation of the United Nations resolutions with regard to the Territory is the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland;

"5. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee and the administering Power, to appoint immediately a special mission to be sent to Aden for the purpose of recommending practical steps for the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and, in particular, for the purpose of determining the extent of the United Nations participation in the preparation and supervision of the elections and submitting a report to him as soon as possible for transmission to the Special Committee;

"6. Requests the United Nations Special Mission on Aden to consider recommending, inter alia, practical steps for the establishment of a central caretaker government in the Territory to carry out the administration of the whole Territory and to assist in the organization of the elections;

"7. Calls upon the administering Power to take the necessary measures, in accordance with paragraph 3 above, so that the United Nations Special Mission on Aden can discharge its responsibilities on the basis of the resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 15 June 1966;

"8. Requests the Secretary-General to provide all the necessary assistance and facilities for the implementation of the present resolution;

"9. Decides to maintain the question of Aden on its agenda."

Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland

The territories of Basutoland and Bechuanaland, as Lesotho and Botswana respectively were known before they attained independence in 1966,¹⁴ are land-locked countries adjacent to South Africa, as is Swaziland. Since 1962, when the situation in the three countries was first considered, the General Assembly and its 24-member Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted a number of resolutions urging the United Kingdom to implement the Assembly's Declaration on granting independence (adopted on 14 December 1960)¹⁵ in these territories. They also expressed concern over the great need of these territories for external assistance in the development of their economies and social services, and over their economic independence on South Africa and the threat to their terri-

torial integrity and sovereignty resulting from the racial policy of South Africa.

At the close of a constitutional conference held in London from 14 to 20 February 1966, the United Kingdom Government announced that Bechuanaland would attain independence on 30 September 1966 under the name of Botswana.

At the final session of a constitutional conference held in London from 8 to 17 June 1966, the United Kingdom and the Basutoland Government delegation reached agreement on Basutoland's independence constitution under which it would become an independent state under the name of Lesotho on 4 October 1966. Representatives of the two op-

¹⁴ Botswana and Lesotho became Members of the United Nations on 17 October 1966.

¹⁵ See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50, text of resolution 1514(XV).

position parties, namely, the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP) and the Marema-Tlou Freedom Party (MTFP), did not attend that session and did not accept the constitution.

In March 1966, the proposals concerning a new constitution for Swaziland which a local committee had completed were submitted to the United Kingdom Secretary of State for the Colonies for consideration and were submitted to the Swaziland Legislature for discussion. In the course of its deliberations, the committee was informed by the Secretary of State that the United Kingdom Government proposed to grant Swaziland internal self-government in 1966 and would be willing to arrange for the conclusion of an agreement with the Ngwenyama (Paramount Chief) which would have the effect of turning Swaziland into a Protected State, with certain powers reserved to the United Kingdom Government. The Secretary of State also made it clear that the United Kingdom Government wished Swaziland to achieve independence not later than by the end of 1969.

In 1966, the situation in the three territories was again considered by the Special Committee and the General Assembly.

The Special Committee of Twenty-four considered the situation in Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland in the course of its visit to Africa in May and June 1966. It heard the following petitioners: P. Raboroko, P. K. Leballo and A. B. Ngcobo, representing the Pan-African Congress of South Africa (PAC); and S. J. Zwane, representing Ngwane National Liberatory Congress of Swaziland (NNLC).

On 9 June 1966, the Special Committee adopted a resolution, by 20 votes to 0, with 1 abstention, by which it called upon the administering power to ensure that the independence to be granted to the three territories should be based on the free expression of all the people, and appealed to all States to contribute to the fund for the economic development of these territories which had been established by the General Assembly on 16 December 1965.¹⁶ Continued efforts, it considered, should be made to provide economic, financial and technical assistance through United Nations programmes and specialized agencies. The Special Committee also decided

to establish a sub-committee with a view to studying and suggesting all necessary measures for securing the territorial integrity and sovereignty of these territories.

The Special Committee gave further consideration to the question of the situation in the three territories in July 1966.

It heard two petitioners concerning Basutoland, S. Makoto and Mr. Kolisang, representing the Marema-Tlou Freedom Party and the Basutoland Congress Party, respectively. These petitioners protested the attitude adopted by the United Kingdom Government at the recent constitutional conference concerning the terms on which Basutoland would attain its independence. Their main demands were: that the reserved powers of that Government, which covered foreign affairs, defence and internal security, should be vested in the Paramount Chief instead of the present Basutoland Government, which was not representative of the majority of the electorate; that the Paramount Chief should also possess the power to consult his people on any agreements which might endanger the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Basutoland; and that any final constitution should be placed before these people, by means of a new general election or a referendum, before independence.

On 8 July 1966, the Special Committee adopted a consensus of the views of its members concerning the recent developments in Basutoland. All the members expressed the desire for Basutoland's immediate accession to independence which, it was generally agreed, should be based on the principles set forth in the Special Committee's resolution of 9 June 1966 (see above). Many members hoped that all the political parties in the territory would unite in their efforts to achieve common objectives and that guarantees would be provided for the preservation of the territorial integrity of Basutoland.

On 9 September 1966, the Sub-Committee on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland (composed of representatives of Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Iran, Italy, Mali, Madagascar and Uruguay) unanimously approved a report.

¹⁶ See Y.U.N., 1965, p. 566, text of resolution 2063 (XX).

which the Special Committee adopted by consensus on 15 September. The Sub-Committee recommended that the Special Committee request the administering power to take all appropriate action, before the territories' accession to independence, to enable them to attain complete independence under their respective governments freely and democratically chosen by their peoples, and to protect their territorial integrity and sovereignty in the face of the unconcealed intentions of the racist régime of South Africa to continue interfering in their affairs. The Special Committee was also asked to consult the Organization of African Unity on the problems of these territories. It also recommended that the Special Committee urge the General Assembly: again to solemnly warn the South African Government that any attempt to encroach upon the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the three territories following independence should be considered as an act of aggression and any interference in their domestic affairs a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, with all attendant consequences; to appeal to all States to refrain from any action which might encourage South Africa to make such encroachment or interference; and to draw the Security Council's attention to the threat posed by the policy of South Africa to the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of these territories upon their attainment of independence.

Later in 1966, the situation in Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland was discussed at the General Assembly's twenty-first session, mainly in the Assembly's Fourth Committee.

The Fourth Committee had before it the report of the Special Committee of Twenty-four for 1966, which included the report of its Sub-Committee on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. It also had before it a report of the Secretary-General on the operation of the fund for the economic development of the three territories. In this report, the Secretary-General stated that, as the contributions pledged so far were insufficient, it had not been possible to bring the fund into operation.

Also before the Fourth Committee was a draft resolution sponsored by 29 Members. By this text, the Assembly would reiterate its

grave concern at the serious threat to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of these territories constituted by the aggressive policies of the present régime in South Africa; endorse the Special Committee's recommendations; and appeal to all States which had not done so to contribute to the fund established by the General Assembly in 1965.¹⁷

The sponsors of the draft resolution to this effect were: Afghanistan, Algeria, the Congo (Brazzaville), the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ghana, Guinea, India, Iran, Iraq, the Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen and Zambia.

Guinea and Iran, speaking for the sponsors, said that the draft resolution was based on the Special Committee's recommendations, the basic objectives of which were to provide a guarantee for the territorial integrity, independence and economic viability of the three territories.

Concern over the conditions in which the three territories would attain independence was expressed by many Members, including Algeria, Bulgaria, Chile, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ghana, India, Iraq, Libya, Mali, Malaysia, Syria, Uruguay and Zambia. These Members stated that it would be impossible to over-emphasize the necessity for the independence of these territories to be firm and solid, for their sovereignty and territorial integrity to be preserved and for the United Nations, its specialized agencies and all States to give them much needed economic and financial assistance. They were in agreement with the provisions of the draft resolution.

Commenting on the proposal, the United Kingdom representative stated that his Government shared its general aims and would continue to provide the three territories with economic and financial aid after independence. But the United Kingdom could not support some of the Special Committee's recommendations, since they failed to take into account the constitutional situation in these territories, called on the United Kingdom for action which

¹⁷Ibid.

had already been taken and dispensed with prior consultation of the Governments concerned.

The Congo (Brazzaville), Mali, the USSR and others felt that the unsatisfactory situation in the three territories was the result of the policy of the United Kingdom, which was continuing to subordinate the interests of these territories to those of South Africa, which aimed to annex them. The USSR maintained that only the defenders of the racist interests of South Africa and of the monopolies would care to oppose the endorsement of the Special Committee's recommendations. While supporting the draft resolution as a whole, the USSR expressed reservations concerning the paragraph calling for contributions to the fund. It considered that there would have to be a change in the political situation to make economic assistance meaningful and that the responsibility in that regard rested essentially with the administering power.

Denmark, the Netherlands and the United States, among others, agreed that the draft did not take into account recent developments in the territories, and that the General Assembly should refrain from any action which would compound the difficulties which the

territories might face upon their attainment of independence and should refrain from any attempt to dictate the terms under which the territories should face the future.

The representative of South Africa denied the allegations that his country was pursuing a policy of harassment towards the territories, was preparing for direct aggression against them or was planning their economic strangulation after independence. He added that South Africa had neither the intention nor the desire to dominate or incorporate the territories, and they shared its desire for peaceful co-existence. South Africa welcomed the granting of assistance to them.

