

Questions Concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories and the International Trusteeship System

CHAPTER I

QUESTIONS RELATING TO NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

TRANSMISSION OF INFORMATION IN 1962

Under Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter, the United Nations Members responsible for the administration of territories whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount. (For text of Chapter XI of the Charter, see APPENDIX ii.)

In keeping with this principle, the Administering Members undertake, among other obligations, to develop self-government in the territories, taking into account the political aspirations of the people. Furthermore, in accordance with the provisions of Article 73e of the Charter, they have the obligation to send information each year to the Secretary-General on economic, social and educational conditions in these territories. (For text of Article 73e of Charter, see APPENDIX II.)

In 1946, Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States agreed to transmit information to the Secretary-General on 74 Territories with a total population of over 200 million. Some of these Members also included information on political and constitutional developments.

By the end of 1962, 25 former Non-Self-Governing Territories (20 in Africa, four in Asia and one Mediterranean island) had attained a full measure of self-government since 1947 and had become Members of the United Nations; six other Territories had achieved self-government by other means. In 1962, the Mem-

bers having responsibility for Non-Self-Governing Territories in accordance with the United Nations Charter and General Assembly resolutions were Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States. Information relating to economic, social, and educational, as well as political and constitutional developments (see also p. 429 below) in Territories under their administration was received from all these Members with the exception of Portugal (see also pp. 409-19 below).

Information on 56 Territories was received in 1962 by the Secretary-General from the Administering Members concerned.

The table on p. 408 lists Administering Members and the Non-Self-Governing Territories they administered as at 31 December 1962, in accordance with the Charter and General Assembly resolutions. It also gives the areas and populations of the Territories concerned.

RESERVATIONS

Some of the Territories on which information has been transmitted by Administering Members have been subject to claims by other Member States as an integral part of their national territory. In 1962, during the discussions in the General Assembly's Fourth Committee and in the Assembly's Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, reservations as regards sovereignty over and the transmission of information were made as follows: by Argentina and the United Kingdom in respect of the

Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas) and the Falkland Island dependencies; by Guatemala, Mexico and the United Kingdom in respect of British Honduras (Belize); by Spain and the United Kingdom in respect of Gibraltar; by Iraq and the United Kingdom in respect of Aden; by Morocco and Spain in respect of Ifni, Sakia-al Hamra, Rio de Oro and Ceuta and Melilla; by the Philippines and the United Kingdom in respect of North Borneo.

Portugal has reserved its position with regard to the General Assembly's decision of 15 December 1960¹ that the Territories under Portuguese administration are Non-Self-Governing

Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter; Portugal has done so on the ground that under its Constitution these Territories are Overseas Provinces and therefore an integral part of the Portuguese nation.

The United Kingdom has reserved its position with regard to the General Assembly's decision of 28 June 1962—affirming that within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter Southern Rhodesia is a Non-Self-Governing Territory—on the ground that Southern Rhodesia is a self-governing colony. (See below, pp. 419-28.)

NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES (IN ACCORDANCE WITH CHAPTER XI OF UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS)

(As at 31 December 1962)

ADMINISTERING MEMBER AND TERRITORY	AREA		POPULATION (InThousands)	ADMINISTERING MEMBER AND TERRITORY	AREA		POPULATION (InThousands)
	Square Kilometres	Square Miles			Square Kilometres	Square Miles	
AUSTRALIA				UNITED KINGDOM			
Cocos (Keeling) Islands	13	5	*	Aden	287,684	111,075	913
Papua	234,498	90,540	523	Antigua	442	171	54
FRANCE				Bahamas	11,396	4,400	110
New Hebrides (under Anglo-French Condominium)	14,763	5,700	60	Barbados	431	166	232
NETHERLANDS				Basutoland	30,344	11,716	697
West New Guinea (West Irian) ^a	416,000	160,618	737	Bechuanaland	712,249	275,000	350
NEW ZEALAND				Bermuda	53	20	43
Cook Islands	234	90	18	British Guiana	214,970	83,000	561
Niue Islands	254	100	4	British Honduras	22,963	8,866	90
Tokelau Islands	10	4	2	British Virgin Islands	174	67	7
PORTUGAL				Brunei	5,765	2,226	84
Angola (including Cabinda) ^b	1,247	481	4,833	Cayman Islands	259	100	9
Cape Verde Archipelago ^b	4,033	1,557	201	Dominica	789	305	60
Guinea (Portuguese Guinea) ^b	36,125	13,947	574	Falkland Islands	11,961	4,618	2
Macau and dependencies ^b	15	6	450	Fiji	18,272	7,055	414
Mozambique ^b	771,125	297,654	6,592	Gambia	10,369	4,003	284
São Tomé and Príncipe ^b	964	372	64	Gibraltar	6	2	24
Timor (Portuguese) and dependencies ^b	14,925	5,763	517	Gilbert and Ellice Islands	905	349	47
SPAIN				Grenada	344	133	89
Fernando Póo	2,034	785	62	Hong Kong	1,031	398	3,129
Ifni	1,500	579	50	Jamaica ^c	11,425	4,411	1,639
Rio Muni	26,017	10,045	183	Kenya	582,646	224,960	7,287
Spanish Sahara	266,000	102,703	25	Malta	316	122	329
				Mauritius	1,865	720	667
				Montserrat	83	32	12
				New Hebrides (under Anglo-French Condominium)	14,763	5,700	60

¹ See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 511-13, and also pp. 409-19 below.

ADMINISTERING MEMBER AND TERRITORY	AREA		POPULATION (InThousands)	ADMINISTERING MEMBER AND TERRITORY	AREA		POPULATION (InThousands)
	Square Kilometres	Square Miles			Square Kilometres	Square Miles	
North Borneo	76,115	29,388	454	Uganda ^f	243,411	93,981	6,845
Northern Rhodesia	746,256	288,130	2,480	Zanzibar	2,643	1,020	310
Nyasaland	119,311	46,066	2,890	UNITED STATES			
Pitcairn Island	5	2	*	American Samoa	197	76	20
St. Helena	122	47	5	Guam	549	212	67
St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla	396	153	57	United States Virgin Islands	344	133	32
St. Lucia	616	238	86				
St. Vincent	389	150	80				
Sarawak	125,206	48,342	745				
Seychelles	404	156	41				
Singapore	581	224	1,713				
Solomon Islands	29,785	11,500	124				
Southern Rhodesia ^d	389,362	150,333	3,200				
Swaziland	17,363	6,704	266				
Trinidad and Tobago ^e	5,128	1,980	832				
Turks and Caicos Islands	430	166	5				

*Less than 1,000.

^a By agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands, West New Guinea (West Irian) was placed under the temporary administration of the United Nations as of 1 September 1962 (see p. 124).

^b No information on this Territory received in 1962.

^c Jamaica attained independence on 6 August 1962.

^d No information received.

^e Trinidad and Tobago attained independence on 31 August 1962.

^f Uganda attained independence on 9 October 1962.

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

SUMMARIES OF INFORMATION

TRANSMITTED TO SECRETARY-GENERAL

A/5078 and Add.1-19. African and Adjacent Territories: Aden; Basutoland; Bechuanaland; Fernando Póo; Gambia; Gibraltar; Ifni; Kenya; Malta; Mauritius, Northern Rhodesia; Nyasaland; Rio Muni; St. Helena; Seychelles; Spanish Sahara; Swaziland; Uganda; Zanzibar.

A/5079 and Add.1-6. Asian Territories: Brunei; Cocos (Keeling) Islands; Hong Kong; North Borneo; Sarawak; Singapore.

A/5080 and Add.1-19. Caribbean and Western Atlantic Territories: Antigua; Bahamas; Barbados; Bermuda; British Guiana; British Honduras; British Virgin Islands; Cayman Islands; Dominica; Falkland Islands; Grenada; Jamaica; Montserrat; St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla; St. Lucia; St. Vincent; Trinidad and Tobago; Turks and Caicos Islands;

United States Virgin Islands.

A/5081 and Add.1-5. Pacific Territories: American Samoa; Cook Islands; Fiji; Gilbert and Ellice Islands; Guam; Netherlands New Guinea; New Hebrides; Niue Island; Papua; Pitcairn Island; Solomon Islands; Tokelau Islands.

A/5120. Constitutional development in Non-Self-Governing Territories under United Kingdom administration.

RESERVATIONS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—17TH SESSION

Fourth Committee, meetings 1414, 1415, 1417, 1420.

A/5215. Report of Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, Section V.

A/5371. Report of Fourth Committee, paras. 7-11.

TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION

On 19 December 1961, the General Assembly (in resolution 1699(XVI)) decided to establish a Special Committee of seven members to examine, as a matter of urgency, such information as was available concerning Territories under Portuguese administration.

In establishing the Special Committee, the Assembly recalled that, by its resolution 1542 (XV) of 15 December 1960,² it had declared that an obligation existed on the part of the Portuguese Government to transmit information under Chapter XI³ of the United Nations

Charter and that this obligation should be discharged without delay. It will be recalled that, when Portugal became a Member of the United Nations in 1955, it took the position that it had no Territories under its administration as referred to in Chapter XI and that its overseas territories had become "overseas provinces" and were an integral part of Portugal's national territory.

² See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 511-13.

³ For text, see APPENDIX ii.

The General Assembly elected Bulgaria, Ceylon, Colombia, Cyprus, Guatemala, Guinea and Nigeria as members of the Committee. The Committee began its work in March 1962 and submitted its report to the Assembly in August.

Also in 1962, other subsidiary bodies of the United Nations were concerned with certain Territories under Portuguese administration. Thus, the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola, established by the Assembly in April 1961, reported both to the Assembly and to the Security Council in 1962, and its report was considered in plenary meetings of the Assembly during the seventeenth session. (For details about the report and the action taken by the Assembly, see above, pp. 88-93.) In addition, the 17-member Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples took action during the course of its work with regard to Angola and Mozambique. (For details, see pp. 88-93 and pp. 57-68 above.)

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION

The report of the Special Committee covered the Cape Verde Archipelago; Guinea, called "Portuguese Guinea"; São Tomé and Príncipe and their dependencies; Angola, including the enclave of Cabinda; Mozambique; Macau and dependencies; and Timor and dependencies. The Special Committee decided to exclude from the scope of its work São João Batista d'Ajuda and Goa, which had been enumerated by the General Assembly as Non-Self-Governing Territories, because these Territories had already been nationally united with Dahomey and with India, respectively.

By the date of the convening of the Committee, the Secretary-General had not received any information transmitted by the Government of Portugal in fulfilment of its obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter and he had therefore prepared background information for the Committee relating to political, economic, social and educational conditions in Territories under Portuguese administration. Most of this information related to conditions up to the end of 1960. In order to obtain more up-to-date information,

the Committee approached the Government of Portugal for permission to visit the Territories under its administration, but the Portuguese Government did not make it possible for the Committee to do so. The Committee therefore visited countries in Africa to obtain from representatives of political organizations, and persons who had recently left the Territories, information concerning the aspirations of the peoples and the effects of the changes which had been introduced by Portugal in the political, economic, social and juridical fields. In all, the Committee heard representatives of 28 political organizations from the Territories under Portuguese administration. It also heard several individuals and a number of refugees from Angola.

The Committee concluded that the basic dissatisfaction of the people in the Territories under Portuguese administration arose from the essentially colonial relationship the Territories had with Portugal, which aimed at imposing on the indigenous population Portuguese culture and citizenship and denied them the opportunities for the development of their own personalities and the fulfilment of their own aspirations. While Portugal maintained that the Territories were "overseas provinces," the majority of the indigenous inhabitants of the Territories did not have the same civil and political rights as the inhabitants of Portugal and, in many Territories, they had been subject to forced labour practices.

The Committee also found that the reforms which Portugal claimed to have introduced not only did not meet the basic aspirations of the peoples of the Territories but had not yet brought about any significant changes in political, economic, social and educational conditions. Although since September 1961 the special status of the indigenous inhabitants had been abolished, no significant advance had been made in extending political rights to all the people, since the right to vote remained conditioned upon the ability to read and write Portuguese and most of the indigenous persons were illiterate.

The Committee further reported that all the representatives of the political parties which had been heard, even those whose parties were committed to direct action—as, for example, those in Angola—were prepared to negotiate with

Portugal on the actual transfer of power if Portugal recognized the right of the peoples to self-determination and independence.