On 28 September 1966, the Fourth Committee approved the 29-power draft resolution by a roll-call vote of 82 to 2, with 15 abstentions. The paragraph calling for the endorsement of the Special Committee's recommendations was approved by a separate roll-call vote of 77 to 11, with 22 abstentions.

At a plenary meeting on 29 September 1966, the Assembly adopted the text as resolution 2134(XXI) by 84 votes to 2, with 19 abstentions. (For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, meetings 421-423, 437-439, 450, 455-458, 466, 467.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—21ST SESSION
Fourth Committee, meetings 1596-1601.
Plenary Meeting 1422.

A/6300/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee (covering its work in 1966), Chapter VII.

A/6439. Operation of Fund for Economic Development of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. Report by Secretary-General.

A/C.4/L.833 and Add.1. Afghanistan, Algeria, Congo (Brazzaville), Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ghana, Guinea, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Zambia: draft resolution, adopted by Fourth Committee on 28 September 1966, meeting 1600, by roll-call vote of 82* to 2, with 15 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cambodia, Cameroon, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Democratic Republic of the Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada,

* At the 1601st meeting of the Fourth Committee, the representative of Nicaragua indicated that had he been present, he would have voted in favour of the draft resolution.

Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States.

A/6448. Report of Fourth Committee.

RESOLUTION 2134(xxi), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/6448, adopted by Assembly on 29 September 1966, meeting 1422, by 84 votes to 2, with 19 abstentions.

"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 Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland,

"Having examined further the report submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to the request contained in paragraph 9 of General Assembly resolution 2063(XX) of 16 December 1965 concerning the Fund for the Economic Development of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland,

"Reaffirming its resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and its resolutions 1817(XVII) of 18 December 1962, 1954(XVIII) of 11 December 1963 and 2063(XX) of 16 December 1965,

"Noting with deep concern the economic and social situation prevailing in the three Territories and their

imperative and urgent need for United Nations assistance,

"Noting that the contributions so far pledged have not been sufficient for the Fund for the Economic Development of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, established by the General Assembly in paragraph 7 of its resolution 2063(XX), to be brought into operation,

"Noting further the imminent accession of Bechuanaland and Basutoland to independence,

"1. Reiterates its grave concern at the serious threat to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland constituted by the aggressive policies of the present régime in the Republic of South Africa;

"2. 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 Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland and endorses the recommendations contained therein;

"3. Appeals to all States which have not done so to contribute to the Fund established by the General Assembly in paragraph 7 of its resolution 2063(XX)."

S/7525. Letter of 3 October 1966 from Secretary-General to President of Security Council (transmitting text of General Assembly resolution 2134 (XXI)).

Equatorial Guinea

Equatorial Guinea, administered by Spain, consists of Fernando Póo and Río Muni, the former an island of the same name together with the smaller island of Annobón and adjacent islets in the Gulf of Guinea, and the latter on the African mainland, bordered by Cameroon on the north and Gabon on the south and east, with several small islands off the coast.

According to a 1960 census, the total population was 245,989; of this number, 62,612 lived in Fernando Póo and 183,377 in Río Muni. In 1966, the total population was estimated at 260,000 inhabitants.

Following a referendum in December 1963, Fernando Póo and Río Muni, which had previously had the status of Spanish provinces, were accorded a new constitutional framework by which they were joined together as one unit called Equatorial Guinea and granted a régime of autonomy comprising executive and legislative institutions based upon elections by heads of families and corporative entities. The Spanish Government was represented by a

Commissioner-General whose powers included external affairs and certain aspects of internal affairs, as well as advisory and supervisory functions with regard to the institutions of the autonomous régime.

The situation in Equatorial Guinea was considered by the General Assembly's 24-member Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples during meetings held in Africa in June 1966. At the invitation of the Government of Spain, the Special Committee decided to send a sub-committee to the territory to ascertain the conditions there with a view to speeding up implementation of the General Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the granting of independence¹⁸ and its resolution of 16 December 1965 requesting the administering power to set the earliest possible date for

¹⁸ See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50, text of resolution 1514(XV).

independence after consulting the people on the basis of universal suffrage under the supervision of the United Nations.¹⁹

The Sub-Committee, consisting of the representatives of Sierra Leone (Chairman), Chile, Denmark, Mali, Poland, Syria and the United Republic of Tanzania, visited Equatorial Guinea in August 1966 and submitted its report to the Special Committee in November 1966. In its report, the Sub-Committee expressed doubts about the effective power exercised by the institutions of the autonomous régime and about the adequacy of representation of the people afforded by the existing electoral system. The Sub-Committee also felt that the economy was unduly dependent on Spain.

One of the main recommendations of the Sub-Committee was that the administering power should convene a conference of all parties concerned to establish the modalities for the transfer of all powers to the people without delay and to fix a date for independence which, in response to the wishes of the people, should be not later than July 1968. The Sub-Committee also recommended United Nations participation in the processes leading to independence.

In November 1966, during the Special Committee's consideration of the Sub-Committee's report, the representative of Spain declared that the Sub-Committee should have given greater attention to Spain's achievements in the territory. He did not agree with the importance attributed to the powers of the Commissioner-General and the suggestion that autonomy was fictitious, and he considered such views to be refuted by the report itself. With regard to the fixing of a date for independence, he considered that it was for the population, in the exercise of self-determination, to take this step if it so wished.

Mali thought it should be made clear that the territories of Fernando Póo and Río Muni, which had been united to form the territory of Equatorial Guinea, should remain united and accede to independence as a single entity. A similar view was expressed by Cameroon and Madagascar.

The representative of Australia, after stressing the importance attaching to the introduction of an electoral system based upon universal

suffrage, said that it was his understanding that the recommendation for the fixing of a date for independence not later than July 1968 was qualified by the words "in response to the wishes of the people." He would have preferred no time-limit to be indicated and the matter to have been left entirely to the representatives of the people. Similar observations were made by Denmark and the United States. The United Republic of Tanzania recalled that the question of fixing a date for independence had been discussed by the people in the territory themselves in the course of their meetings with the Sub-Committee and for this reason had been the subject of a recommendation in the Sub-Committee's report.

The Special Committee adopted the Sub-Committee's report and endorsed its conclusions and recommendations.

In debates on Equatorial Guinea which took place in December 1966, at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, a petitioner appearing before the Assembly's Fourth Committee—Eduardo Ondo of the Idea Popular de la Guinea Ecuatorial (IPGE)—voiced fear with regard to an alleged threat of secession of Fernando Póo inspired by foreign interests and the establishment of military bases on the island, as well as concern over the alleged denial of basic freedoms to the people of the territory. The representative of Cameroon later expressed similar fears in the Fourth Committee. The allegations were denied by the representative of Spain, who announced that the Spanish Government intended to convene a Constitutional Conference early in 1967 at which all sections of the population would be represented.

The outcome of the discussion was a draft resolution approved on 15 December 1966 by the Fourth Committee by a roll-call vote of 85 to 0, with 9 abstentions, and subsequently adopted at a plenary meeting of the Assembly on 20 December by a recorded vote of 109 to 0, with 7 abstentions as resolution 2230 (XXI).

By the operative part of this text, the General Assembly, among other things: (1) re-

¹⁹ See Y.U.N., 1965, p. 576, text of resolution 2057 (XX).

affirmed the right of the people of Equatorial Guinea to self-determination and independence; (2) expressed appreciation to the Government of Spain for having invited the Special Committee of Twenty-four to visit the territory and for the co-operation given to the Sub-Committee during its visit; (3) requested the administering power to establish full democratic freedoms, institute an electoral system based on universal adult suffrage, hold a general election before independence on the basis of a unified electoral roll, fix a date for independence and convene a fully representative constitutional conference to this end; (4) asked the administering power to ensure that the territory acceded to independence as a single political and territorial unit; (5) requested the administering power to establish in law and in practice full equality of political, economic and social rights and to take measures to ensure the rapid economic development of the territory and to promote the educational and social advancement of the people; and (6)

requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with the administering power and the Special Committee of Twenty-four, to ensure the participation of the United Nations in the processes leading to independence, including the elections.

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

The resolution was sponsored in the Fourth Committee by Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Denmark, Ghana, Indonesia, the Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, Tunisia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta and Zambia.

Spain announced that it had abstained in the vote on the grounds that the autonomous authorities of the territory did not have the opportunity to express their views on the text of the resolution and that some provisions of the resolution implied a limitation of the free choice of the people of Equatorial Guinea.

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, meetings 447, 451, 452, 454, 472, 474, 478, 479, 481.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—21ST SESSION

Fourth Committee, meetings 1633, 1635, 1658, 1665, 1673, 1674.

Fifth Committee, meeting 1171.

Plenary Meeting 1500.

A/6300/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee (covering its work in 1966), Chapter IX.

A/C.4/675 and Add.1. Requests for hearings.

A/C.4/679. Letter of 5 December 1966 from Morocco.

A/C.4/L.859. Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Denmark, Ghana, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, Tunisia, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Zambia: draft resolution, adopted by Fourth Committee on 15 December 1966, meeting 1674, by roll-call vote of 85 to 0, with 9 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea,

Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia. Against: None.

Abstaining: France, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, United Kingdom, United States.

A/C.5/1109, A/6607. Reports of Secretary-General and Fifth Committee on financial implications of draft resolution recommended by Fourth Committee A/C.4/L.859.

A/6623. Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution II.

RESOLUTION 2230(xxi), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/6623, adopted by Assembly on 20 December 1966, meeting 1500, by recorded vote of 109 to 0, with 7 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Democratic Republic of the Congo, Costa

Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: France, Mexico, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, United Kingdom, United States.

"The General Assembly,

"Having considered the question of Equatorial Guinea,

"Having heard the statement of the petitioner,

"Having also heard the statement of the representative of the administering Power,

"Having considered 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 Equatorial Guinea,

"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 2067(XX) of 16 December 1965,

"Recalling the Basic Law of 1963 which recognized Fernando Póo and Río Muni as one entity thereafter to be called Equatorial Guinea, and the declaration by the administering Power of its intention to grant independence to Equatorial Guinea as a single entity,

"Taking into account the declarations of the administering Power that it would accede to the desires of the people of the Territory for independence whenever they so requested,

"Noting the desire of the overwhelming majority of the people consulted that the Territory should become independent not later than July 1968,

"Having noted the statement of the representative of the administering Power that a constitutional conference will be convened early in 1967,

"Recognizing the need for further measures to promote the economic, social and educational advancement of the people of the Territory,

"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 Equatorial Guinea, and endorses the conclusions and recommendations contained therein;

"2. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Equatorial Guinea to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514(XV);

"3. Expresses its appreciation to the Government of Spain for having invited the Special Committee to visit the Territory and for the co-operation rendered to the Sub-Committee on Equatorial Guinea of the Special Committee during its visits to the Territory;

"4. Invites the administering Power to implement as soon as possible the following measures:

"(a) Removal of all restrictions on political activities and establishment of full democratic freedoms;

"(b) Institution of an electoral system based on universal adult suffrage and the holding, before independence, of a general election for the whole Territory on the basis of a unified electoral roll;

"(c) Transfer of effective power to the government resulting from this election;

"5. Requests the administering Power to ensure that the Territory accedes to independence as a single political and territorial unit and that no step is taken which would jeopardize the territorial integrity of Equatorial Guinea;

"6. Requests the administering Power, in accordance with the wishes of the people of Equatorial Guinea, to set a date for independence as recommended by the Special Committee and, for this purpose, to convene a conference in which the various political parties and all sections of the population would be fully represented;

"7. Further requests the administering Power to establish in law and in practice full equality of political, economic and social rights;

"8. Urges the administering Power to take effective measures, including increased assistance, to ensure the rapid economic development of the Territory and to promote the educational and social advancement of the people, and requests the specialized agencies to render all possible assistance towards this end;

"9. Requests the Secretary-General to take appropriate action, in consultation with the administering Power and the Special Committee, to ensure the presence of the United Nations in the Territory for the supervision of the preparation for, and the holding of, the election envisaged in paragraph 4 (b) above, and to participate in any other measures leading towards the independence of the Territory;

"10. Further requests the Secretary-General to transmit the present resolution to the administering Power and to report to the Special Committee on its implementation;

"11. Decides to maintain the question of Equatorial Guinea on its agenda."

Falkland Islands (Malvinas)

Questions concerning the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) were considered during 1966 by the General Assembly's 24-member Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and by the General Assembly itself. The territory, which is administered by the United Kingdom, is claimed by Argentina as an integral portion of Argentina. The islands are situated in the South Atlantic, some 400 miles off Cape Horn. The population, almost exclusively of British origin, numbers slightly over 2,000.

On the recommendation of its Sub-Committee III, the Special Committee adopted a statement on the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) on 10 November 1966, in which it recalled the provisions of a General Assembly resolution of 16 December 1965, by which the General Assembly had (i) invited the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to proceed without delay with the negotiations recommended by the Special Committee, with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the problem, and (ii) requested a report from the two Governments on the results of the negotiations.²⁰ The Special Committee took note of the information provided by Argentina and the United Kingdom that meetings were held on the problem on 19 and 20 July 1966 and that they would be continued.

During the discussions on the question which took place at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly in the Assembly's Fourth Committee, many Members, including Haiti, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Uruguay, welcomed the information that talks between Argentina and the United Kingdom were continuing. Uruguay and Venezuela emphasized that the solution arrived at in the talks called for in the General

Assembly's resolution of 16 December 1965 should be compatible with the paragraph (paragraph 6) in the Assembly Declaration of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence²¹ which stated that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. Iran considered it essential that the views not only of the people of the territory but of the people of Argentina should be taken into consideration, while India expressed concern at the leisurely rate at which the talks were proceeding and said that the two powers concerned should be urged to give the question all due attention.

On 20 December 1966, the General Assembly approved a consensus recommended by the Fourth Committee on 17 December. This consensus read as follows:

"With reference to General Assembly resolution 2065(XX) of 16 December 1965 concerning the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), the Fourth Committee took note of the communications dated 15 December 1966 of Argentina and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland... In this regard there was a consensus in favour of urging both parties to continue with the negotiations so as to find a peaceful solution to the problem as soon as possible, keeping the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the General Assembly duly informed about the development of the negotiations on this colonial situation, the elimination of which is of interest to the United Nations within the context of General Assembly resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960."

²⁰ See Y.U.N., 1965, pp. 578-79, text of resolution 2065(XX).

²¹ See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50, text of resolution 1514(XV).

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, meetings 463, 466, 467, 476-478.

Fourth Committee, meetings 1633, 1669, 1671, 1672, 1674, 1675, 1677-1679.
Plenary Meeting 1500.

A/6261 and Add.1. Letters of 9 February and 22 August 1966 from Argentina.

A/6262 and Add.1. Letters of 9 February and 22 August 1966 from United Kingdom.
 A/6300/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee (covering its work during 1966), Chapter XXII.
 A/6568. Letter of 8 December 1966 from United Kingdom.

A/C.4/682. Letter of 15 December 1966 from Argentina.
 A/C.4/683. Letter of 15 December 1966 from United Kingdom.
 A/6628. Report of Fourth Committee, paras. 12, 13.

Fiji

Fiji, a group of about 844 islands and islets, situated in the south-west Pacific and administered by the United Kingdom, had a total population at the end of 1965 estimated at 470,000, consisting of 195,000 Fijians, 235,000 persons of Indian origin and 40,000 others (European, part-European, Chinese and other Pacific races). Almost 90 per cent of the total land mass of 7,055 square miles is contained by the islands of Viti Levu (4,010 square miles) and Vanua Levu (2,137 square miles).

A new constitution, based on an agreement reached at a constitutional conference held in London, United Kingdom, from 26 July to 9 August 1965, was promulgated on 23 September 1966, and the first general election under this constitution was held from 26 September to 8 October.

Under the new constitution, Fiji had a Legislative Council with an elected majority (36 elected and 4 official members nominated by the Governor). The elected members of the Legislative Council consisted of the following: 14 Fijians—9 elected on the Fijian communal roll, 2 elected by the Fijian Council of Chiefs and 3 elected according to a new cross-voting system; 12 Indians—9 elected on the Indian communal roll and 3 elected by the cross-voting system; and 10 persons who are neither Fijians nor Indians.

For the election by the cross-voting system, Fiji was divided into three constituencies, each returning one Fijian (or Rotuman or other Pacific Islander), one Indian, and one European (or Chinese or member of another minority group), each member being elected by persons of all communities.

The Executive Council consisted of 4 official members and 6 non-official members, appointed by the Governor from the elected members of the Legislative Council.

At meetings held between 6 May and 29 September 1966, the situation in Fiji was con-

sidered by the General Assembly's 24-member Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. On 7 September, the Special Committee adopted a resolution by which it reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Fiji to freedom and independence in accordance with the General Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence²² and called upon the United Kingdom to implement, inter alia, the following: the holding of general elections on the basis of "one man, one vote," in accordance with the principle of universal adult suffrage, for the purpose of forming a constituent assembly, which would be charged with the task of drawing up a democratic constitution; the transfer of full powers to a representative government; the fixing of an early date for the granting of independence; and the abolition of discriminatory measures so as to foster communal harmony and national unity in the territory. The Special Committee also decided to appoint a sub-committee to visit Fiji for the purpose of studying at first hand the situation in the territory.

The situation in Fiji was also considered later in the year at the General Assembly's twenty-first session.

Discussion took place mainly in the Assembly's Fourth Committee, which considered the report of the Special Committee of Twenty-four on Fiji and a 22-power draft resolution on the matter.

By the draft text, as later amended by Chile, the Assembly, among other things, would: (1) reaffirm the inalienable right of the people of Fiji to freedom and independence in conformity with the provisions of the Declaration on the

²² See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50, text of resolution 1514(XV).

granting of independence; (2) express deep regret that the administering power had not taken effective measures to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee of Twenty-four; (3) endorse the decision of the Special Committee to appoint a sub-committee to visit Fiji; and (4) call upon the administering power to take the following steps without delay; (a) hold general elections on the basis of "one man, one vote"; (b) fix an early date for independence; and (c) abolish all discriminatory measures so as to foster communal harmony and national unity in the territory.