Time was of the essence, however: the danger lay, on the one hand, in the insistence of Portugal that there could be no change in its relationship with the Territories—which it considered integral parts of its national territory—and, on the other, in the complete disregard for the legitimate aspirations of the indigenous population. It was this attitude, the Committee said, which had driven the people of Angola to take up arms and which was creating among the peoples of the other Territories desperation for a peaceful solution, to the point that they would not hesitate to take all risks to achieve liberation.

The Committee came to the conclusion that much of the military and other equipment supplied to Portugal by various sources—mainly members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—had been extensively used and continued to be used against the people of Angola and of other Territories under Portuguese administration. It recommended that the General Assembly consider and adopt measures aimed at the immediate discontinuance of such assistance and a complete embargo on further sales and supplies of such weapons.

The most urgent step forward now for Portugal, the Committee stressed, was to recognize the right of the peoples of the Territories to independence.

In the Committee's view, it would be in the interest of Portugal as well as of world peace that Portugal reconsider its attitude and recognize the historic and irreversible evolution of the African continent and of the world and grant immediate independence to all the Territories under its administration in accordance with the aspirations of the people. Having recognized their right to independence, Portugal should then cease armed action against Angola, refrain forthwith from carrying on repressive measures and withdraw all forces used for such purposes. An unconditional political amnesty and the creation of conditions for allowing the free functioning of political parties would then prepare the way for negotiations with them for the transfer of power to freely elected and representative political institutions of the people.

The Committee therefore recommended that talks should begin immediately between Portugal and accredited political groups existing inside or outside the Territories.

In the Committee's opinion, the continued refusal of Portugal to comply with its obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter and to implement the provisions of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, as well as the military action and repressive measures carried out by it in Angola and the other Territories—contrary to the recommendations of the Security Council and the General Assembly—had created a situation representing a serious threat to international peace and security.

CONSIDERATION BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly referred the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration to the Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee, in connexion with the item on the non-compliance of Portugal with Chapter XI of the Charter and General Assembly resolution 1542(XV). The Fourth Committee discussed the question at 22 meetings from 21 November to 4 December; 10 to 12 December; and on 17 and 19 December 1962.

Many of the political organizations which had presented information to the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration asked that their representatives be heard by the Fourth Committee. The representative of Portugal opposed such hearings as illegal, maintaining that neither the Charter nor the rules of procedure of the General Assembly provided for the hearing of petitioners except in relation to Trust Territories. The Fourth Committee granted all the requests and heard representatives of four political parties of Angola and one each from Cabinda, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, and two from Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea.

The petitioners said that the indigenous inhabitants of the Territories were discriminated against, deprived of elementary freedoms, subjected to forced labour and not allowed to participate on equal terms in the political, economic and social life. Several of the petitioners said that their people were no longer interested

in reforms and did not want to become Portuguese citizens. They wanted to be Africans and to manage their own affairs. The representatives of the Movimento Popular para Libertação de Angola (MPLA) and the Front National pour la Libération de l'Angola (FNLA) and the representative of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) said their parties had decided to resort to force as they had exhausted all possible means of establishing contact with the Portuguese Government. Portugal's only answer, they said, was to increase its armed forces in the Territories and to continue the suppression of political activities. The petitioners urged the United Nations to persuade Portugal to recognize the right of the people of the Territories to self-determination and to begin negotiations with them for the transfer of power.

Portugal's position on the report of the Special Committee was put forward by its Foreign Minister on 15 October 1962 in the General Assembly. He denied charges of other Members that his Government had not fulfilled its Charter obligations, and asserted that the decisions to apply Chapter XI of the Charter to Portugal were not based on law but on the political whim of the majority. He recalled that the General Assembly itself had decided that Goa was a Non-Self-Governing Territory, for the attainment of whose self-government or independence the Charter, and Assembly resolutions, envisaged certain guiding principles. Yet the violent annexation of that territory by the Indian Union had gone unchallenged, and Goa was said to have been "nationally united" with India.

His Government had not found it possible to co-operate with the three Committees concerned with conditions in Portuguese Territories because their methods of work "were based on partiality, bias, distortion." The Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration had not only undertaken to hear petitioners illegally, but had sought petitioners "by invitation, by incitement and by advertisement," and had accepted information so provided as impartial and reliable. It had also distorted the report of a commission of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) which had investigated labour conditions in Angola and Mozambique and which had "completely exonerated"

Portugal from any practices of forced labour.

In the Fourth Committee, the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee refuted these charges and pointed out that the report of the Committee and the records of its debates gave details of the political affiliations of all the petitioners heard and showed that it had worked fully within its terms of reference. The Portuguese allegations, they said, were unfounded. The Chairman also quoted a passage from the ILO report which showed that there existed in Angola "certain legislative anomalies which would, if they continued to be reflected in current practice, be inconsistent with the obligations of the Convention on forced labour."

On the question of hearing petitioners, many speakers in the Fourth Committee—including the representatives of Bulgaria and Guatemala—pointed out that the Assembly had specifically authorized the Special Committee to hear petitioners. It was also pointed out, by the representative of the United Arab Republic, among others, that the Charter had in no way restricted the right of the General Assembly to hear petitioners; if Portugal had co-operated with the Committee it would have been able to confirm the information provided.

The Portuguese representative considered that the discussions showed that there was no recognition or understanding of Portuguese policy which, he stressed, aimed at creating an "integrated multi-racial society" in Africa, "drawing on the cultural and moral values of all races and peoples." Portuguese policy, he maintained, aimed at furthering the participation of the population in all fields of activity and provided the same political rights and the same educational and social opportunities to all. In carrying out this policy, he said, Portugal had already introduced many reforms in various fields, and a special session of the Overseas Council—with the participation of elected representatives of the Territories—had been called to discuss the revision of the Overseas Organic Law.

Many speakers declared that colonialism was an anachronism and that the people of the Territories under Portuguese administration had the right to self-determination. Regret was expressed that Portugal could not accept the

trend towards the independence of colonies, and others expressed indignation that Portugal continued to try to retain its colonies by force and by recourse to war. It was the duty of the United Nations to find a solution to the non-compliance of Portugal with the provisions of the Charter and General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV). They also deplored Portugal's continued refusal to recognize the right of the peoples of the Territories to self-determination.

As for the reforms cited by Portugal, many speakers pointed out that the Special Committee had come to the conclusion that these did not meet the aspirations of the people and had not brought about improvements. This conclusion, they said, merited full support, and it was corroborated by those petitioners who had told the Fourth Committee that the proposals for revising the Overseas Organic Law would mainly have the effect of consolidating the power of the European settlers in Angola and Mozambique. Furthermore, they maintained, most of the so-called "reforms" did not represent a change from past policy.

Replying to Portugal's charge that the General Assembly's decision had been a political one, the representative of Ceylon pointed out that between 1946, when the General Assembly had listed 74 Territories to which Chapter XI was applicable, and 1955, when Portugal had been admitted to membership in the United Nations, the Assembly had established its competence relating to the transmission of information and had adopted a list of factors indicative of the attainment of independence or self-government. It was therefore clear that by accepting membership Portugal had bound itself to submit to these rulings and had no right to question the competence of the General Assembly in relation to Chapter XI.

The spokesman for India recalled that Portugal's argument had long been rejected by the General Assembly, and there could be no doubt that all the Charter obligations, including those contained in Chapter XI, were equally binding on all Members.

Many speakers shared the Special Committee's view that Portugal's continued non-compliance with its Charter obligations and with General Assembly resolutions, and its continued military action in the Territories, created a

situation which represented a serious threat to international peace and security. Various Members—among them Albania, the Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, the Congo (Leopoldville), Ghana, India, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Nigeria, Tanganyika, Uganda, the United Arab Republic and the USSR—noted the Special Committee's finding that arms supplied by NATO members were being used against African nationalists in the Territories. They urged strong measures to bring a halt to the supply of arms to Portugal.

The representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States both took exception to the allegation that NATO arms were being used in Africa. The United Kingdom spokesman stressed that his Government had not supplied military equipment to Portuguese African Territories and was not aware of any evidence that equipment supplied to metropolitan Portugal had been used in the Territories.

The United States representative explained that in 1961 his Government, on hearing reports that certain equipment—mostly transport vehicles—furnished to Portugal by the United States under the military assistance agreement within the NATO framework had been diverted to Africa, had promptly called the Portuguese Government's attention to the matter and had requested, and received, an assurance that such material would not be sent to Africa in the future. When assurances of such a character were given to it by a sovereign State with which it maintained friendly relations, the United States accepted them as having been given in good faith, unless there was compelling evidence to the contrary. Up to the present time, the United States had noted no such evidence. For the most part, the charges made had apparently not been based on first-hand information and were not specific as to the type of equipment.

Some Members, among them the Byelorussian SSR, Chad, Czechoslovakia, Ghana, Mongolia and Senegal, expressed the view that Portugal should be compelled to comply with its obligations under the Charter and to grant independence to its Territories. Economic sanctions and the severing of diplomatic relations were suggested as ways that might be used to bring about Portugal's compliance. Other Members, including Afghanistan, Cyprus, Israel, the Ivory

Coast, Pakistan and Mexico, urged Portugal to co-operate with the United Nations to work out a peaceful solution. The representative of Uruguay suggested that the United Nations should use its moral authority to persuade Portugal to change its ways, and the representative of Togo appealed for unanimity among Member States so as to make a peaceful solution possible.

The United States representative later told the Committee that his Government had undertaken, not only in response to General Assembly resolutions but also as a reflection of its own convictions, to persuade Portugal of the advantages of co-operation with the United Nations. His delegation felt that it would be a real step forward if concerted action could be taken based on the principle of such co-operation.

A draft resolution was submitted in the Fourth Committee by 43 Member States. (For list of sponsors, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.) By this, the General Assembly would: approve the report of the Special Committee; condemn the attitude of Portugal as being incompatible with the Charter; reaffirm the inalienable right of the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese administration to self-determination and independence; and urgently invite the Portuguese Government to give effect to the recommendations contained in the Special Committee's report.

By this text, the General Assembly would also call on Member States to use their influence to induce Portugal to carry out its obligations and earnestly request "all Member States to refrain forthwith from offering the Portuguese Government any assistance which would enable it to continue its repression of the populations of the Territories under Portuguese administration and for this purpose to take all measures to prevent the sale and supply of arms and military equipment to the Portuguese Government."

The draft resolution also proposed that the 17-member Special Committee on the situation with regard to the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples be asked to give high priority to an examination of the Territories under Portuguese administration and that the Security Council be requested, in case the Portuguese Government refused to comply with the General Assembly's

resolutions, to take all appropriate measures to secure the compliance of Portugal with its obligations as a Member State.

A number of Members—including Brazil, Colombia, China, Ecuador, Ireland, Italy, Pakistan, Peru, Sweden and the United States—expressed regret that the draft resolution concentrated on negative aspects and condemned Portugal; a peaceful solution depended on opening the way to Portugal's co-operation with the United Nations, in their view. The United Kingdom and United States spokesmen said that their delegations had always recognized the right of the inhabitants of the Territories under Portuguese administration to self-determination; however, they considered that the draft resolution prejudged the results of an exercise of this right by calling for immediate independence of all the Territories. The United States representative also said that since his delegation was unable to agree with many of the conclusions in the Special Committee's report, it could not support the wording whereby the Assembly would approve that report.

Much of the discussion on the draft text centred on the paragraph relating to the prevention of the sale and supply of arms and military equipment to the Portuguese Government. Some speakers, including the United States representative, felt that, as it stood, the text appeared to require that the supply of all arms and military equipment to the Portuguese Government should cease. It was questioned whether the United Nations had the right to impose such a ban.

The sponsors of the text said they were convinced that a country like Portugal could not continue to wage war in Africa without help from its allies. It was the intention of the draft resolution therefore to require Member States which were Portugal's allies to stop giving Portugal any assistance enabling it to continue its repression of the peoples in the Territories under its administration and to take all measures to prevent the sale and supply of arms and military equipment which the Portuguese Government might use for that purpose.

The representative of Italy proposed an amended version of the clause in question, the effect of which was to replace the final part of the sentence so that all States would be request-

ed to "take effective measures to ensure that any arms and military equipment sold or supplied to the Portuguese Government will not be used for this purpose."

The USSR orally proposed an amendment which would in effect call for the establishment of a complete embargo on further sales and supplies of weapons and military equipment to the Government of Portugal.

Bulgaria proposed orally that the preambular part of the draft resolution should reflect the opinion expressed by the Special Committee that assistance to Portugal represented "an implication in the suppression of the movements for freedom in the Territories under Portuguese administration."