The sponsors of the draft resolution were: Algeria, Ceylon, Cyprus, Dahomey, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Mauritania, Morocco, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

During the debate in the Fourth Committee, the representative of the United Kingdom described the economic, social and educational developments within the territory. He said that the measures agreed upon at the constitutional conference held in London in 1965 were the maximum to which the conference had been able to agree without imperilling the entire concept of co-operation between the communities. One healthy sign during the past year, he said, was the fact that the political parties had campaigned for support on a national rather than communal basis. In the view of the United Kingdom, this development marked an encouraging growth of a non-communal approach to political life in the territory, in keeping with the hopes of the United Kingdom Government. He reiterated his Government's concern to unify the disparate ethnic groups which comprised the population of Fiji. However, only compromise and conditions of calm and order could soften and eventually eliminate the divisions and mistrust between the communities. This could not be achieved overnight, he added.

The draft resolution, he felt, ignored the latest constitutional and political developments in Fiji. As for the proposed visiting mission, the United Kingdom thought that the facts of the situation were available to everyone and that there was no need to send a mission

to find them. He reiterated his Government's readiness to co-operate in New York in providing all the necessary information on Fiji. He suggested that the sponsors withdraw the draft resolution.

The spokesmen for India, the USSR and the United Republic of Tanzania, among others, deplored the failure of the United Kingdom to implement all the relevant United Nations resolutions concerning Fiji and maintained that the United Kingdom had fostered disunity between the various communities, the members of which were all "Fijians" regardless of their ethnic origins. They also expressed dissatisfaction with the existing constitutional arrangements for the territory and called for general elections based on the principle of "one man, one vote."

The representative of Kenya, while acknowledging the failure of the administering power to integrate the various communities into a single nation, feared that trouble would arise if the principle of "one man, one vote" was applied immediately, before the disparity in educational levels between the indigenous community and other communities had been corrected. Such a situation could lead to violence, he said. He and the representative of the Philippines regretted that there were no petitioners from whom further information could be obtained on the actual situation in the territory.

Argentina, Chile, China, Guyana, Japan, the Philippines, Poland, the USSR and Venezuela, among others, endorsed the proposal to dispatch a visiting mission to Fiji.

Australia, the Netherlands and New Zealand contended that the existing constitutional arrangements represented the highest common factor of agreement which could be achieved at this time, that the people of Fiji were well on the way to self-government and that the reality of the deep divisions between the two ethnic groups within the territory could not be wished away. The representative of Australia added that the exclusiveness of the two ethnic groups within the territory was spontaneous; it was therefore wrong to attribute the situation to a United Kingdom policy of "divide and rule."

An oral amendment by Togo to delete the operative paragraph which called upon the

United Kingdom to hold elections, set a date for independence and abolish discriminatory measures, was rejected by a roll-call vote of 58 to 27, with 13 abstentions.

Togo, supported by Ghana and Liberia, argued that the Committee still lacked sufficient information about the situation in Fiji. How, it was argued, could recommendations be made when the situation had not been studied at first hand? The effect of the operative paragraph in question, the representative of Togo

stated, was to prejudge an unknown situation. He appealed to the United Kingdom to make it possible for the mission to visit the Territory.

On 8 December, the Fourth Committee approved the draft resolution, as amended by Chile, by a roll-call vote of 76 to 6, with 17 abstentions. On 12 December, the Assembly, adopted the text as resolution 2185(XXI), by 78 votes to 6, with 17 abstentions. (For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, meetings 462, 463.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—21ST SESSION

Fourth Committee meetings 1652, 1655-1657, 1659, 1661, 1662.

Plenary Meeting 1490.

A/6300/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee (covering its work in 1966), Chapter VIII.

A/C.4/L.844 and Add.1-3. Algeria, Ceylon, Cyprus, Dahomey, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Mauritania, Morocco, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia: draft resolution, as revised, adopted by Fourth Committee on 8 December 1966, meeting 1662, by roll-call vote of 76 to 6, with 17 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Maldives Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Australia, New Zealand, Portugal, Togo, United Kingdom, United States.

Abstaining: Austria, Canada, China, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Denmark, Finland, France, Ghana, Guyana, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Malawi, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden.

A/C.4/L.848. Chile: amendments to 22-power draft resolution, A/C.4/L.844.

A/6572. Report of Fourth Committee.

RESOLUTION 2185(XXI), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/6572, adopted by Assembly on 12 December 1966, meeting 1490, by 78 votes to 6, with 17 abstentions.

"The General Assembly,

"Having considered 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 Fiji,

"Having heard the statement of the administering Power,

"Recalling its resolutions 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960, 1951(XVIII) of 11 December 1963, 2068(XX) of 16 December 1965 and 2105(XX) of 20 December 1965, also the resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 7 September 1966,

"Noting with regret that the administering Power has not yet taken effective measures to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee,

"1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Fiji to freedom and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514(XV);

"2. Expresses its deep regret that the administering Power has not yet taken effective measures to implement the various resolutions of 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 concerning the Territory of Fiji;

"3. Endorses the decision of the Special Committee to appoint a sub-committee to visit Fiji for the purpose of studying at first hand the situation in the Territory, and requests the Chairman of the Special Committee, in consultation with the administering Power, to appoint the sub-committee as early as practicable;

"4. Calls upon the administering Power to implement without delay the following measures:

"(a) The holding of general elections in accordance with the principle of 'one man, one vote' for the purpose of forming a constituent assembly which will be charged with the task of drawing up a democratic

constitution and the formation of a representative government, and the transfer of full powers to that government;

"(b) The fixing of an early date for the independence of Fiji;

"(c) The abolishing of all discriminatory measures so as to foster communal harmony and national unity in the Territory;

"5. Requests the Secretary-General to provide all the necessary facilities for the visit of the sub-com-

mittee to the Territory;

"6. Requests the administering Power to report to the Special Committee on the implementation of the present resolution;

"7. Invites the Special Committee to keep the question under consideration and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session;

"8. Decides to keep the question of Fiji on its agenda."

French Somaliland

French Somaliland, administered by France as an Overseas Territory, lies on the eastern coast of Africa at the head of the Gulf of Aden, just outside the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb and has common frontiers with Ethiopia on the north, west and south-west, and with Somalia on the south-east. It covers an area of 8,900 square miles (23,000 square kilometres) and has a population estimated in 1961 at 81,000. The capital of the territory is Djibouti.

In 1966, questions pertaining to French Somaliland were considered both in the General Assembly and in its 24-member Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Special Committee considered these matters at meetings in Africa in June and at United Nations Headquarters in October.

During its meetings in Mogadiscio, Somalia, the Special Committee heard the following petitioners: Abdillahi Ardeye Abane, Djama Mohamoud Sultan, Omar Ahmed Youssouf, Osman Aden Youssouf, Abdillahi Waber Kalif, Ibrahim Taher and Djama Farab Abdi, representatives of the Front de Liberation de la Côte des Somalis (FLCS). In Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, it heard Ahmed Bourhan, Secretary-General of the Mouvement de Liberation de Djibouti (MLD). All petitioners expressed strong criticism of French rule in the territory, the former group appealing to the United Nations to set up a commission to inquire into the situation in French Somaliland.

The representative of Somalia declared that the United Nations should call upon France to grant immediate independence to French Somaliland, within the spirit of the General Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960 on

the granting of independence²³ and the United Nations Charter. Upon the granting of independence, he said, the United Nations should assume the administration of the territory for a period of two years, so as to allow the formation of a political consensus within the territory as to its future and to guarantee that the people of the territory secured real, and not fictitious, independence, free from French, Ethiopian or other outside pressures. He added that his Government had no plan to incorporate the territory into the Somali Republic and in fact supported the inalienable right of the people of the territory to self-determination without any outside pressures.

The representative of Ethiopia outlined the historical connexions between his country and the territory, which he preferred to call Djibouti, claiming that for many centuries the latter had been an integral part of Ethiopia, assuming so-called separate status only 80 years ago during European colonial rule. He stressed the territory's geographic and economic links with Ethiopia and pointed out that Djibouti was Ethiopia's major gateway to all regions and constituted an important corridor for the passage of raw materials to the world market, thus making closer collaboration essential for both Ethiopia and Djibouti. His delegation would unreservedly support any measures to resolve the problems regarding Djibouti's future, and he emphasized that his Government entertained no designs on the territory and recognized its right to self-determination.

At meetings held at United Nations Headquarters in October 1966, the Special Committee heard the following petitioners: Ali Ahmed

²³ See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50, text of resolution 1514(XV).

Udun, Mohamed Dahan, Ibrahim Dalin Egeh and Omar Aboubakar, representatives of the Front de Liberation de la Côte des Somalis (FLCS), and Abdurahaman Ahmed Hassan.

Three petitioners expressed doubts as to the good intentions of the French colonial administration. They said they had little faith that the referendum announced by the French Government to take place before July 1967 would be held in full freedom. They had not been encouraged by the holding of past referendums in this respect, they added. For this reason, they appealed for international guarantees in the form of a United Nations presence to organize and supervise the forthcoming referendum and the general elections to follow.

After hearing statements by the representatives of Ethiopia and Somalia, the Special Committee decided to transmit to the General Assembly the information required in the relevant working paper prepared by the Secretariat, together with the statements made on the item by representatives and petitioners. It also decided to inform the General Assembly that, subject to any decision that the Assembly might take at its twenty-first (1966) session, it would consider French Somaliland during its meetings in 1967.

Later in 1966, at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, the question was considered mainly in the Assembly's Fourth Committee. A draft resolution was presented by the operative paragraphs of which the General Assembly, among other things, would: (1) reaffirm the inalienable right of the people of French Somaliland (Djibouti) to self-determination and independence; (2) call upon the administering power to ensure that the right of self-determination should be freely expressed and exercised by the indigenous inhabitants of the territory on the basis of universal adult suffrage and with full respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms; (3) urge the administering power to create a proper political climate for a referendum to be conducted on an entirely free and democratic basis; and (4) request the administering power, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to make appropriate arrangements for a United Nations presence before, and supervision during, the holding of the referendum.

The sponsors of the draft resolution were: Afghanistan, Ceylon, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kuwait, Lesotho, Libya, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Syria, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen and Zambia.

Most of the debate in the Fourth Committee on the draft resolution centred on the question of creating a proper political climate for a referendum and the question of a United Nations presence before, and supervision during, the holding of the referendum.

The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania stressed the importance of a United Nations presence, not because of any lack of confidence in the administering power but, he said, because of the duty of the United Nations to take an increasingly active part in the process of decolonization and to ensure that this took place by peaceful means.

Support for such views came, among others, from Ceylon, Chile, Ghana, Guinea, Ireland, Kenya, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Poland, Somalia, Sudan and Zambia. The representative of Somalia drew attention to what he considered to be the inadequacies of the 1958 referendum in the territory, describing how such technical questions as registration of voters, residence requirements and situation of voting places could affect the outcome if not controlled by an impartial body. He was among those who stressed the importance of a United Nations presence at least to dispel any doubts about the fairness of the referendum. This would be as much to the advantage of France as to the people of the territory, he said. Some representatives, such as those of Ghana and Ceylon, expressed disquiet at the manner in which the referendum was being organized—in particular, at the way the issue involved was being phrased and presented to the people.

The advisability of a United Nations presence before and during the referendum was opposed by a number of Members, including the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Israel, the Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo.

Among the arguments advanced against a United Nations presence was that France's

colonial record was such that it should be trusted in its handling of French Somaliland and that the presence of the United Nations was therefore uncalled for. The representative of the Ivory Coast believed that in view of the degree of self-government enjoyed by French Somaliland, any intervention by the United Nations in the territory constituted interference in its internal affairs. Dahomey and Togo maintained that there was no point in forcing a door that was already open. Dahomey argued that since it was known that France would not permit any outside interference in what it considered its internal affairs, the operative paragraph in the draft resolution concerning the United Nations presence could not be implemented even if it were adopted. The representative of Ethiopia regarded this paragraph as untimely and liable to disturb or retard the course of decolonization by introducing pre-conditions.

On 12 December 1966, the Fourth Committee

approved the draft resolution by a roll-call vote of 87 to 1, with 16 abstentions. Prior to this vote, the operative paragraph concerning the United Nations presence during the referendum was voted upon separately and was approved by a roll-call vote of 70 to 2, with 32 abstentions.

On 20 December 1966, the resolution was adopted at a plenary meeting of the Assembly by a recorded vote of 95 to 1, with 18 abstentions, as resolution 2228(XXI). A separate vote was again taken on the operative paragraph concerning the United Nations presence before and during the referendum; it was approved by a roll-call vote of 72 to 2, with 39 abstentions. Many members who abstained indicated that their abstention was based on opposition to the proposal for a United Nations presence before and during the forthcoming referendum. (For text of resolution and voting details, See DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, meetings 438, 470, 471.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—21ST SESSION

Fourth Committee, meetings 1630, 1657, 1663, 1664, 1666, 1667.

Fifth Committee, meeting 1169.

Plenary Meeting 1500.

A/6300/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee (covering its work in 1966), Chapter XII.

A/6401. Letter of 30 August 1966 from Somalia.

A/6538 and Add.1. Letter of 29 November and 9 December 1966 from Ethiopia.

A/6558. Letter of 6 December 1966 from Somalia.

A/C.4/676. Requests for hearings.

A/C.4/L.847. Afghanistan, Indonesia, Iraq, Kuwait, Lesotho, Libya, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania: draft resolution.

A/C.4/L.847/Rev.1 and Corr.1. Afghanistan, Ceylon, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kuwait, Lesotho, Libya, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Syria, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Zambia: revised draft resolution, adopted by Fourth Committee on 12 December 1966, meeting 1666, by roll-call vote of 87 to 1, with 16 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma,

Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Democratic Republic of the Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Portugal.

Abstaining: Belgium, Central African Republic, Chad, Dahomey, Gabon, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Netherlands, Niger, Senegal, South Africa, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States.

A/6583. Report of Fourth Committee.

A/C.5/1106, A/6600. Financial implications of draft resolution recommended by Fourth Committee. Reports of Secretary-General and Fifth Committee.

RESOLUTION 2228(XXI), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/6583, adopted by Assembly on 20 December 1966, meeting 1500, by recorded vote of 95 to 1, with 18 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina,

Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Democratic Republic of the Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldive Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Portugal.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Central African Republic, Chad, Dahomey, Gabon, Haiti, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Netherlands, Niger, Senegal, South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Upper Volta.

"The General Assembly,

"Having considered the question of French Somaliland (Djibouti),

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

"Having considered 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 French Somaliland (Djibouti),

"Noting the decision taken by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its third ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 5 to 9 November 1966,

"Having noted the recent political developments in the Territory and the subsequent announcement made by the administering Power that a referendum will be held in the Territory before July 1967 to enable the people to decide their political future,

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

"2. Calls upon the administering Power to ensure that the right of self-determination shall be freely expressed and exercised by the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory on the basis of universal adult suffrage and with full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;

"3. Urges the administering Power to create a proper political climate for a referendum to be conducted on an entirely free and democratic basis;

"4. Requests the administering Power, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to make appropriate arrangements for a United Nations presence before, and supervision during, the holding of a referendum;

"5. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit the text of the present resolution to the administering Power and to report on its implementation 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;

"6. Decides to retain the question of French Somaliland (Djibouti) on its agenda."

Gibraltar

Gibraltar, covering an area of 2¼ square miles and administered by the United Kingdom, had a population in 1965 estimated at 25,270 of whom 19,082 were Gibraltarians, 4,578 other British and 1,610 aliens. In 1964, constitutional arrangements providing for greater participation of Gibraltarians in the internal affairs of the territory came into force.

In November 1966, the situation in Gibraltar was considered by the General Assembly's 24-member Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The representative of Spain noted that the talks which had taken place between the Governments of Spain and the United Kingdom—in accordance with a General Assembly resolution of 16 December 1965²⁴—between May

and October 1966 had encountered serious difficulties but these talks were due to continue. In particular, his Government took issue with the United Kingdom's formal notification in July 1966 that the United Kingdom had sovereign authority over a section of the isthmus north of Gibraltar where the aerodrome was situated, hitherto regarded as a neutral zone and not in fact ceded to the United Kingdom under the Treaty of Utrecht. This claim was considered by Spain as unprecedented and, indeed, as an act of aggression. To make matters worse, he said, this area was being used by military aircraft which were also violating Spanish airspace contiguous to Gibraltar.

The representative of the United Kingdom

²⁴ See Y.U.N., 1965, pp. 583-84, text of resolution 2070(XX).

denied the charge of aggression with regard to the southern part of the isthmus north of Gibraltar, stating that the United Kingdom had exercised authority in this area for 250 years. The airfield, which had been constructed 30 years ago, had been utilized for military purposes during the Second World War without any protest from Spain, despite its neutrality. There had been no change in this situation recently; therefore, he contended, there could hardly be any act of aggression in this respect. The United Kingdom admitted to only one accidental overflight of Spanish territory; on the other hand, it noted with concern the restrictions on freedom of movement at the frontier between Spain and Gibraltar which appeared to be designed to exert pressure and could only damage the successful outcome of the talks between Spain and the United Kingdom.

Referring to the current state of these talks, the representative of the United Kingdom proposed that the issues involved in the dispute, which, in his Government's view, were basically legal, should be referred to the International Court of Justice. At the same time, the United Kingdom's position remained that any proposed solution was bound, under the United Nations Charter, to safeguard the interests of the people of Gibraltar.

Iran, Syria, Tunisia, Uruguay and Venezuela expressed support for the Spanish position, in particular with regard to the alleged flights by British aircraft over Spanish territory and the United Kingdom's assertion of sovereignty over the isthmus, which were viewed as incidents tending to obstruct negotiations between the parties concerned. Most of these members of the Special Committee expressly favoured the view that Gibraltar should be returned to Spain. The United Republic of Tanzania deplored the fact that no concrete results of the negotiations between the two parties had hitherto been reported to the Special Committee, pointing out that such delays were harmful to the process of decolonization. The USSR was critical of both the United Kingdom and Spain and called for the demilitarization of the zone and the liquidation of the base as the only solution in keeping with the interests of the Spanish and other

peoples in the area. Australia urged that the Special Committee should take into account not only the conflicting claims of two States to sovereignty over the territory but also the fate of the Gibraltarians.