In response to appeals, Bulgaria withdrew its amendment. The Italian amendment was rejected by a roll-call vote of 58 to 30, with 9 abstentions, after which the USSR withdrew its amendment. The paragraph in question in its original form was then voted on in two parts. The first part up to and including the words "under Portuguese administration" was adopted by a roll-call vote of 91 to 2, with 5 abstentions, and the second part by a roll-call vote of 65 to 17, with 16 abstentions. The draft resolution as a whole was approved by a roll-call vote of 78 to 7, with 12 abstentions.

The Fourth Committee also considered two other draft resolutions relating to Territories under Portuguese administration. By one of these, the Assembly would decide to establish a special programme for training indigenous inhabitants of Territories under Portuguese administration in the functions and techniques of administration and in the fields of economics, law, health and sanitation and in such other fields as might be necessary. In establishing the programme, the Secretary-General would be asked to make use as fully as possible of the existing United Nations programmes of technical co-operation. The Assembly would also invite Member States and the specialized agencies to co-operate in making available educational and training facilities. (For list of sponsors of this draft resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

The representative of Portugal opposed the draft resolution, pointing out that one of the preambular paragraphs of the text referred to

"the incapability and unwillingness" of the Portuguese Government to create in the Territories indigenous cadres for future administration of their independent countries. This, he said, was a travesty of the truth. His Government was making great efforts to improve education and considerable progress had been made; compared with some of the neighbouring areas, the educational facilities in the Portuguese Territories in Africa could not justifiably be described as inadequate.

Most Fourth Committee Members, however, supported the proposal as constructive. The sponsors accepted a suggestion by the French representative to delete the phrase referring to Portugal's "incapability and unwillingness," and an amendment originally put forward by the USSR, and modified by the United States and Italy, to ensure that use would be made of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and of the Special Fund so as to minimize the charge on the regular budget. They also accepted a United States amendment whereby the Assembly would request the co-operation of Portugal in the implementation of the programme. The Fourth Committee on 12 December approved the draft resolution, as revised, by a roll-call vote of 86 to 2, with 1 abstention.

Also approved on 12 December in the Fourth Committee—by 84 votes to 0, with 3 abstentions—was a draft resolution sponsored by Afghanistan, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Yugoslavia by which the General Assembly would dissolve the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration and express its gratitude for the Committee's work. An amendment to this text by the USSR would have the report of the Special Committee, together with the summary records of the Fourth Committee on the question, forwarded to the Government of Portugal, the Economic and Social Council, the Economic Commission for Africa, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and the specialized agencies concerned, including the International Labour Organisation.

The USSR amendment was adopted by a vote of 57 to 0, with 22 abstentions. The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by a vote of 84 to 0, with 3 abstentions. The representative of Portugal did not participate in the voting.

When the Fourth Committee's recommendations were taken up at a plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 14 December, the representative of Portugal formally reserved the position of his Government with regard to the first draft resolution proposed by the Committee. It was illegal, he maintained, and fell outside the scope of the Charter. Further, it attempted to form nations "by dictation," irrespective of the traditional structures of the territories involved. The draft was also in direct opposition to the trend towards the creation of large economic and political areas—as exemplified in the creation of common markets. In his view, the draft, as well as the conclusions of the Special Committee on which it was based, had been inspired and made possible by the statements of "a

nondescript crowd of petitioners." Portugal, he said, aimed at the formation of a multi-racial society, meaning not only the co-existence of different racial groups but the absence of racism. His country greatly regretted that, today, emotional factors prevented a clear understanding of Portugal's high objectives.

The General Assembly adopted the first draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee by a roll-call vote of 82 to 7, with 13 abstentions, as resolution 1807(XVII). It adopted the second proposed resolution by 96 votes to 2, as resolution 1808(XVII) and the third by 100 votes to 0, with 1 abstention, as resolution 1809(XVII). (For texts, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES **below**.)

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—17TH SESSION

Fourth Committee, meetings 1350, 1381-1383, 1390-1408, 1415-1420, 1427, 1428, 1430, 1431.

Fifth Committee, meeting 975.

Plenary Meetings 1194, 1200.

A/5160 and Corr.1 and Add.1, 2. Report of Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration.

A/C.4/566, 577, 583 and Add.1, 584 and Add.1, 586, 587, 590, 592, 594, 595, 597. Requests for hearings.

A/C.4/582. Statement by representative of Guinea on 21 November 1962, meeting 1393.

A/C.4/588. Statement submitted by José Chicuarra Massinga.

A/C.4/589. Statement by representative of Bolivia on 27 November 1962, meeting 1399.

A/C.4/L.759 and Add.1. Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic: draft resolution.

A/C.4/L.759/Rev.1. Revised draft resolution, sponsored by above 42 powers and in addition by Upper Volta, adopted by Fourth Committee on 11 December 1962, meeting 1418, by roll-call vote of 78 to 7, with 12 abstentions, as follows: In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey,

Ecuador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

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

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Turkey.

A/C.4/L.762. Italy: amendment to draft resolution, A/C.4/L.759.

A/5349 and Add.1. Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution I.

RESOLUTION 1807(xvii), as submitted by Fourth Committee, A/5349, adopted by Assembly on 14 December 1962, meeting 1194, by roll-call vote of 82 to 7, with 13 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Tri-

nidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.
 Against: Belgium, France, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, United Kingdom, United States.
 Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Turkey.

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, set out in its resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960,

"Recalling further its resolutions 1542 (XV) of 15 December 1960 and 1699(XVI) of 19 December 1961, and all its other resolutions relating to Territories under Portuguese administration,

"Having examined the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration and chapters VIII and XI 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,

"Noting the statements of the petitioners,

"Greatly deploring the continued disregard by the Portuguese Government of the legitimate aspirations for immediate self-determination and independence expressed by the peoples of the Territories under its administration,

"Greatly concerned at the intensified measures of oppression being carried out by the Portuguese Government against the indigenous peoples of Territories under its administration,

"Noting that the Portuguese military and other forces of repression have used extensively and continue to use, for the repression of the nationalist movements, military and other equipment supplied to Portugal by some of its allies for other purposes and also equipment obtained from other sources,

"Noting the opinion of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration, expressed in paragraph 439 of its report, concerning the implications of the supply of military equipment to the Portuguese Government,

"Noting with deep concern that the policy and acts of the Portuguese Government with regard to the Territories under its administration have created a situation which constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security,

"1. Approves the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration;

"2. Condemns the attitude of Portugal, which is inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations;

"3. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese administration to self-determination and independence and upholds without any reservations the claims of those peoples for their immediate accession to independence;

"4. Urges the Portuguese Government to give effect to the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration, in particular those set out in paragraphs 442 to 445 of that report, by taking

the following measures:

"(a) The immediate recognition of the right of the peoples of the Territories under its administration to self-determination and independence;

"(b) The immediate cessation of all acts of repression and the withdrawal of all military and other forces at present employed for that purpose;

"(c) The promulgation of an unconditional political amnesty and the establishment of conditions that will allow the free functioning of political parties;

"(d) Negotiations, on the basis of the recognition of the right to self-determination, with the authorized representatives of the political parties within and outside the Territories with a view to the transfer of power to political institutions freely elected and representative of the peoples, in accordance with resolution 1514(XV);

"(e) The granting of independence immediately thereafter to all the Territories under its administration in accordance with the aspirations of the peoples;

"5. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to give high priority to an examination of the situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration, bearing in mind the present resolution and the other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly;

"6. Calls upon Member States to use all their influence to induce the Portuguese Government to carry out the obligations incumbent upon it under Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions of the General Assembly relating to the Territories under its administration;

"7. Earnestly requests all States to refrain forthwith from offering the Portuguese Government any assistance which would enable it to continue its repression of the peoples of the Territories under its administration and, for this purpose, to take all measures to prevent the sale and supply of arms and military equipment to the Portuguese Government;

"8. Requests the Security Council, in case the Portuguese Government should refuse to comply with the present resolution and previous General Assembly resolutions on this question, to take all appropriate measures to secure the compliance of Portugal with its obligations as a Member State."

A/C.4/L.760 and Add.1. Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanganyika, Togo, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta: draft resolution, as revised, adopted by Fourth Committee on 12 December 1962, meeting 1419, by roll-call vote of 86 to 2, with 1 abstention, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland,

France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Lebanon, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: Panama.

A/C.4/L.763. USSR: amendment to draft resolution, A/G.4/L.760.

A/C.4/L.765. United States: amendment to draft resolution, A/C.4/L.760.

A/C.4/593, A/C.5/964, A/5357. Notes by Secretary-General and Report of Fifth Committee on financial implications of draft resolution, A/C.4/L.760.

A/5349 and Add.I. Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution II.

RESOLUTION 1808(xvii), as submitted by Fourth Committee, A/5349, adopted by Assembly on 14 December 1962, meeting 1194, by 96 votes to 2.

"The General Assembly,

"Having examined the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration, in particular chapters IV to VII of part two and chapter III of part three thereof,

"Having heard the petitioners,

"Considering the inadequacy of social and educational facilities in the Territories under Portuguese administration,

"Bearing in mind that the process of education in these Territories must be designed to familiarize the inhabitants with, and train them in, the use of the tools of economic, social and political progress,

"Considering that it is one of the sacred duties of the United Nations to promote:

"(a) Higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development,

"(6) Solutions of international economic, social, health and related problems, and international cultural and educational co-operation,

"Considering that the United Nations, in carrying out its duty under Article 55 of the Charter, has created machinery for economic, social and technical assistance, and that substantial assistance has been rendered to peoples of the less developed countries, including peoples in colonial territories,

"Considering the necessity of extending such assistance to the Non-Self-Governing Territories under Portuguese administration with a view to forming in these Territories indigenous cadres for the future administration of their independent countries,

"Recognizing that the indigenous inhabitants of the Territories under Portuguese administration, whose countries can appropriately be designated as being economically under-developed, have a legitimate right to receive benefits from the United Nations pro-

grammes of technical co-operation,

"Recognizing further that the United Nations has a responsibility towards the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories,

"Recognizing that:

"(a) A special intensive type of fellowship programme should immediately be organized to train the largest possible number of indigenous inhabitants of the Territories under Portuguese administration in the functions and techniques of administration and in the fields of economics, law, health and sanitation, and in such other fields as may be necessary,

"(b) In addition, Member States should be invited to make available scholarships for study abroad by students from Territories under Portuguese administration,

"1. Decides to establish such a special training programme for Territories under Portuguese administration, including technical education, education for leadership and teacher training;

"2. Requests the Secretary-General, in establishing such a special training programme for the indigenous people of these Territories, to make use as fully as possible of the existing United Nations programmes of technical co-operation—notably the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund so as to minimize the charge on the regular budget—and particularly to make available to those indigenous inhabitants of the Territories who are or who may be temporarily residing in various countries and territories outside the Territories under Portuguese administration the benefits of such programmes, with the consent and co-operation of the host Governments;

"3. Invites the specialized agencies to co-operate in the establishment and implementation of the special training programme mentioned above, by offering every possible assistance and such facilities and resources as they may be able to provide;

"4. Invites Member States to make available, directly or through voluntary agencies, for the use of students from Territories under Portuguese administration, all-expense scholarships both for the completion of secondary education and for various forms of higher education;

"5. Invites Member States whose universities enjoy administrative autonomy to permit direct communication between the Secretary-General and the heads of those universities with a view to the granting of scholarships envisaged in the present resolution;

"6. Requests Member States to inform the Secretary-General of any scholarships offered and of awards made and utilized;

"7. Requests the Secretary-General to establish appropriate machinery for dealing with applications from Territories under Portuguese administration for education and training outside the Territories;

"8. Requests Member States to facilitate the travel of students from Territories under Portuguese administration seeking to avail themselves of such educational opportunities;

"9. Requests the Secretary-General to report on this question to the General Assembly at its eighteenth session;

"10. Requests the Government of Portugal to co-

operate in the implementation of the present resolution."

A/C.4/L.761. Afghanistan, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Yugoslavia: draft resolution, as amended by USSR, A/C.4/L.764, adopted by Fourth Committee on 12 December 1962, meeting 1419, by 84 votes to 0, with 3 abstentions.

A/C.4/L.764. USSR: amendment to draft resolution, A/C.4/L.761.

A/5349 and Add.I. Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution III.

RESOLUTION 1809(xvii), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/5349, adopted by Assembly on 14 December 1962, meeting 1194, by 100 votes to 0, with 1 abstention.

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling its resolution 1699(XVI) of 19 December 1961 by which it decided to establish a Special Committee to examine as a matter of urgency, within the context of Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations and relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, such information as was available concerning Territories under Portuguese administration, and to formulate its observations, conclusions and recom-

mendations for the consideration of the Assembly and any other body which the Assembly might appoint to assist it in the implementation of its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples,

"Considering that in its resolution 1807(XVII) of 14 December 1962 it requested the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to give high priority to the examination of the situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration,

"1. Decides to dissolve the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration;

"2. Expresses its gratitude to the Special Committee for its efforts and for its valuable contribution to the accomplishment of the purposes of the United Nations under Chapter XI of the Charter and resolution 1514(XV);

"3. Requests the Secretary-General to forward the report of the Special Committee, together with the summary records of the Fourth Committee on the question, to the Government of Portugal, the Economic and Social Council, the Economic Commission for Africa, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and the specialized agencies concerned, including the International Labour Organisation."

THE QUESTION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA

At the second part of its sixteenth session, the General Assembly on 23 February 1962 adopted a resolution⁴ which, among other things, asked the 17-member Special Committee on the situation with regard to the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples to consider whether Southern Rhodesia had attained a full measure of self-government. (For further details about the activities of the Special Committee, see pp. 57-68 above.)

The Special Committee considered the question of Southern Rhodesia at meetings in March, April and May 1962, during the course of which it heard statements by the following petitioners: Joshua Nkomo, President of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), Garfield Todd, former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, and Paul Mushonga, representing the Zimbabwe National Party.

The Committee had before it a revised draft resolution which stated, among other things, that Southern Rhodesia had not attained self-government, that the 1961 Constitution of Southern Rhodesia should be abrogated, that a constitutional conference should be held with

the participation of the leaders of the political parties of Southern Rhodesia, and that a good offices sub-committee should be established to determine with the United Kingdom the future steps to be taken in Southern Rhodesia.

On 27 March, the Special Committee decided: that a Sub-Committee should be appointed to establish contact with the United Kingdom Government in London and to discuss with it future steps with regard to Southern Rhodesia; that the Chairman should make a summation of the consensus of the Special Committee concerning Southern Rhodesia as reflected in the debates; and that further consideration of the draft resolution should be deferred until after the Sub-Committee had reported. On 29 March, the representative of the United Kingdom extended an invitation to a group appointed by the Chairman to visit London to discuss the work of the Special Committee in all its aspects.

At the same meeting, the Chairman expressed the consensus of the Special Committee as re-

⁴See Y.U.N., 1961, pp. 435-36.

gards Southern Rhodesia as follows: (a) that Southern Rhodesia had not attained a full measure of self-government; (b) that discussions in the Special Committee had emphasized the gravity of the situation in Southern Rhodesia and the need for urgent positive action by the United Kingdom Government to prevent a drift towards upheaval and conflict; (c) that the Constitution of 1961, which further entrenched the authority of European settlers, who formed a small minority of the population, was unacceptable to the indigenous people, who constituted well over 90 per cent of the population, and that its enforcement was likely to lead to a dangerous situation; (d) that fresh efforts would have to be made towards formulating new constitutional arrangements—most members considering that a constitutional conference with the full participation of representatives of African political parties should be convened without delay to formulate a new constitution which would ensure Southern Rhodesia's emergence into independence at the earliest possible date, in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples; and (e) that civil liberties should be fully restored and all restraints on the freedom of political activity should be removed.

The Sub-Committee on Southern Rhodesia, composed of India, Mali, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia and Venezuela, with C. S. Jha (India) as Chairman, visited London from 7 to 14 April 1962, where it held discussions with senior officials of the United Kingdom Government and their advisers.

In its report, submitted to the Special Committee on 30 April, the Sub-Committee stated that, although the United Kingdom had not indicated any change in its approach to Southern Rhodesia, the discussions had been useful. The United Kingdom Government had been apprised at the highest level of the serious nature of the problem and of United Nations concern in the matter. Furthermore, whatever action the United Nations might decide to take would have been taken after its feelings on the matter had been fully conveyed to the administering power. The Sub-Committee felt that the situation in Southern Rhodesia was of great urgency and gravity. It stressed the danger of

conflict and upheaval if the 1961 Constitution were forced on the territory in the face of total opposition of the African population and sincerely hoped that the United Kingdom would earnestly reconsider the situation in Southern Rhodesia with a view to devising a constitution acceptable to the overwhelming majority of its population.

In view of the grave and potentially explosive situation in Southern Rhodesia, the Sub-Committee was of the opinion that, in the absence of favourable developments, Southern Rhodesia should be considered by the General Assembly at its resumed sixteenth session (scheduled for June 1962), or at a special session, as a matter of urgency.

On 11 May 1962, the Special Committee endorsed the conclusions of the Sub-Committee and recommended in accordance with the Sub-Committee's report that, in the absence of favourable developments, the situation in Southern Rhodesia should be considered by the General Assembly at its resumed sixteenth session or at a special session, as a matter of urgency. The Committee also adopted two resolutions—one, the revised text referred to above, the other, a draft proposal for consideration by the General Assembly (see below.)

The representatives of Australia, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States expressed reservations concerning the decisions taken by the Special Committee on the question of Southern Rhodesia.

CONSIDERATION BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT RESUMED SIXTEENTH SESSION

In a letter dated 4 June 1962, 41 Member States requested the inclusion of an item entitled "The question of Southern Rhodesia" in the agenda of the resumed sixteenth session of the General Assembly. An explanatory memorandum accompanying the letter stated that this had become imperative since no favourable developments had occurred and, on the contrary, there was a continuing deterioration in the affairs of Southern Rhodesia.

On 8 June, the Assembly's General Committee, by a roll-call vote of 9 to 7, with 5 abstentions, decided to recommend the inclusion of this item in the Assembly's agenda, to be considered in plenary meetings. The United King-

dom representative opposed the inclusion of the item, stating that any debate in the United Nations on the question of Southern Rhodesia would exceed the terms of the United Nations Charter. He also maintained that a case for urgency had not been made out, particularly in view of the announcement that elections under the new Constitution, which were to have been held in October 1962, would not be held before March or April 1963.

The representative of Ghana held that the postponement of the elections did not represent a change of heart on the part of the United Kingdom Government but was designed to give the Southern Rhodesian authorities time to persuade Africans to support their proposals. In the absence of any assurance that the Constitution would be reviewed, his delegation and the other sponsors of the item felt strongly that the item should be included.

On 12 June, the General Assembly, by a roll-call vote of 62 to 26, with 16 abstentions, decided to place the item on its agenda and considered it at plenary meetings held between 18 and 28 June. It had before it a draft resolution embodying the recommendations of the Special Committee, which was eventually sponsored by 38 powers. Two amendments were submitted by Bulgaria.

By this text, the Assembly would approve the conclusions of the Special Committee and affirm that the territory of Southern Rhodesia was a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter. It would request the administering power: (a) to undertake urgently the convening of a constitutional conference, in which there would be full participation of representatives of all political parties, for the purpose of formulating a constitution for Southern Rhodesia, in place of the 1961 Constitution, which would ensure the rights of the majority of the people in conformity with the principles of the Charter and the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples; (b) to take immediate steps to restore all rights of the non-European population and remove all restraints and restrictions in law and in practice on the exercise of the freedom of political activity, including all laws, ordinances and regulations which directly or indirectly sanctioned any policy or practice

based on racial discrimination; and (c) to grant amnesty to, and ensure the immediate release of, all political prisoners. The Assembly would also request the Special Committee to continue its constructive efforts towards the earliest implementation of resolution 1514(XV) (containing the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples) with regard to Southern Rhodesia, in order to ensure its emergence as an independent African State.

In the general debate, in which 50 Members took part, the co-sponsors of the draft said, among other things, that they could not accept the constitutional arguments advanced by the United Kingdom and that they fully endorsed the view of the Special Committee that responsibility for the territory lay squarely with the administering power. Nor, however, could they accept the view that the United Nations had no responsibility towards the people of Southern Rhodesia. So long as they remained under colonial domination, the United Nations had the heavy obligation to ensure that their right to self-determination was recognized and respected. These speakers fully supported the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) in its opposition to the new Constitution which, with its restricted franchise, was not in keeping with universally accepted principles of democracy, justice and equality and did not conform with the Declaration on colonialism. They called on the General Assembly to support the measures set out in the draft resolution which, they said, represented the minimum response the Assembly could make to African aspirations.

The USSR representative, while supporting the recommendations contained in the draft resolution, said that Southern Rhodesia should become independent as soon as possible and, in any event, not later than the end of 1962. He was supported by the representatives of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania and the Ukrainian SSR.

Other Members, including Australia, Canada, France, Italy, New Zealand and the United States, shared with the co-sponsors their concern over the situation in Southern Rhodesia and their general objective of progressive liberalization of the franchise so as to permit true self-determination for all the people. They felt,

however, that the draft resolution was neither helpful nor realistic, since it requested the United Kingdom Government to take action which that Government held to be constitutionally impossible. In their opinion, it would be more useful for the Assembly to encourage the United Kingdom to use its special influence in Southern Rhodesia to produce the desired end.

The United Kingdom representative said that the United Nations had no authority to intervene in the affairs of Southern Rhodesia, and he formally recorded the objection of his Government to any resolution that might be adopted. The constitutional position was that since 1923 his Government had had no effective power to legislate for Southern Rhodesian internal affairs and could not now intervene without the consent of the Government of Southern Rhodesia. The accepted and declared aim under the present Constitution was to move in a period of years to a state of affairs under which the majority of the population would, through the extended franchise, take a steadily increasing part in the management of the affairs of their own country. United Nations action could only increase the difficulties and widen existing divisions. He therefore appealed to all delegations not to jeopardize the chances of a successful outcome of the multi-racial experiment.

Of the two Bulgarian amendments to the draft resolution, the one, to ask the administering authority to inform the General Assembly at its seventeenth session (later in 1962) with regard to the implementation of the measures called for, was withdrawn. The other would, in the second operative paragraph asking the administering authority to convene a conference to draw up a new constitution for the territory to ensure the rights of the majority of the people, add the words "on the basis of 'one man, one vote.'" This amendment was adopted by a roll-call vote of 55 to 1, with 42 abstentions. Paragraph 2, as a whole, as thus amended, was then adopted by a roll-call vote of 75 to 1, with 23 abstentions.

The Assembly then adopted the draft resolution, as amended, by a roll-call vote of 73 to 1, with 27 abstentions, as resolution 1747(XVI). Portugal and the United Kingdom did not participate in the voting.

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

FURTHER CONSIDERATION BY SPECIAL COMMITTEE

On 12 September 1962, the Special Committee took note of this resolution and in particular its third paragraph, calling on the Committee to continue its efforts with regard to Southern Rhodesia. At the same meeting, the Committee heard statements by E. J. M. Zvobgo, representing the African Bureau.

CONSIDERATION BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT SEVENTEENTH SESSION

The question of Southern Rhodesia was again considered by the General Assembly later in 1962, at the seventeenth session. In the Assembly's General Committee, which decided without a vote to include the item in the agenda, the United Kingdom representative reiterated his Government's view that the United Nations was not authorized to intervene in the domestic affairs of a Member State.

On 2 October, the Assembly's Fourth Committee, to which the item had been referred, decided without objection to consider the question as the first item on its agenda, because of its urgency in view of recent developments in the territory, and discussed it at meetings held between 2 and 30 October 1962.

Statements were heard by the following petitioners: the Reverend Michael Scott, on behalf of leaders of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) exiled in London; E. Dumbutshena, N. Sithole, J. Chinamano and N. Shamuyarira on behalf of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU); T. J. Hlazo, A. D. Butler, J. Dombura, W. A. F. Burdett-Coutts and J. M. Gondo, representatives of an independent multi-racial group; and P. Mushongo, P. F. Sithole and L. Chiota, representatives of the Pan-African Socialist Union (PASU).

The petitioners who spoke on behalf of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) and of the Pan-African Socialist Union (PASU) accused the Southern Rhodesian Government of discriminatory practices and objected to the new Constitution. They sought co-operation between the United Nations and the United Kingdom

Government to bring about the convening of a new constitutional conference, at which means could be achieved to give Southern Rhodesia a majority government and help the country to emerge from economic chaos. The representatives of the multi-racial group asked the United Nations to support the creation in Southern Rhodesia of a non-racial State freed from colonialism, and not to encourage those who wished to excite racial passions in order to achieve their own political ambitions.