On 17 November 1966, the Special Committee adopted a resolution—sponsored by Chile, Iran, Iraq, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay and Venezuela—whereby it: (1) called upon the two parties to refrain from any acts which would hamper the success of the negotiations; (2) regretted the delay in the process of decolonization and in the implementation of the General Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence²⁵ with regard to this territory; (3) called upon the two parties to continue their negotiations in a constructive way and to report to the Special Committee as soon as possible and in any case, before the twenty-second (1967) session of the General Assembly; and (4) requested the Secretary-General to assist in the implementation of this resolution.

Later in 1966, at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, the representative of Spain outlined in detail to the Assembly's Fourth Committee his Government's position in the negotiations it had been conducting with the United Kingdom Government between May and October 1966. His Government had proposed the signing of a convention between Spain and the United Kingdom, the main elements of which would provide, he said, for the abrogation of Article X of the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 and the restoration of Spain's territorial integrity, at the same time respecting the United Kingdom's special interests in Gibraltar and providing guarantees in the form of an additional agreement annexed to the proposed convention for the full expression of rights and freedoms of the Gibraltarians, thus according them what he described as the most extensive rights that any group of people could have, except the right to dispose of a strip of Spanish soil.

The representative of Spain claimed that the United Kingdom's reaction consisted of ignoring

²⁵ See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50, text of resolution 1514(XV).

Spain's concrete proposals while stating at great length the United Kingdom's legal titles to Gibraltar and presenting minor counter-proposals.

With regard to the United Kingdom's main proposal to submit to the International Court of Justice what it regarded as its legal titles not only to "the Rock" itself but also to the territory adjacent to Gibraltar not ceded under the Treaty of Utrecht, the Spanish Government rejected it as being out-dated since the General Assembly and the Special Committee of Twenty-four had pronounced on the decolonization of the territory. Spain regarded the disputed titles, which would be the subject matter of the Court, as simply not relevant to the process of decolonization. Moreover, not only had the Special Committee of Twenty-four and the General Assembly made no mention of recourse to the International Court, but they had recommended that there be no delay in decolonization, a recommendation that would not be served by recourse to the Court.

The representative of Spain reiterated his Government's deep concern at the assertion of United Kingdom sovereignty over the zone north of Gibraltar and called upon the United Kingdom to reconsider its position which, he claimed, was based on an alleged right of prescription that was nothing more than *de facto* occupation. Declaring, however, that Spain desired to continue the negotiations with the United Kingdom, he recalled the Spanish proposals which included a negotiated statute to protect the interests of the residents of the territory after the termination of the colonial situation in Gibraltar, a statute that should be registered with the United Nations.

In a reply to the Spanish statement, the representative of the United Kingdom denied that his Government's proposal to refer the legal issues between the two countries to the International Court of Justice was in any way contrary to resolutions of the General Assembly or the Special Committee of Twenty-four, since the bilateral discussions recommended by these organs could be helped towards a positive outcome by the clarification of the legal issues involved. The United Kingdom rejected the notion that the Spanish claim was based on the principle of decolonization. Instead, it was

based on complicated and difficult issues of international law. In fact, in the United Kingdom's view, most of the issues between the two countries, including sovereignty over the isthmus, the use of the airfield and the alleged flights over Spanish territory, as well as the question of sovereignty over Gibraltar itself, were of an essentially legal nature and should be referred to the International Court of Justice.

The representative of the United Kingdom further rejected geographical and historic arguments advanced by Spain regarding "the Rock's" physical attachment to the Iberian Peninsula and the fact of Spanish occupation before 1713, pointing out that more valid considerations concerned the people of Gibraltar themselves who were neither Spanish nor English but a Mediterranean people of mixed origin who were Gibraltarians and United Kingdom nationals. It had never been asserted that the Gibraltarians wanted to join Spain, and for the United Kingdom the interests of the inhabitants were paramount. The Spanish case was not a genuine case of decolonization.

However, recognizing legitimate Spanish interest in the territory, the United Kingdom had put forward proposals for co-operation with Spain over Gibraltar. These included the demolition of the fence along the frontier in return for a suspension of the restrictions imposed by the Spanish authorities at the La Linea frontier post, the appointment of a Spanish Commissioner in Gibraltar to act as agent and consular official and the offer to allow the Spanish Government to express its views on any proposed change in the constitutional development of the colony.

Two petitioners were heard and questioned by the Fourth Committee. They were Sir Joshua Hassan and Peter Isola, respectively Chief Minister and Deputy Chief Minister of Gibraltar. They supported the United Kingdom position on Gibraltar and stressed that their views should be regarded as being representative of the people of Gibraltar since they were leading members of a Legislative Council elected by universal suffrage on the basis of "one man, one vote." They could not take seriously the guarantees of a special status for the people of Gibraltar under Spanish sovereignty proposed by Spain. Instead they favoured free association

with the United Kingdom as being in their best interests.

The Fourth Committee also considered a draft resolution by the operative terms of which the General Assembly would: (1) regret the delay in the process of decolonization and in the implementation of its resolution of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence²⁶; (2) call upon the two parties to continue their negotiations and ask the administering power to expedite the decolonization of Gibraltar without any hindrance and in consultation with the Government of Spain; and (3) request the Secretary-General to assist in the implementation of the resolution.

The sponsors of the draft resolution were the following 26 Members: Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Burundi, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mauritania, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela and Yemen.

Sierra Leone proposed, orally, an amendment to have the Assembly call on the two parties to continue their negotiations "taking into account the interests of the people of the terri-

tory." The sponsors of the 26-power proposal accepted this change.

In the discussions on the amendment, the representatives of Ecuador, Saudi Arabia, Spain and Uruguay questioned the validity of the claim of the people of Gibraltar to self-determination, since they had come to "the Rock" as employees of a British base and were thus not indigenous to the area. This viewpoint was rejected by the representative of Ceylon who said he would not subscribe to theories about the "artificial nature" of a people who had been living in Gibraltar for 250 years. He cited the case of several other peoples who were descendants of immigrants but who were not regarded as "artificial." A similar view was expressed by the representative of Guinea, who warned against false comparisons between Gibraltarians and non-indigenous peoples in Africa.

On 17 December 1966, the Fourth Committee approved the draft resolution as orally revised by a roll-call vote of 78 to 0, with 12 abstentions. On 20 December 1966, the text was approved at a plenary meeting of the General Assembly by a recorded vote of 101 to 0, with 14 abstentions, as resolution 2231 (XXI). (For text, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

²⁶ Ibid.

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, meetings 475, 480.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—21ST SESSION

Fourth Committee, meetings 1633, 1669, 1671, 1675-1677, 1679.

Plenary Meeting 1500.

A/6242, A/6277. Letters of 20 January and 2 March 1966 from Spain.

A/6278. Letter of 2 March 1966 from United Kingdom.

A/6300/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee (covering its work in 1966), Chapter XI.

A/C.4/L.863 and Add.1. Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Burundi, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mauritania, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Syria, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen: draft resolution, as orally amended by Sierra Leone, adopted by Fourth Com-

mittee on 17 December 1966, meeting 1679, by roll-call vote of 78 to 0, with 12 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Bulgaria, Byelorussian SSR, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Mexico, Mongolia, Poland, Portugal, South Africa, Ukrainian SSR, USSR.

A/C.4/684 and Add.1. Requests for hearings.

A/6628. Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution I.

RESOLUTION 2231(XXI), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/6628, adopted by Assembly on 20 December 1966, meeting 1500, by recorded vote of 101 to 0, with 14 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Democratic Republic of the Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldive Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Belgium, Bulgaria, Byelorussian SSR, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Mexico, Mongolia, Poland, Portugal, Romania, South Africa, Ukrainian SSR, USSR.

"The General Assembly,

"Having examined the question of Gibraltar,

"Having heard the statements of the administering Power and the representative of Spain,

"Having heard the statements of the petitioners,

"Recalling its resolution 2070(XX) of 16 December 1965, and the consensus adopted 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 on 16 October 1964,

"Recalling further its resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960,

"Taking into account the noted willingness of the administering Power and of the Government of Spain to continue the present negotiations,

"Regretting the occurrence of certain acts which had prejudiced the smooth progress of these negotiations,

"1. Regrets the delay in the process of decolonization and in the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514(XV) with regard to Gibraltar;

"2. Calls upon the two parties to continue their negotiations, taking into account the interests of the people of the Territory, and asks the administering Power to expedite, without any hindrance and in consultation with the Government of Spain, the decolonization of Gibraltar, and to report 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 as soon as possible, and in any case before the twenty-second session of the General Assembly.

"3. Requests the Secretary-General to assist in the implementation of the present resolution."

Ifni and Spanish Sahara

Ifni, an enclave on the Atlantic coast of Africa surrounded on the north, east and south by Morocco, covers an area of approximately 1,500 square kilometres and has a population of some 50,000 inhabitants. Spanish Sahara, also on the Atlantic coast of Africa, covers an area of 280,000 square kilometres and has an estimated population of 25,000. It is bounded on the north by Morocco and on the east and south by Mauritania (except for a few kilometres in the east, where it is bounded by Algeria).

The two territories are administered by Spain. Ifni is the subject of territorial claims by Morocco, and Spanish Sahara by Morocco and Mauritania.