On 5 October 1962, the representative of Guinea requested that a joint draft resolution introduced at the same meeting by the representative of Togo on behalf of 33 African and Asian sponsors, be treated as an urgent matter. The Committee, therefore, suspended the hearing of petitioners until it had dealt with the draft resolution—which was eventually sponsored by 37 Members.

By this text, the General Assembly would ask the United Kingdom Government to take, as a matter of urgency, measures to secure: (a) the immediate and unconditional release of the President of ZAPU, Joshua Nkomo, and all other nationalist leaders restricted, detained or imprisoned; and (b) the immediate lifting of the ban on the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union. In the second operative paragraph, it would ask the United Kingdom Government to report to the seventeenth session of the General Assembly on the implementation of this resolution.

Following suggestions by the representative of Mexico, supported by Ecuador, Ireland, Italy, Liberia, the Netherlands, Sweden and Uruguay, an orally revised text was submitted on 8 October by the representatives of Togo and India on behalf of the sponsors. By the revised text, the General Assembly would "urge" the United Kingdom Government to take, as a matter of urgency, measures "which would be most effective" to secure the two objectives set out in the original draft and would substitute the word "inform" for "report to" in the second operative paragraph.

The revised draft resolution was approved by the Fourth Committee at the same meeting, by a roll-call vote of 68 to 2, with 12 abstentions. The United Kingdom did not participate in the vote.

At a plenary meeting on 12 October 1962, the General Assembly adopted the Fourth Committee's recommendation by a roll-call vote of 83 to 2, with 11 abstentions, as resolution 1755 (XVII). (For voting details and text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

The general debate on the question of Southern Rhodesia, in which 60 Members participated, took place in the Fourth Committee from 22 to 30 October 1962. During the debate, it was argued by many speakers that the question of the juridical status of the territory had been settled by the General Assembly in its resolution 1747(XVI) of 28 June 1962 (see above). They regretted the attitude taken by the United Kingdom Government and called for the release of nationalist leaders and for the convening of a new constitutional conference. They believed that the United Kingdom Government should intervene in Southern Rhodesia and that it had the power to do so as it had done on other occasions in Malta, British Guiana and Grenada. The new Constitution, which would entrench the authority of a white minority, was unacceptable to the Africans who formed the overwhelming majority of the population, and any attempt to put it into operation would aggravate the explosive situation already existing in the territory.

The spokesman for Poland drew attention to the influence of what he termed an alliance existing between the authorities of South Africa, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Mozambique, Angola and Katanga which was backed by some 200 industrial corporations whose economy largely depended on cheap migrant African labour. The object of this alliance, he maintained, was to preserve white domination in that part of Africa. Similar views were expressed by other Members, among them the Congo (Leopoldville), Ghana, Hungary and the USSR.

The United States representative noted the incidence of violence, and the fears expressed by both Africans and Europeans in Southern Rhodesia, and stressed the need for mutual confidence between the two groups. In his view, the United Kingdom was the natural agency to play the role of conciliation in this situation—which, he added, would be immeasurably improved if all concerned could be persuaded to

agree to a constitution acceptable to all elements of the population. The Committee should avoid hasty proposals which might embitter relationships in Southern Rhodesia and should urge the United Kingdom Government to use its special influence to bring about a peaceful solution. Similar views were expressed by Greece.

The United Kingdom representative reiterated the view of his Government that the United Nations had no right to interfere in the affairs of Southern Rhodesia and that the existence of a resolution which asserted that the United Nations had that right could not and did not create what was not in the United Nations Charter. He said that in 1922 the electors in Southern Rhodesia had chosen to become a self-governing colony with a responsible Government, a status well known to the Dominions. The rights and privileges under this relationship curtailed the powers and functions of the British Government to an extent not paralleled in its Non-Self-Governing Territories. His Government did not claim that Southern Rhodesia was either sovereign or independent; it merely stated that, since 1923, the territory had enjoyed a status which took it out of the sphere of the Non-Self-Governing Territories coming under Article 73 of the Charter.

Turning to the new Constitution, the representative of the United Kingdom referred to the discussions and agreements reached before it was promulgated, to the Declaration of Rights it contained and to the safeguards, including the Constitutional Council, which existed to prevent the Declaration of Rights from remaining a dead letter. His Government wished to see re-established in Southern Rhodesia a political climate that was favourable to a liberal and orderly constitutional development.

On 30 October, the Committee heard a statement by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Edgar Whitehead, who spoke as a member of the United Kingdom delegation. His Government, he said, had felt the need to refurbish the Constitution, and he explained the steps which had been taken leading to the new Constitution of 6 December 1961. He gave solemn assurances that the European minority in the territory did not intend to cling to power for all time but that limited time was needed to build a non-racial State. His Government, he

said, would take action against any political party that refused to tolerate its opponents. He also announced that elections would be held on 14 December 1962, in accordance with the new Constitution, which would come into force on 1 November 1962.

On 30 October 1962, the representative of Mauritania introduced a joint draft resolution which was eventually sponsored by 51 Member States. By this text, the General Assembly would, among other things, note with deep regret that the administering power had not carried out the request concerning the convening of a constitutional conference contained in resolution 1747(XVI) of 28 June 1962. It would consider that any attempt to impose the Constitution of December 1961 would aggravate the existing explosive situation in Southern Rhodesia. It would request the United Kingdom Government to take the necessary measures to secure: (a) the immediate implementation of General Assembly resolutions 1747(XVI) and 1755(XVII); (b) the immediate suspension of the Constitution of December 1961, and the cancellation of the proposed general elections; (c) the immediate convening of a constitutional conference to formulate a new constitution; and (d) the immediate extension to the whole population of the full and unconditional exercise of their basic political rights. The Assembly would also ask the Acting Secretary-General to take prompt action and make such arrangements with the United Kingdom Government and other parties concerned as to secure the implementation of this resolution and resolutions 1747(XVI) and 1755(XVII) and to report to the seventeenth session of the General Assembly as well as to the Special Committee on the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

On the same day, the representative of Brazil introduced an amendment on behalf of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Uruguay and Venezuela, which was designed to give the Acting Secretary-General a certain amount of freedom of action in his negotiations between the United Kingdom and other parties concerned to secure the implementation of the resolution, which, the representative of Brazil claimed, the original text did not do.

The following day, the representative of Ghana introduced, on behalf of the sponsors of the 51-power resolution, a revised text of the relevant paragraph, which took into account this point of view.

As revised, the paragraph would have the Assembly ask the Acting Secretary-General to lend his good offices to promote conciliation among the various sections of the population of Southern Rhodesia by initiating prompt discussions with the United Kingdom Government and other parties concerned, with a view to achieving the objectives of this and all the other Assembly resolutions on the question of Southern Rhodesia, and to report to the present session of the Assembly, as well as to the Special Committee on the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

The amendment was therefore withdrawn and the Committee adopted the revised joint draft resolution by a roll-call vote of 81 to 2, with 17 abstentions.

At a plenary meeting on 31 October 1962, the General Assembly adopted the Fourth Committee's recommendation by a roll-call vote of 81 to 2, with 19 abstentions, as resolution 1760 (XVII). The United Kingdom did not participate in the vote, either in the Committee or in the Assembly. (For voting details and text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

On 19 December 1962, the Secretary-General

reported, in accordance with this resolution, that he had transmitted the text to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom on the same day as its adoption, for the urgent information of the United Kingdom Government. On 5 December 1962, he had again written to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, drawing his attention to the paragraph which requested the Secretary-General to report to the Assembly at its present session. The Secretary-General pointed out that the present session was scheduled to close on 21 December 1962, and that he would appreciate receiving the views of the United Kingdom Government on the relevant paragraph of the resolution.

On 19 December 1962, he reported, he had received a letter from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom in which it was stated, among other things, that recent elections in Southern Rhodesia had resulted in the return to power of the Rhodesia Front Party, led by Winston Field, who had accordingly assumed the office of Prime Minister. It was further stated that it had not yet been possible for the United Kingdom Government to discuss matters of common concern with the new Ministers. It was also pointed out that the change in government in Southern Rhodesia did not affect the constitutional relationship existing between the United Kingdom Government and that of Southern Rhodesia.

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

Special Committee, meetings 9-11, 13-26, 37, 44, 45, 47-49, 53, 71, 107.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—RESUMED 16TH SESSION

General Committee, meeting 146.

Plenary Meetings 1110-1117, 1119-1121.

A/5124. Question of Southern Rhodesia. Report of Special Committee on situation with regard to implementation of Declaration on granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, containing as annex report of Sub-Committee on Southern Rhodesia.

A/5127 and Add.1,2. Letter of 31 May 1962 from Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroon, Ceylon, Congo (Leopoldville), Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia,

Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta and Yemen: proposal for inclusion of item entitled: "The Question of Southern Rhodesia" in agenda of resumed sixteenth session.

A/L.386. Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Liberia, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia: draft resolution.

A/L.386/Rev.1 and Add.1-4. Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta: revised draft resolution.

A/L.387. Bulgaria: amendments to 38-power revised draft resolution, A/L.386/Rev.1 and Add.1-4.

RESOLUTION 1747(xvi), as submitted by 38 powers, A/L.386/Rev.1 and Add.1-4, and as amended by Bulgaria, A/L.387, adopted by Assembly on 28 June 1962, meeting 1121, by roll-call vote of 73 to 1, with 27 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian SSR, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: South Africa.

Abstaining: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United States.

Present and not voting: Portugal and United Kingdom.

"The General Assembly,

"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 report on the question of Southern Rhodesia submitted 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,

"Considering that the vast majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia have rejected the Constitution of 6 December 1961,

"Deploring the denial of equal political rights and liberties to the vast majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia,

"Noting with regret that the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland has not yet taken steps to transfer all powers to the people of Southern Rhodesia as required under paragraph 5 of resolution 1514(XV),

"Having further considered the evidence submitted by the petitioners before the Special Committee,

"1. Approves the conclusions 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 on Southern Rhodesia, and affirms that the Territory of Southern Rhodesia is a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations;

"2. Requests the Administering Authority:

"(a) To undertake urgently the convening of a constitutional conference, in which there shall be full participation of representatives of all political parties, for the purpose of formulating a constitution for Southern Rhodesia, in place of the Constitution of 6 December 1961, which would ensure the rights of the majority of the people, on the basis of 'one man, one vote,' in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, embodied in General Assembly resolution 1514(XV);

"(b) To take immediate steps to restore all rights of the non-European population and remove all restraints and restrictions in law and in practice on the exercise of the freedom of political activity including all laws, ordinances and regulations which directly or indirectly sanction any policy or practice based on racial discrimination;

"(c) To grant amnesty to, and ensure the immediate release of, all political prisoners;

"3. Requests the Special Committee to continue its constructive efforts towards the earliest implementation of resolution 1514(XV) with regard to Southern Rhodesia in order to ensure its emergence as an independent African State."

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—17TH SESSION

General Committee, meeting 148.

Plenary Meetings 1129, 1152, 1163, 1200.

Fourth Committee, meetings 1329-1369, 1378.

A/5238. Report of Special Committee on situation with regard to implementation of declaration on granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, Chapter II.

A/C.4/557 and Add. 1-6. Requests for hearings.

A/C.4/560, A/C.4/564. Communications submitted by Reverend Michael Scott.

A/C.4/561. Telegram of 10 October 1962 from President of African Trades Union Congress, Southern Rhodesia, Bulawayo.

A/C.4/565. Telegram received 17 October 1962 from President of Southern Rhodesian Trades Union Congress; Telegram received on 18 October 1962 from Joshua Nkomo.

A/C.4/568. Telegram of 23 October 1962 from Salisbury "on behalf of" four million Africans of Zimbabwe.

A/C.4/569. Telegram of 24 October 1962 from African Nationalist Offices in Cairo.

A/C.4/570. Statement by J. B. Godber, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, United Kingdom, on 29 October 1962, meeting 1364.

A/C.4/571 and Add.1. Statements by Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, on 30 and 31 October 1962, meetings 1366 and 1367.

A/C.4/L.747. Extract on Southern Rhodesia from report of Special Committee (A/5238, Chapter II). A/C.4/L.748 and Add.1. Afghanistan, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon,

Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta: draft resolution as orally revised, adopted by Fourth Committee on 8 October 1962, meeting 1366, by roll-call vote of 68 to 2, with 12 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian SSR, Cambodia, Cameroon, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Greece, Netherlands, New Zealand, Peru, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, United States.

Present and not voting: United Kingdom.

A/C.4/L.749. Draft report of Fourth Committee.

A/5256 and Corr.1. Report of Fourth Committee, Part I.

RESOLUTION 1755(xvii), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/5256 and Corr.1, adopted by Assembly on 12 October 1962, meeting 1152, by roll-call vote of 83 to 2, with 11 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Ghana, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Spain, Turkey, United States.

Present and not voting: United Kingdom.

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling paragraph 1 of its resolution 1747

(XVI) of 28 June 1962, which affirms that the Territory of Southern Rhodesia is a Non-Self-Governing Territory,

"Deeply concerned at the deplorable, critical and explosive situation obtaining in Southern Rhodesia as a result of the state of emergency, the banning of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, and the arrests and detention of nationalist leaders, a situation which constitutes a denial of political rights and endangers peace and security in Africa and in the world at large,

"1. Urges the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to take, as a matter of urgency, measures which would be most effective to secure:

"(a) The immediate and unconditional release of the President of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, and all other nationalist leaders, restricted, detained or imprisoned;

"(b) The immediate lifting of the ban on the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union;

"2. Requests the Government of the United Kingdom to inform the General Assembly at its seventeenth session regarding the implementation of the present resolution."

A/C.4/L.750 and Add.1. Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta: draft resolution, as revised by sponsors, A/C.4/L.752, adopted by Fourth Committee on 31 October 1962, meeting 1367, by roll-call vote of 81 to 2, with 17 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), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Spain,

Sweden, Turkey, United States.

Present and not voting: United Kingdom.

A/C.4/L.751. Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Uruguay, Venezuela: amendment to 51-power draft resolution, A/C.4/L.750 and Add.1.

A/C.4/L.752. Amendment submitted by 45 powers sponsoring draft resolution A/C.4/L.750.

A/C.4/L.753. Draft report of Fourth Committee.

A/5256/Add.1. Report of Fourth Committee, Part II. RESOLUTION 1760(xvii), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/5256/Add.1, adopted by Assembly on 31 October 1962, meeting 1163, by roll-call vote of 81 to 2, with 19 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), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierre Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United States.

Present and not voting: United Kingdom.

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling its resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960, the provisions of which are fully applicable to the Territory of Southern Rhodesia,

"Recalling its resolution 1747(XVI) of 28 June 1962, by which the General Assembly affirmed that the Territory of Southern Rhodesia is a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations,

"Confirming the inalienable rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia to self-determination and to form an independent African State,

"Having considered 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,

"Having adopted resolution 1755(XVII) of 12 October 1962,

"Having heard the petitioners,

"Noting with deep regret that the administering Power has not yet taken steps to carry out the request, contained in resolution 1747(XVI), to undertake urgently the convening of a constitutional conference, in which there shall be full participation of representatives of all political parties, for the purpose of formulating a constitution for Southern Rhodesia, in place of the Constitution of 6 December 1961, which would ensure the rights of the majority of the people, on the basis of 'one man, one vote,' in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, embodied in resolution 1514(XV),

"1. Reaffirms its resolution 1747(XVI) ;

"2. Considers that the attempt to impose the Constitution of 6 December 1961, which has been rejected and is being vehemently opposed by most of the political parties and the vast majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia, and to hold elections under it will aggravate the existing explosive situation in that Territory;

"3. Requests the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to take the necessary measures to secure:

"(a) The immediate implementation of resolutions 1747(XVI) and 1755(XVII);

"(b) The immediate suspension of the enforcement of the Constitution of 6 December 1961 and cancellation of the general elections scheduled to take place shortly under that Constitution;

"(c) The immediate convening of a constitutional conference, in accordance with resolution 1747(XVI), to formulate a new constitution for Southern Rhodesia;

"(d) The immediate extension to the whole population, without discrimination, of the full and unconditional exercise of their basic political rights, in particular the right to vote, and the establishment of equality among all inhabitants of the Territory;

"4. Requests the Acting Secretary-General to lend his good offices to promote conciliation among the various sections of the population of Southern Rhodesia by initiating prompt discussions with the United Kingdom Government and other parties concerned, with a view to achieving the objectives set out in this and all the other resolutions of the General Assembly on the question of Southern Rhodesia, and to report to the Assembly at its present session as well as 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;

"5. Decides to keep the item entitled 'Question of Southern Rhodesia' on the agenda of its seventeenth session."

A/5396. Report of Secretary-General (noted by Assembly on 20 December 1962, meeting 1200).

EXAMINATION OF INFORMATION ON CONDITIONS IN
NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIESREPORT OF COMMITTEE ON
INFORMATION FROM NON-
SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION

In 1962, the General Assembly's Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories examined, for the first time since its establishment, political and constitutional information received from Administering Members on the territories they administered. Instead of giving attention, as in previous years, to one particular aspect of advancement in non-self-governing areas, the Committee therefore reviewed educational, economic and social developments in the Territories as they related to their progress to independence.

Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands and the United States had regularly transmitted information in the past on political conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories they administered. Spain had done so too since it began transmitting information in 1960. The United Kingdom provided such information for the first time in 1962 on each of its Territories.

Several of the Administering Members also provided supplementary information in the form of statements on policy and on recent developments and progress made in keeping with the General Assembly's declaration of 14 December 1960 on granting independence to colonial countries and peoples.⁵ The Committee particularly welcomed the information that Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Uganda would attain independence before the end of 1962.

The information before the Committee showed that political institutions in nearly all Territories had been developed along the lines of those of the Administering Member concerned. The Committee considered that, instead of imposing certain political systems in the Territories, power should be given to the people to develop institutions most appropriate to meet the needs of their own circumstances. The Committee also drew attention to the possibility of some of the smaller Territories attaining independence through federation or unions with Territories or States. Such unions, it stressed, should be based on the free and voluntary choice by the people

and expressed through informed and democratic processes and in keeping with the principles approved by the General Assembly on 15 December 1960⁶ for the guidance of United Nations Members in determining whether or not there was an obligation to transmit the information called for in Article 73e of the United Nations Charter.

While noting that the information supplied to it had indicated that there was an institutional basis for self-government in most Territories and that progress was being made towards this goal, the Committee nevertheless felt it necessary to stress that there was an urgent need in all Territories to accelerate the pace of their political development.

In connexion with the question of political advancement, the Committee also examined information provided by the Administering Members on the preparation and training of civil and technical cadres in Non-Self-Governing Territories. It noted that measures had been taken to train civil and technical cadres. In view, however, of the urgent need in all Territories for qualified indigenous personnel, it urged Administering Members to intensify their efforts in this field, especially by providing more adequate secondary education as a basis for such training.

EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENT

In the course of its examination of educational conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Committee on Information recalled that the General Assembly, in adopting the Declaration of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples,⁷ had declared that inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness in colonial Territories should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence. The Committee accordingly considered that this Declaration, rather than obscuring the importance of education in the Territories, called for more vigorous efforts.

Effective measures, the Committee felt, had

⁵ See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 509, 510.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 49-50.

not yet been taken in most Territories towards the goal of universal, free and compulsory education in the elementary stages. Because of the pressing shortage of qualified indigenous teachers, administrators, professional and technical personnel, the Committee emphasized the urgent need to expand facilities for secondary and higher education and drew attention to the need for measures to remedy wastage and to raise the general standards. The Committee also stressed the importance of educating women and girls and suggested that greater efforts should be made to equip them for their role in society.

One of the most serious educational problems in the Territories, it considered, was the shortage of teachers and the lack of training facilities. It suggested, among other things, that priority should be given to training of teachers in territorial or regional institutes and that consideration should be given to possibilities for recruiting staff overseas. With a view to speeding the eradication of illiteracy, the Committee expressed the hope that the responsible authorities would make use of all forms of assistance.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT

Much of the discussion in the Committee on Information on the economic advancement of Non-Self-Governing Territories centred on the need to improve agriculture, which still played a dominant role in the economies of most Territories. In view of the difficulties of promoting agricultural development on the basis of traditional land systems, the Committee reiterated the view that steps should be taken to replace these systems by those based on individual proprietorship. It enumerated various areas in which active measures by the Governments concerned could accelerate development.

In the social field, the Committee reviewed measures taken to eliminate racial discrimination in the Territories (see pp. 432-34 below); aspects of urban and rural development; and progress made in improving public health.

CONSIDERATION BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY

HEARING OF PETITIONERS

During the discussion which took place later in 1962 in the General Assembly's Fourth Committee on conditions in Non-Self-Governing

Territories, requests for hearings were received from petitioners from Basutoland and Swaziland, and from Fernando Póo and Río Muni (Guinea Ecuatorial).

The representatives of the United Kingdom and Spain opposed the granting of hearings to petitioners from Non-Self-Governing Territories and maintained that the United Nations Charter made no provisions for such a procedure. The Fourth Committee, however, decided to grant the hearings.

The petitioners from Basutoland and Swaziland gave an account of conditions in Territories as administered by the United Kingdom and protested that the constitutional changes which had recently taken place and those still envisaged did not meet the aspirations of their people. They also expressed anxiety that their Territories might be taken over by South Africa. (See also p. 62.)

In replying, the United Kingdom representative said that he was doing so without prejudice to his Government's position on the hearings. He pointed out that, contrary to the assertions of the petitioners, the Basuto people had asked the United Kingdom for the protection provided; the present constitution in Basutoland reflected proposals put forward by the people themselves. In Swaziland, there was also no question of any constitution being forced on the people. On behalf of the United Kingdom Government, he assured the Committee that there was no question of transferring the High Commission Territories to South Africa. (See also above, p. 62.)

The petitioners from Fernando Póo and Río Muni said that in spite of the changes which had been introduced by Spain in 1959, without consulting the indigenous inhabitants, to make the Territories "Spanish provinces," there was discrimination against the indigenous inhabitants. They asked that their Territory be granted total and effective independence by the end of 1963.

The representative of Spain refuted the allegations of the petitioners, saying that his Government had already put its position on record in the General Assembly, upholding the right of self-determination. If the people of Guinea Ecuatorial might wish to change their present status and the majority decided in favour of

such a course, Spain would put no obstacles in their way.

INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

Some Members of the Fourth Committee, including Burma, Liberia, Bulgaria and the USSR, expressed regret at the failure of some Administering Members to transmit information, such as Portugal in regard to Territories under its administration, France in regard to French Somaliland and the Comoro Archipelago, and the United Kingdom in regard to Southern Rhodesia. (See also pp. 57-65, 407-8, 409-19 and 419-28.)

Some speakers also considered that the political information transmitted by the Administering Members was inadequate. Ecuador, India, Indonesia, Tunisia and Uruguay, among others, stressed the need to establish and extend democratic institutions and to ensure the rapid transfer of power to the inhabitants of the Territories.

Other Members voiced regret that the Spanish Government continued to impose the status of provinces on its African Territories.

The outcome of the discussions was the adoption of a resolution by which the Assembly, noting, among other things, that the information so far transmitted on political and constitutional developments had not been detailed enough to

allow the Committee on Information and the General Assembly to evaluate these developments fully, invited the Administering Members to provide as full information as possible on political and constitutional developments, especially information about the activities of political parties and groups in the Non-Self-Governing Territories and information showing the extent to which the political, administrative and judiciary machinery in the Territories was in the hands of the indigenous people. Note was also taken of the report of the Committee on Information.

The decisions to this effect were incorporated in resolution 1846 (XVII) adopted at a plenary meeting of the Assembly on 19 December 1962 by 97 votes to 0, with 3 abstentions. The Assembly did so on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee, which approved the text on 14 December 1962 by 80 votes to 0, with 3 abstentions, on the basis of a proposal by Afghanistan, Algeria, Bolivia, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, the Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, the Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, the Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Liberia, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Uganda and the United Arab Republic.

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—17TH SESSION

Fourth Committee, meetings 1329, 1403, 1406, 1409-1417, 1420-1425.

Plenary Meeting 1198.

A/5078/Add.7-18; A/5709/Add.1, Add.3-6; A/5080/Add.2-4, Add.6, Add.8, Add.16,17; A/5081/Add.1, Add.3-5. Political and constitutional information on Non-Self-Governing Territories under United Kingdom administration.

A/5120. Constitutional development in Non-Self-Governing Territories under United Kingdom administration.

A/5122. Special Report transmitted by New Zealand on preparation and training of indigenous civil and technical cadres in Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau Islands.

A/5125. Special report transmitted by Australia on preparation and training of indigenous civil and technical cadres in Papua.

A/5215. Report of Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing territories, 13th session, 1962.