CONSIDERATION BY SPECIAL COMMITTEE

At meetings held in Africa in June 1966, the situations in Ifni and Spanish Sahara were

discussed by the General Assembly's 24-member Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Conflicting claims that Spanish Sahara formed an integral part of Morocco, on the one hand, and of Mauritania on the other hand, were made by the representatives of these two countries. However, while maintaining their countries' respective positions of principle, both representatives indicated in different terms that they would agree to the territory being granted independence as soon as possible, at the same time stressing the need to ensure that such independence was real and unfettered by external pressures.

An appeal to Spain to renounce sovereignty over Ifni and Spanish Sahara was subsequently made by the representative of Tunisia, sup-

ported by the representatives of Chile, Iraq, Iran and Mali.

On 7 June 1966, the Special Committee adopted a consensus seeking information from the Government of Spain on the measures taken by it to implement a General Assembly resolution of 16 December 1965²⁷ urgently requesting Spain to take all necessary measures immediately for liberating Ifni and Spanish Sahara from colonial domination and, to this end, to enter into negotiations on the problems relating to sovereignty presented by these two territories.

Further meetings by the Special Committee on the situations in these territories were held at United Nations Headquarters in New York in October and November 1966, at which the Special Committee considered a reply from the Spanish Government to the request contained in the Special Committee's consensus on 7 June 1966. This reply expressed Spain's willingness to apply the principle of self-determination in Spanish Sahara in view of the changed attitude in favour of this principle on the part of the other countries concerned, and stated that Spain was actively making the necessary preparations to this end. It also expressed Spain's willingness to establish contact with Morocco on the question of Ifni. These views were confirmed in the Special Committee by the representative of Spain.

During these meetings, the following petitioners made statements before the Special Committee: El Abadila Ould Sheikh Mohamed Laghdaf, Braika Ould Ahmed Lahcen and Hamdi Ould Salek Ould Ba Ali. They were accompanied by: Brahim Ould Hassena Douihi, Abdallah Ould El Khattat and Habouha Ould Abeida. A written statement by Sidi Mohamed Ould Haidala, Dahi Ould Nagem, Slama Ould Sidi Ould Oumar and Sheikh Ould Mouhamed Saleh was incorporated in the reports of the Committee. Finally, a statement was made in the Second Committee by Ould Sheikh Malainine. He and also the first-mentioned group of petitioners expressed criticism of Spanish policies towards the territory. The group which submitted a written petition expressed views favourable to Spanish policies.

Mauritania and Morocco both agreed at the meeting to abide by the application of the

principle of self-determination to Spanish Sahara. The representative of Tunisia noted that, despite their reservations, the statements of Spain, Morocco and Mauritania had in them much that was constructive and likely to prove hopeful in promoting an early solution to the problem. The representative of Iran thought that the points of agreement were much more numerous than the points of disagreement. The representative of the USSR, on the other hand, stated that the characteristic feature of Spanish colonial policy in Africa was delaying tactics which could not be concealed by general declarations of principle.

On 16 November 1966, the Special Committee adopted a resolution—co-sponsored by Afghanistan, Iran, the Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Sierra Leone, Tunisia and the United Republic of Tanzania—which invited the administering power to make arrangements in consultation with the population of Spanish Sahara, the Governments of Mauritania and Morocco and any other parties concerned, for a referendum to be held under United Nations auspices to enable the indigenous population of the territory freely to exercise its right to self-determination.

The resolution also invited the administering power to expedite the process of decolonization of the territory of Ifni and, in collaboration with the Government of Morocco, to make arrangements for the transfer of powers in accordance with the provisions of the General Assembly resolution of 14 December 1960,²⁸ containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

CONSIDERATION BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The situations in Ifni and Spanish Sahara were also considered later in the year at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. Discussions took place mostly in the Assembly's Fourth Committee.

The Fourth Committee heard statements from, and put questions to, several groups of petitioners:

²⁷ See Y.U.N., 1965, p. 585, text of resolution 2072 (XX).

²⁸ See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50, text of resolution 1514(XV).

El Abadila Ould Sheikh Mohamed Laghdaf, Braika Ould Ahmed Lahcen, Hamdi Ould Salek Ould Ba Ali, Habouha Ould Abeida, Abdallah Ould El Khattat and Brahim Ould Hassena Douihi, of the Frente de Liberación del Sahara bajo dominación española.

Seila Uld Abeida, Kabbani Uld Abdelaziz, Suilem Uld Abdelaha and Ahamed Baba Uld Hasena of La Comisión elegida por el pueblo del Sahara. Ould Sheikh Malainine.

Sidi Mohamed Ould Haidalla, Dahi Ould Nagem, Slama Ould Sidi Ould Oumar and Sheikh Ould Mouhamed Saleh submitted a written statement.

The petitioners representing the Frente de Liberación del Sahara bajo dominación española were critical of Spanish policies and demanded the immediate application of their right of self-determination, but they took no position on the question of possible integration with any neighbouring State. Members of La Comisión elegida por el pueblo del Sahara, on the other hand, indicated that they were against independence for their country at the present time. One petitioner, Ould Sheikh Malainine, appearing alone, expressed views similar to those expressed by the first group, while the group submitting a written petition declared themselves in favour of self-determination, while retaining close ties with Mauritania and friendship with Spain.

On 7 December 1966, in the Fourth Committee and again on 20 December 1966, at a plenary meeting of the Assembly, the representative of Spain indicated his Government's readiness to open talks with the Secretary-General in order to study the designation of a commission to visit Spanish Sahara as proof of his Government's sincere intention to apply the principle of self-determination in the territory. The commission would be able to make a first-hand objective survey of the situation in the territory and form its own opinions on the problem.

On 15 December 1966, the Fourth Committee approved a draft resolution on the matter sponsored by 27 Members. Subsequently, on 20 December 1966, this was adopted at a plenary meeting of the Assembly, as resolution 2229(XXI). By this resolution, the Assembly, among other things: (1) reaffirmed the inalien-

able right of the people of Ifni and Spanish Sahara to self-determination; (2) asked the administering power to take the necessary steps immediately to speed up the decolonization of Ifni, and to determine, with the Government of Morocco, procedures for the transfer of power, bearing in mind the needs of the indigenous population; (3) invited the administering power to determine at the earliest possible date and in conformity with the aspirations of the people of Spanish Sahara and in consultation with the Governments of Mauritania and Morocco and any other interested party, the procedures for holding a referendum under United Nations auspices with a view to enabling the indigenous population of the territory to exercise freely its right to self-determination; and (4) asked the Secretary-General, in consultation with the administering power and the Special Committee of Twenty-four, to appoint a special mission immediately to be sent to Spanish Sahara to recommend practical steps for the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and, in particular, to determine the extent of United Nations participation in the preparation and supervision of a referendum in the territory.

The resolution also called for certain specific requirements to create a favourable climate for the proposed referendum in Spanish Sahara.

The Fourth Committee approved the resolution to this effect by a roll-call vote of 84 to 2, with 7 abstentions. It did so after voting separately on the phrase calling for consultations by the administering power "with the Governments of Mauritania and Morocco and any other interested party" in setting the procedures for holding the referendum. The phrase was approved by a roll-call vote of 64 to 3, with 25 abstentions.

The vote for the resolution in the plenary meeting of the Assembly on 20 December 1966—a recorded vote—was 105 in favour, 2 against, with 8 abstentions. A separate vote was also taken in the plenary meeting on the above-mentioned phrase, which was approved by a roll-call vote of 75 to 3, with 37 abstentions. (For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

The following were the 27 sponsors of the draft resolution in the Fourth Committee:

Afghanistan, Burundi, Cameroon, Ceylon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, the Ivory Coast, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, the United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

The representative of Spain, explaining the negative vote cast by his delegation, said that his Government believed that the tasks pertaining to decolonization could be preceded by an official visit by a United Nations body to the territory to observe the situation in Spanish Sahara objectively and thus confirm the sincer-

ity of Spain's policy for decolonization. Consequently, it would have been preferable to wait until a report of the visiting mission was available. He went on to say that there should be no conditions placed on the United Nations visit to the territory.

With regard to the phrase "in consultation with the Governments of Mauritania and Morocco and any other interested party," on which a separate vote was taken, he stated that when a territory was about to become independent, it was not appropriate that neighbouring countries should be consulted on the procedures involved.

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

Special Committee on Situation with regard to Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, meetings 435, 436, 472, 474, 478, 479, 481.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—21ST SESSION

Fourth Committee, meetings 1657-1661, 1671, 1673, 1674.

Fifth Committee, meeting 1171.

Plenary Meeting 1500.

A/6300/Rev.1. Report of Special Committee (covering its work in 1966), Chapter X.

A/C.4/677 and Add.1-3. Requests for hearings.

A/C.4/679. Letter of 5 December 1966 from Morocco.

A/C.4/L.857 and Add.1. Afghanistan, Burundi, Cameroon, Ceylon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia: draft resolution, adopted by Fourth Committee on 15 December 1966, meeting 1674, by roll-call vote of 84 to 2, with 7 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, United Republic of Tan-

zania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, Spain.

Abstaining: France, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, South Africa, United States, Uruguay.

A/C.4/L.858, A/C.5/1108, A/6608. Financial implications of draft resolution, A/C.4/L.857. Reports of Secretary-General and Fifth Committee.

A/6623. Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution I.

RESOLUTION 2229(XXI), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/6623, adopted by Assembly on 20 December 1966, meeting 1500, by recorded vote of 105 to 2, with 8 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Democratic Republic of the Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, Spain.

Abstaining: Belgium, Dominican Republic, France, Honduras, Mexico, South Africa, United States, Uruguay.

"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 Territories of Ifni and Spanish Sahara,

"Having taken note of the oral and written statements of the petitioners from 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 further the resolution adopted on 16 October 1964 by the Special Committee,

"Reaffirming its resolution 2072(XX) of 16 December 1965,

"Noting that the Spanish Government, as the administering Power, has not as yet applied the provisions of the Declaration,

"Having regard to the decision taken by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its third ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 5 to 9 November 1966, concerning the Territories under Spanish administration,

"Noting the decision of the administering Power to apply in full the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2072(XX),

"Noting further the statement of the administering Power on 7 December 1966 relating to Spanish Sahara, in particular with regard to the sending of a special United Nations mission to the Territory, the return of exiles and the free exercise by the indigenous population of its right to self-determination,

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

"2. 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 Territories of Ifni and Spanish Sahara, and endorses the resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 16 November 1966;

"3. Requests the administering Power to take immediately the necessary steps to accelerate the decolonization of Ifni and to determine with the Government of Morocco, bearing in mind the aspirations of the indigenous population, procedures for the transfer of powers in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514(XV);

"4. Invites the administering Power to determine at the earliest possible date, in conformity with the aspirations of the indigenous people of Spanish Sahara and 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 with a view to enabling the indigenous population of the Territory to exercise freely its right to self-determination and, to this end:

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

"(b) To take all the necessary steps to ensure that only the indigenous people of the Territory participate in the referendum;

"(c) To refrain from any action likely to delay the process of the decolonization of Spanish Sahara;

"(d) To provide all the necessary facilities to a United Nations mission so that it may be able to participate actively in the organization and holding of the referendum;

"5. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the administering Power and the Special Committee, to appoint immediately a special mission to be sent to Spanish Sahara for the purpose of recommending practical steps for the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and in particular for determining the extent of United Nations participation in the preparation and supervision of the referendum and submitting a report to him as soon as possible for transmission to the Special Committee;

"6. Requests the Special Committee to continue its consideration of the situation in the Territories of Ifni and Spanish Sahara and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session."

Other Territories

In 1966, in addition to the territories covered in the preceding sections, the General Assembly and its 24-member Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples considered the situations in the following territories: American Samoa, Antigua, the Bahamas, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Dominica, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Grenada, Guam, Mauritius, Montserrat, New Hebrides, Niue, Pitcairn, St. Helena, St. Kitts-

Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, the Solomon Islands, the Tokelau Islands, the Turks and Caicos Islands and the United States Virgin Islands. The Special Committee of Twenty-four submitted conclusions and recommendations on these territories which were taken up by the General Assembly in December 1966.

The Assembly's Fourth Committee heard one petitioner during its consideration of these territories: A. Hodgson, who spoke on behalf of the Progressive Labour Party of Bermuda.

(The Special Committee also considered the

situations in the Trust Territory of Nauru, Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. For details about General Assembly deliberations on the situation in these Trust Territories and in Papua, see pp. 539-42, 543-47 and 548-51.)

During the discussions in the Fourth Committee, the representative of Iran observed that in view of the special circumstances of small territories, independence might not always be the appropriate solution and that it was essential that the people of such territories should be able to express themselves freely on their future status in full knowledge of the forms open to them, such as integration, free association and federation. Visiting missions should be sent to ascertain the views of the people, and United Nations supervision in such cases was essential, since these territories were vulnerable to outside pressure.

Other Members, including Bulgaria, India, Yugoslavia and the USSR, urged the administering powers to enable visiting missions to enter the territories. These Members, as well as the United Arab Republic, drew attention to the military bases being maintained by the administering powers in the small territories and called for the removal of such bases.

The representative of the United States said that it was the belief of the United States that resolutions and reports concerning the small territories should include references not only to the General Assembly resolution of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on granting independence,²⁹ but also to the Assembly's resolution of 15 December 1960 which, among other things, set out options facing the territories in deciding upon their form of self-government.³⁰ The United States regretted the deletion by the Special Committee of Twenty-four of the references to the latter resolution in the Sub-Committee reports. These options had been widely recognized in United Nations debates as applicable, as for example in the case of proposed federation arrangements in the Caribbean, the United States representative added.

On 17 December, the Fourth Committee approved a draft resolution concerning these territories by a roll-call vote of 62 to 0, with 21 ab-

stentions. The Committee voted separately on a preambular phrase by which the Assembly would express deep concern at the creation by the administering powers of military bases and installations in contravention of Assembly resolutions. The phrase was approved by 48 votes to 11, with 23 abstentions.

On 20 December 1966, the Assembly adopted a resolution by the preamble to which it: (a) expressed its deep concern at the information on the continuation of policies aimed, among other things, at the disruption of the territorial integrity of some of these countries and at the creation by the administering powers of military bases and installations in contravention of relevant Assembly resolutions; and (b) deplored the refusal of some administering powers to allow United Nations visiting missions to visit these territories.

By the operative part of the resolution, the Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of these territories to self-determination and independence; reiterated its declaration that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of colonial territories and the establishment of military bases and installations in these territories was incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the General Assembly resolution of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence; urged the administering powers to allow United Nations visiting missions to visit the territories, and to extend to them full co-operation and assistance; decided that the United Nations should render all help to the peoples of these territories in their efforts freely to decide their future status; and requested the Special Committee to continue to pay special attention to these territories. (For text, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

The Assembly's decision to this effect was embodied in resolution 2232(XXI), adopted at a plenary meeting of the Assembly on 20 December 1966 by a recorded vote of 93 to 0, with 24 abstentions. The resolution had been spon-

²⁹ See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50, text of resolution 1514(XV).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 509-10, text of resolution 1541(XV).

sored in the Fourth Committee by Algeria, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kuwait, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, the Sudan, Syria, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

At the plenary meeting, the Assembly, by a separate roll-call vote of 72 to 18, with 27 abstentions, approved the operative paragraph containing the statement that the establishment of military bases and installations in colonial territories was incompatible with the Charter and the Assembly's resolution of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence.

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—21ST SESSION

Fourth Committee, meetings 1633, 1669, 1671, 1672, 1674, 1675, 1677-1679.

Plenary Meeting 1500.

A/6300/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 in 1966). Chapter XIV: Mauritius, Seychelles and St. Helena; Chapter XV: Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn and Solomon Islands; Chapter XVI: Niue and Tokelau Islands; Chapter XVII: New Hebrides; Chapter XVIII: American Samoa, Guam and Trust Territory of Pacific Islands; Chapter XIX: Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Nauru, Papua and New Guinea; Chapter XX: Brunei; Chapter XXI: Hong Kong; Chapter XXII: United States Virgin Islands, British Virgin Islands, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Barbados, Bermuda, Bahamas, Turks and Caicos Islands, Cayman Islands, Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and British Honduras.

A/C.4/680. Requests for hearings: St. Vincent.

A/C.4/681. Requests for hearings: Bermuda.

A/C.4/L.866. Algeria, Burundi, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kuwait, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia: draft resolution, adopted by Fourth Committee on 17 December 1966, meeting 1679, by roll-call vote of 62 to 0, with 21 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Italy, Japan, Malaysia, Maldives, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States.

A/6628. Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution II.

RESOLUTION 2232(xxi), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/6628, adopted by Assembly on 20 December 1966, meeting 1500, by recorded vote: of 93 to 0, with 24 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Democratic Republic of the Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovak, Dahomey, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Maldives, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Portugal, South Africa, Sweden, Thailand, United Kingdom, United States.

"The General Assembly,

"Having considered the question of American Samoa, Antigua, Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Dominica, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Grenada, Guam, Mauritius, Montserrat, New Hebrides, Niue, Pitcairn, St. Helena, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Tokelau Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands and the United States Virgin Islands,

"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 these Territories,

"Recalling its resolutions 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960, 1654(XVI) of 27 November 1961, 1810(XVII) of 17 December 1962, 1956(XVIII) of 11 December 1963, 2066(XX) of 16 December 1965, 2069(XX) of 16 December 1965 and 2189(XXI) of 13 December 1966,

"Deeply concerned at the information contained in the report of the Special Committee on the continuation of policies which aim, among other things, at the disruption of the territorial integrity of some of these Territories and at the creation by the administering Powers of military bases and installations in contravention of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly,

"Deploring the refusal of some administering Powers to allow visiting missions of the United Nations to visit these Territories,

"Conscious that these situations require the continued attention and the assistance of the United Nations in the achievement by the peoples of these Territories of their objectives, as 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 geographical location and economic conditions concerning some of these 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 these Territories;

"2. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of these Territories to self-determination and independence;

"3. Calls upon the administering Powers to implement without delay the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly;

"4. Reiterates its declaration that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of colonial Territories and the establishment of military bases and installations in these Territories is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of General Assembly resolution 1514(XV);

"5. Urges the administering Powers to allow United Nations visiting missions to visit the Territories, and to extend to them full co-operation and assistance;

"6. Decides that the United Nations should render all help to the peoples of these Territories in their efforts freely to decide their future status;

"7. Requests the Special Committee to continue to pay special attention to these Territories and to report on the implementation of the present resolution to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session.

"8. Requests the Secretary-General to continue to provide all possible assistance in the implementation of the present resolution."