A/5235. Note by Secretary-General on preparation of indigenous civil and technical cadres in Non-Self-Governing Territories.

A/C.4/562 and Add.1; A/C.4/563; A/C.4/567 and Corr.1; A/C.4/591 and Add.1. Requests for hearings.

A/C.4/L.766 and Add.1. Afghanistan, Algeria, Bolivia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Liberia, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Uganda, United Arab Republic: draft resolution, as amended, adopted by Fourth Committee on 14 December 1962, meeting 1424, by 80 votes to 0, with 3 abstentions.

A/C.4/L.770. Cambodia: amendments to 37-power draft resolution, A/C.4/L.766.

A/5371. Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution I.

RESOLUTION 1846(xvii), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/5371, adopted by Assembly on 19 December 1962, meeting 1198, by 97 votes to 0, with 3 abstentions.

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling that, by resolution 1700(XVI) of 19 December 1961, it decided that the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories should examine the political and constitutional information transmitted by the Administering Members as well as information relating to functional fields,

"Recalling further that the Committee was instructed to undertake intensive studies of political, educational, economic and social conditions and problems of Territories located in the same area or region, except where circumstances require individual consideration,

"Considering that, by resolution 1654(XVI) of 27 November 1961, it established the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

"Having received the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories prepared in 1962,

"1. Takes note of the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories on the work of its thirteenth session;

"2. Notes with satisfaction that the Committee examined the political and constitutional information transmitted by the Administering Members in the

spirit of Article 73 of the Charter of the United Nations;

"3. Notes that the information on political and constitutional developments transmitted thus far has not been detailed enough to allow the Committee and the General Assembly fully to evaluate such developments;

"4. Invites the Administering Members to continue to transmit the fullest possible information on political and constitutional developments, especially concerning the activities of the political parties and groups in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, as well as information showing the extent to which the political, administrative and judicial machinery in the Territories is in the hands of the indigenous people;

"5. Notes that the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories was formally transmitted 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. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit the report to the Member States responsible for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories, to the Economic and Social Council, to the regional economic commissions, to the Trusteeship Council and to the specialized agencies concerned, for their consideration."

Special Study on Social Advancement in Non-Self-Governing Territories (ST/TRI/SER.A/18). U.N.P. Sales No.: 61.VI.1.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

On 19 December 1961, the General Assembly adopted a resolution (1698 (XVI)),⁸ by which, among other things, it condemned the policy and practice of racial discrimination and segregation in Non-Self-Governing Territories. It urged Administering Members to rescind or revoke immediately all laws tending to encourage or sanction discriminatory policies and practices based on racial considerations. It also called for the immediate extension to all inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories of the full exercise of basic political rights, in particular the right to vote, and the establishment of equality.

The Assembly also asked the Secretary-General to take measures for the immediate and large-scale dissemination of the text of the resolution in the Territories, through all the appropriate media of mass communication.

In 1962, at the Assembly's seventeenth session, the matter was discussed in the Assembly's Fourth Committee, which had before it reports by the Committee on Information from Non-

Self-Governing Territories and by the Secretary-General.

In his report, the Secretary-General summarized the measures taken for the dissemination of the 1961 resolution and outlined policies and measures against racial discrimination in various Territories in order to show the extent of the problem still remaining and such progress as had been made in its eradication.

The report of the Committee on Information, among other things, noted that in some Territories there still remained legal provisions based on racial considerations. It cited instances in which political rights were not fully extended to indigenous inhabitants, differences which continued to exist in educational and training facilities and the continued existence of separate trade unions in some Territories.

The information showed that many of the Non-Self-Governing Territories had some form

⁸ See Y.U.N., 1961, pp. 443-46.

of elected representation in their legislative institutions. In most of the United Kingdom Territories in the Caribbean, as well as in Gambia, Mauritius and Uganda, universal adult franchise had been introduced. Among the Territories in which the exercise of franchise was still subject to restrictions were Bermuda, Fiji, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Zanzibar. In Sarawak, Basutoland and Bechuanaland elections to the central legislature were through electoral colleges, and in Aden Protectorate, Brunei, Hong Kong, North Borneo, St. Helena, Swaziland and the Western Pacific High Commission Territories there were no central legislatures and consequently no franchise.

A number of Fourth Committee Members expressed concern that the information presented to it showed that racial discrimination in the Non-Self-Governing Territories both in law and in practice had not yet been removed. The representative of Burma, for instance, pointed out that there were still many Territories under United Kingdom administration in which the right to vote had not been fully extended to the indigenous inhabitants. The Bulgarian representative found the information provided by the Administering Members misleading as it gave an "idealized" picture. In spite of announced changes in Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese Territories, Africans did not yet en-

joy full and equal rights. The representatives of India and Liberia, among others, also stressed the need for renewed efforts by the Administering Members to abolish racial discrimination. The United Kingdom representative recalled that his country had frequently expressed its total condemnation of discriminatory practices and had done its utmost to eradicate such practices in the Territories under its administration.

On 13 December, a draft resolution was submitted by 28 powers (for list of sponsors, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.) By this, the Assembly would solemnly reaffirm its resolute condemnation of the policy and practice of racial discrimination in Non-Self-Governing Territories. With a view to bringing to an end discrimination in all forms and fields, it would urge the Administering Members to give immediate effect to the 1960 Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and refer the report of the Secretary-General on racial discrimination in Non-Self-Governing Territories to the Special Committee charged with the implementation of that Declaration.

This draft resolution was approved unanimously by the Fourth Committee on 14 December 1962. The General Assembly, in a plenary meeting on 19 December 1962, adopted it unanimously as resolution 1850(XVII).

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—17TH SESSION

Fourth Committee, meetings 1409-1417, 1420-1425.
Plenary Meeting 1198.

A/5215. Report of Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, paras. 52, 53, 64, 108-112.

A/5249 and Add.1. Report of Secretary-General on racial discrimination in Non-Self-Governing Territories.

A/C.4/L.769 and Add.1. Afghanistan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroon, Dahomey, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Niger, Nigeria, Poland, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Republic: draft resolution, adopted unanimously by Fourth Committee on 14 December 1962, meeting 1424.

A/5371. Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution V.

RESOLUTION 1850(xvii), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/5371, adopted unanimously by Assembly on 19 December 1962, meeting 1198.

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling its resolution 1698(XVI) of 19 December 1961, whereby, inter alia, it urged the Administering Members to include, among the measures that would contribute to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, steps to ensure:

"(a) The immediate rescinding or revocation of all laws and regulations which tend to encourage or sanction, directly or indirectly, discriminatory policies and practices based on racial considerations,

"(6) The adoption of legislative measures making racial discrimination and segregation punishable by law,

"(c) The discouragement of such practices based on racial considerations by all other means possible, including administrative measures,

"(d) The immediate extension to all inhabitants of the full exercise of basic political rights, in particular the right to vote, and the establishment of equality among the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories,

"Having examined the report of the Secretary-

General on the implementation of resolution 1698 (XVI) and the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories,

"Noting with deep concern that racial discrimination in law and in practice, which is utterly repugnant to humanity, has not been eradicated in Non-Self-Governing Territories,

"Reiterating its view that racial discrimination and segregation in Non-Self-Governing Territories can be eradicated fully and with the greatest speed by the faithful implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples,

"1. Solemnly reaffirms its resolute condemnation of the policy and practice of racial discrimination in

Non-Self-Governing Territories;

"2. Urges the Administering Members to give immediate effect to the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples in the Territories under their administration so that an end will be put to racial discrimination in all forms and in all fields;

"3. Decides to refer the report of the Secretary-General on racial discrimination in Non-Self-Governing Territories and the summary records of the discussion on that report to the attention 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."

INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE FOR ADVANCEMENT OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

AID ACTIVITIES

During the period 1961-1962, projects in the amount of nearly \$3 million were approved for more than 25 Non-Self-Governing Territories under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. (For details about aid provided to the Non-Self-Governing Territories under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the technical assistance programmes financed from the regular United Nations budget, see pp. 226-30.)

In addition to technical assistance, a number of territories received aid in the form of loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development or received assistance from the United Nations Special Fund. Between 1953 and the end of 1961 the Bank had approved loans to Northern Rhodesia (\$14 million), the East Africa High Commission (\$24 million), the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (\$104.6 million), Kenya (\$14.2 million), Uganda (\$8.4 million), British Guiana (\$1.25 million) and Trinidad and Tobago (\$23.5 million). (For further details, see below, pp. 594-97.) Territories receiving assistance from the Special Fund included British Guiana, Malta, North Borneo, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the West Indies and Uganda. (For further details, see pp. 197-98.)

OFFERS OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES

In 1962, the question of offers by United Nations Member States of study and training facilities to inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing

Territories was discussed at the General Assembly's seventeenth session in the light of a report by the Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General's report, dated 28 September 1962, showed that all the Member States which had offered scholarships in 1960-61 had continued their offers. These States were: Brazil, Burma, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Ghana, Greece, Hungary, India, Iran, Israel, Italy, Mexico, the Philippines, Poland, Romania, Tunisia, Turkey, the USSR, the United States, Venezuela and Yugoslavia. In 1961-62, 283 new scholarships were awarded as compared with 288 awarded in 1961. This figure did not include all scholarships awarded directly by Governments under the provision of an Assembly resolution (845 (IX)) of 22 November 1954, which invited United Nations Members generously to extend offers of study and training facilities to inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories.⁹

On 19 December 1962, the Assembly adopted another resolution on the subject of offers of study and training facilities. It thereby expressed regret that, despite the increased interest shown by inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories in such offers, a number of the scholarships remained unused. It also regretted that in several instances students granted scholarships had not been given facilities to leave the Non-Self-Governing Territories concerned to take advantage of such scholarships. The Assembly urged Member States to continue offering scholarships. Member States offering

⁹ See Y.U.N., 1954, pp. 315-16.

scholarships were asked to take into account the need to furnish complete information about the scholarships offered and, whenever possible, the need to provide travel funds to prospective students. It once again invited the Administering Members concerned to take all necessary steps to ensure that all scholarships and training facilities offered by Member States were used by the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and to render effective assistance to those persons who had applied for or had been granted scholarships, particularly with regard to facilitating their travel formalities. In addition, the Assembly decided to draw this resolution to the attention 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. A report on the implementation of the resolution was to be submitted by the Secretary-General to the Assembly in 1963. (For full

text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

The decisions to this effect were unanimously adopted at a plenary meeting of the Assembly on 19 December 1962 in the form of resolution 1849(XVII). The Assembly did so on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee, which approved the text, also unanimously, on the proposal of the following 42 Members: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bolivia, Cambodia, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, the Congo (Leopoldville), Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, the Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, the Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Liberia, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Uganda, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia.

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

AID ACTIVITIES

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—17TH SESSION

Fourth Committee, meetings 1409-1417, 1420-1425. Plenary Meeting 1198.

A/5215. Report of Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, Section XI.

OFFERS OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—17TH SESSION

Fourth Committee, meetings 1410-1417, 1420-1425. Plenary Meeting 1198.

A/5242 and Corr.1 and Add.1. Report by Secretary-General on offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

A/C.4/L.768 and Add.1. Afghanistan, Algeria, Bolivia, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Leopoldville), Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Liberia, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia: draft resolution adopted unanimously by Fourth Committee on 14 December 1962, meeting 1424.

A/5371. Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution IV.

RESOLUTION 1849(xvii), as submitted by Fourth Committee, A/5371, adopted unanimously by Assembly on 19 December 1962, meeting 1198.

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling its resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples,

"Recognizing the importance of rendering assistance to colonial countries and peoples in the field of general and specialized education,

"Having examined the report of the Secretary-General on offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories under General Assembly resolution 845 (IX) of 22 November 1954,

"Expressing regret that, despite the increased interests among inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in such offers, a number of the scholarships offered by Member States remain unutilized,

"Further expressing regret that in several instances students who have been granted scholarships have not been accorded facilities to leave the Non-Self-Governing Territories in order to take advantage of such scholarships,

"1. Takes note of the report of the Secretary-General on offers of study and training facilities under resolution 845 (IX);

"2. Reaffirms its resolution 1696(XVI) of 19 December 1961;

"3. Urges Member States to continue to offer scholarships;

"4. Requests the Member States offering scholarships to take into account the necessity of furnishing

complete information about the scholarships offered and, whenever possible, the need to provide travel funds to prospective students;

"5. Invites once again the Administering Members concerned to take all necessary measures to ensure that all scholarships and training facilities offered by Member States are utilized by the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and to render effective assistance to those persons who have applied for or have been granted scholarships or fellowships, parti-

cularly with regard to facilitating their travel formalities;

"6. Requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its eighteenth session a report on the implementation of the present resolution;

"7. Draws the attention of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to the present resolution."

OTHER QUESTIONS CONCERNING NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS

Activities undertaken by the United Nations to disseminate information in Non-Self-Governing Territories about the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1960^{1b}) was the subject of a report by the Secretary-General which was examined at the Assembly's seventeenth session in 1962.

The Secretary-General reported that the Declaration had been translated into some 20 principal local languages of the Non-Self-Governing Territories as well as the languages of the Administering Members, and texts had been printed in the form of leaflets and wallsheets. Special radio talks on the Declaration had also been prepared in as many of the languages as possible. In addition, the Secretary-General's report showed how the material prepared had been used, with the assistance of various Administering Members, in various Non-Self-Governing Territories.

In the course of discussions on the report which took place in the Assembly's Fourth Committee, a draft resolution was introduced whereby the Assembly would: (1) note with appreciation that some Administering Members had co-operated with the Secretary-General in circulating and in disseminating information about the Declaration in many Territories; (2) note with regret that the Government of Portugal had not extended such co-operation and invite it to co-operate with the Secretary-General in disseminating the Declaration in the Territories under its administration; (3) invite all the other Administering Members to continue to co-operate with the Secretary-General in circulating and disseminating information about the Declaration in all Non-Self-Govern-

ing Territories under their administration; (4) invite the Administering Members to include the Declaration in the curricula of all educational institutions in all Non-Self-Governing Territories; and (5) ask the Secretary-General to continue his efforts in the matter through all appropriate mass communication media in all the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

The proposal to this effect was sponsored by Afghanistan, Algeria, Bolivia, Cambodia, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, the Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, the Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, the Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Liberia, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, the Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Uganda, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia.

The representative of Portugal objected to the references contained in the text about his country, saying that they constituted unjustified discrimination. He stated that he would vote against the proposal.

On 14 December 1962, the Fourth Committee approved the draft resolution by 82 votes to 1, with 0 abstentions.

On 19 December 1962, it was approved at a plenary meeting of the Assembly, by 101 votes to 1, with 1 abstention, as resolution 1848 (XVII). (For full text, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

CONTINUATION OF COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

On 19 December 1961, the General Assembly decided to continue the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories with

^{1b} See Y.U.N., 1960, pp. 49-50.

new terms of reference¹¹ and until such time as it considered that the principles embodied in Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter and in the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples had been fully implemented.

The question of continuing the Committee was again discussed in 1962 at the Assembly's seventeenth session.

Debate on this took place mostly in the Assembly's Fourth Committee.

Several representatives, including those of Burma, Haiti, Tunisia and the USSR, maintained that with the establishment 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 there was no need to have another Assembly committee to deal with Non-Self-Governing Territories.

The USSR representative made the additional point that the report of the Committee on Information failed to give a true account of the situation in the Territories, because half of the Committee on Information consisted of Administering Members.

Other Members of the Fourth Committee, including Argentina, Cambodia, Ecuador, Liberia and Uruguay, observed that the United Nations had special responsibilities to the Non-Self-Governing Territories under Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter; in this connexion, it was noted, the Committee on Information had provided valuable assistance to the Special Committee on the situation regard-

ing the implementation of the Declaration. They thought it might be useful for the Assembly to undertake an over-all review of the matter at its eighteenth session (due to open in September 1963) and then decide what action should be taken.

The discussions led to the adoption of a resolution whereby the General Assembly recognized that the Committee on Information continued to play a useful role in attaining the principles set forth in Chapter XI of the Charter and in carrying out the mandates of the Special Committee. The Assembly accordingly decided to continue the Committee on Information on the same basis as that established in 1961¹² and to review the situation in 1963 with a view to taking a decision on the further continuation of the Committee on Information.

The Fourth Committee approved the resolution to this effect on 14 December 1962 by 72 votes to 0, with 5 abstentions. On 19 December, it was adopted at a plenary meeting of the Assembly as resolution 1847 (XVII), by 96 votes to 0, with 5 abstentions. It was originally proposed in the Fourth Committee by Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Ceylon, Chad, Dahomey, Ethiopia, the Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, India, the Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Syria, Tanganyika and Togo.

(For details about membership and composition of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories for 1962 and 1963, see APPENDIX in.)

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—17TH SESSION

Fourth Committee, meetings 1409-1417, 1420-1425. Plenary Meeting 1198.

A/5244 and Add.1. Report of Secretary-General on dissemination of information on United Nations in Non-Self-Governing Territories.

A/C.4/L.767 and Add.1. Afghanistan, Algeria, Bolivia, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Liberia, Mali, Morocco, Nepal,

Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia: draft resolution, as revised, adopted by Fourth Committee on 14 December 1962, meeting 1424, by 82 votes to 1.

A/5371. Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution III.

RESOLUTION 1848(xvii), as submitted by Fourth Committee, A/5371, adopted by Assembly on 19 December 1962, meeting 1198, by 101 votes to 1, with 1 abstention.

¹¹ See Y.U.N., 1961, p. 441.

¹² Ibid.

"The General Assembly,
"Recalling its resolution 1695(XVI) of 19 December 1961,

"Reiterating the view that it is essential that the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be widely acquainted with the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples contained in its resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960,

"1. Notes with satisfaction the information contained in the Secretary-General's report on this subject to the effect that a number of leaflets, wallsheets and radio talks on the aforesaid Declaration have been disseminated in many local languages of the Non-Self-Governing Territories as well as in the languages of the Administering Members;

"2. Notes with appreciation that, in accordance with resolution 1695(XVI), certain Administering Members have extended to the Secretary-General their co-operation in the circulation and dissemination of the Declaration in many Territories;

"3. Notes with regret that the Government of Portugal has not extended such co-operation and invites it to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the dissemination of the Declaration in the Territories under its administration;

"4. Invites all the other Administering Members to continue to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the circulation and dissemination of the Declaration in all Non-Self-Governing Territories under their administration;

"5. Further invites the Administering Members to include the Declaration in the curricula of all educational institutions in all Non-Self-Governing Territories;

"6. Requests the Secretary-General to continue his efforts towards large-scale circulation and dissemination of the Declaration through all the appropriate media of mass communication in all the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and to prepare a report on further progress on this subject for the General Assembly at its eighteenth session."

CONTINUATION OF COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

GENERAL ASSEMBLY—17TH SESSION
Fourth Committee, meetings 1420-1425.
Plenary Meeting 1198.

A/C.4/L.771. Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Ceylon, Chad, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Gabon, Ghana, India, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Syria, Tanganyika, Togo: draft resolution adopted by Fourth Committee on 14 December 1962, meeting 1425, by 72 votes to 0, with 5 abstentions.

A/5371. Report of Fourth Committee, draft resolution II.

RESOLUTION 1847 (xvii), as recommended by Fourth Committee, A/5371, adopted by Assembly on 19 December 1962, meeting 1198, by 96 votes to 0, with 5 abstentions.

"The General Assembly,
"Recalling its resolution 1700(XVI) of 19 December 1961,

"Considering that, by resolution 1654(XVI) of 27 November 1961, it established the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

"Considering further that, in paragraph 8 of resolution 1654(XVI), the General Assembly requested the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories to assist the Special Committee in its work,

"Keeping in mind the principles and purposes contained in its resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960 entitled 'Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples,'

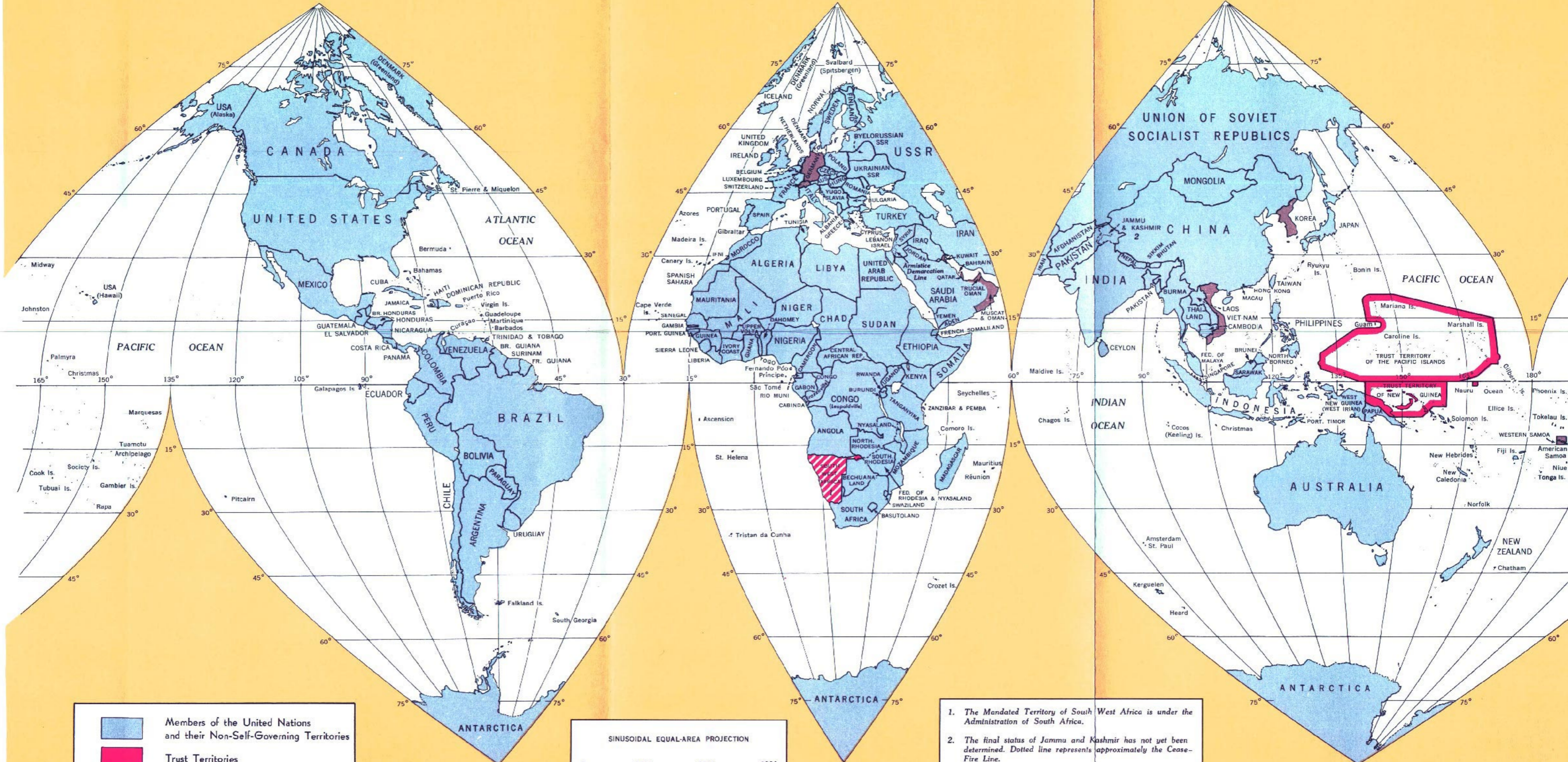
"Recognizing that the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories continues to play a useful role in the attainment of the principles set forth in Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations and in the implementation of the mandates incumbent upon the Special Committee,

"1. Decides to continue the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories on the same basis as that established by resolution 1700(XVI), particularly paragraphs 2 to 5 of that resolution,

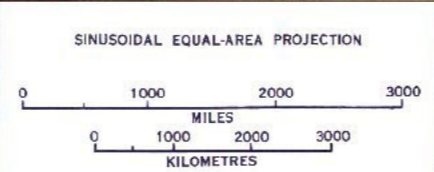
"2. Decides, in the light of the rapid progress required for the accession of Non-Self-Governing Territories to independence, to review the situation at its eighteenth session with a view to taking a decision on the further continuation of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories."

MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, NON-SELF-GOVERNING AND TRUST TERRITORIES

AS OF 31 DECEMBER 1962



Members of the United Nations and their Non-Self-Governing Territories
 Trust Territories
 Non-members of the United Nations



1. The Mandated Territory of South West Africa is under the Administration of South Africa.
2. The final status of Jammu and Kashmir has not yet been determined. Dotted line represents approximately the Cease-Fire Line.

The boundaries shown on this map are not, in some instances, finally determined and their reproduction does not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.